

THE MODERN REVIEW

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—Sudhansu B. Mitra

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

High Prices and Profiteering

One may distinguish between high prices of goods and services of various kinds and conclude that some are socially more objectionable than others. A general principle for making such distinctions would be difficult to lay down, but one may say that goods and services required essentially to maintain life should be made available at a fair price although luxury things could remain relatively more expensive. Or that prices charged for things (including services) sold to the poor should be obtainable at prices which the poor can afford while the wealthy may compete for the possession and use of goods and services they wish for. One may assume that only food, clothing, housing and similar essentials of life are used for profiteering by the sellers : but one may add to this list many other goods and services which should be available at a reasonable price but are charged for at extremely high rates.

1. **High Medical Fees :** Many senior physicians, surgeons and specialists charge exorbitantly high fees. They charge double or more than double fees if they have to go to the patient's house particularly at night or to distant places. As a result those who need their services most fail to obtain the same. Only the rich can get proper medi-

cal attention. There should therefore be maxima fixed for medical charges and methods introduced for obtaining the services of top men at a reasonable rate.

Lawyers' Fees : These are also very high if one tries to get the best legal help. The best lawyers should also charge reasonable rates and set apart some of their time for persons who are not wealthy but are involved in cases requiring the help of first class lawyers.

House Rent : It is now a well known racket that one is made to pay premia and also very high rent for houses. Those who have house property expect to get the highest possible return to their investments in house property. There should be limits set to rents which landlords can charge and some reasonable system introduced for allotment of housing accommodation.

Land and Property : The values of land and property have crossed all limits. Land which used to sell for Rs. 100 is now sold for Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. As a result persons of limited means cannot own their dwelling houses. The costs of bricks, cement, stone chips, doors, windows, electrical installations, plumbing etc. have also gone sky high.

5. Salaries and fees of top officers, directors, consultants, Managing Agents etc : It is now quite normal for a company to pay a top officer Rs. 10,000/- or more per month together with many amenities, fat expenses accounts and other privileges which money cannot buy. Directors and Consultants also get very high fees, amenities and privileges. Managing Agents get incomes too high for the services they render. These come out of the incomes that workers or share holders could have obtained, had not such wasteful methods been introduced to put money in selected pockets. Many of these profit-makers are not technical experts nor very capable men. Top officers are often selected out of proteges, relations of Directors or sycophants. The public sector is not free from these abuses.

6. Payments for no work done : Manning in industries, commercial offices and government departments is carried out in a traditional manner, *i.e.* large numbers of persons are employed who do no work, at least not enough work to earn their salaries. Although the wages and salaries are none too high from the angle of cost of living ; one has to say that many of the incumbents are really not required to do any useful productive work. Their earning are therefore not "high price" paid for any services rendered; but just money thrown away to satisfy workers' demands. These unnecessary hands are not the "toiling masses". They rather cause wages to remain low.

High prices which include high fees, exorbitant salaries and unearned incomes going into the pockets of persons who are employed just for show, are quite often mixed up with "black" payments and underhand earnings. These involve tax evasion too. Fair prices would require that no buyers would have to pay for goods and services at too high a rate or for good and services not received or only received in token form. All exorbitantly high prices, fees, salaries received in **bribe** or black payments should be restricted as possible. All monies paid to persons who **do nothing** or not enough in return of what they

are paid should be restricted too. Our economic life suffers from two ailments. Too few people getting too much for what they give or do and too many people getting petty amounts for doing nothing or next to nothing

Population Control

Decreasing the birth rate has got its own advantages apart from the question of solving the problem of food supplies that faces India. India is a poor country and the average family has a very low income, which cannot give the family members even a minimum subsistence level standard of living. In the circumstances if there are less numbers in the family, the standard of living could be better. To reduce the size of the family the best method would be and should be increasing the age of persons who marry. As things are now girls are married off even before they reach womanhood. Boys are married when they yet do not qualify for gainful employment. As such many families come into existence of which the female parents are twelve to thirteen years old and the male parents sixteen to eighteen years. Naturally such parents are irresponsible and unfit to rear children. They are in many cases supported by their own parents in joint families. Their age of marriage should be made eighteen for girls and *it should be enforced*. A good idea would be to disqualify all persons who violate, directly or indirectly, the laws concerning age of marriage, for service or selection for holding any public posts of a representative character. In other words we do not want men or women in our legislatures, Government office or local self-government establishments who practise or support the marriage of immature persons. If a survey is made one will discover thousands of public servants and persons in legislatures, municipalities etc, who practise child marriage in their own families.

As to the question of food supply, this can be solved by increasing the production of crops and by fish culture, animal husbandry and poultry farming. India produces food crops at a per acre rate which is astoundingly low. The main reason for this is lack of irrigation. The other reasons are lack of capital and all essential resources which aid successful agriculture. If the State looked

after irrigation and the provision of these resources, our per acre yield of food crops could easily double itself in no time. And that would solve the problem of food and also increase the standard of living of the people which will automatically bring about a fall in the birth rate. But the most important thing is to check child marriage. This has been a disgrace to India for a very long time and should be stopped immediately and forcefully. If one or two ministers are forced to resign on the ground that they have supported child marriage directly or indirectly that would do a lot of good to Indian society. Should we not look for such ministers, legislators, councillors and members of public bodies?

Creating New States

In olden days great empires grew up through conquests and through alliances, marriages etc. These great empires broke up quite often and the various racial, linguistic and religious groups re-established themselves as separate sovereign states, which did not really cause the creation of any new states: but merely freed those that had been integrated within the large empires that had grown up from time to time. The break up of the Roman Empire in ancient times or that of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1911-13 are good examples of disintegration of empires. But when the British Empire began to break up, the British made attempts at creating states which had never existed before and their idea behind these attempts was not humanitarian nor ideologically free from evil policies. Thus the formation of Pakistan was based on a false two nation theory which the British sponsored in order to keep India politically divided and weak. British attempts at creating States in Arabia, Africa or in other places are also based on hopes of maintaining British suzerainty in many lands in an indirect manner. The Americans are not empire builders, they say, but the Americans appear to be hand in gloves with the British in all these political manoeuvres all over the world. The Americans are also fighting a full scale war in Viet Nam in which thousands of Americans and Viet Nameese are dying for no apparent gain in point of human progress or the establishment of justice, freedom and the rights of Man. For, the establishment of

American superiority in any country is surely no ideal for which thousands should give their lives so, if America wins in Viet Nam and succeeds in creating a strong American aided South Viet Nam, one should not hail that as a victory for Human Liberty and justice. If on the other hand the North Viet Nameese win with the help of Russia and China and succeed in creating a single State out of two, that also will not be a victory for all men who desire liberty and freedom to prevail over totalitarian autocracy. This fight is a fight between two evils: and whichever wins the result will be loss of human rights.

Where, new empires are being built up, as in the case of China's expansionism, human liberty and the just rights of mankind are being destroyed in order to hold up the might of autocratic cliques. China is on the war path and unless there is internal break up, the Chinese will sooner or later face the world across battle torn lands that man could have used for developing a greater civilisation than we have ever seen before. These powers, viz., China, Russia, America and Britain with their many camp followers have become a great source of danger to Humanity. They all plead for and hawk great ideals; such as liberation of the toiling masses, development of underdeveloped countries and so forth: but they fail to convince the peoples of the world about the genuineness of their feelings. The reason being their easy adoption of military methods whenever they wish to do good to others. They also encourage other nations to form minor blocs so that skirmishes could become battles, and, battles wars. China's occupation of Tibet and of large tracts of Indian territory, place her quite high among marauders. She has been trying to work her way into Burma, Malay and Indonesia too but without much success. Her possession of nuclear weapons has made her formidable and the only country in Asia which can challenge her might even for defence purposes is India. But India is constantly in the throes of missionary activities and she thinks she will save the world by her attachment to non-violence. This non-violence has now taken the shape of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. But unless India makes nuclear weapons she can never expect to stand up against China. And if she did not stand up

against China, she would not be able to maintain her sovereign rights for any length of time.

A Slump

The slump that has been creeping upon us since the last two or three years has now assumed more alarming dimensions. Factories are being closed down, masses of workers are being retrenched or laid off, the yards of the factories are jammed up with unsold goods and there is a general shortage of funds everywhere. Sri Morarji can explain away this industrial maladjustment as an expression of some strange mass psychological disease, or as a symptom of a national fatigue caused by over-production, but we cannot accept such explanations. In fact, we know that the artificial stimulation of our industries with borrowed resources had not been very paying and productive. We had to borrow money to pay interest on foreign loans and numerous large plants had been running at a loss year after year. This stimulation therefore had to stop and it was slowly withdrawn from many fields with the result that workers could no longer be paid with borrowed funds: not various indigenous industries given orders for the development of further unwanted industries with borrowed foreign capital. So that the unsound planning and the inefficient management of new industries set up by the Government at great cost are really the root causes of the slump. Artificial trade booms created through circumstances which suddenly cease to exist, are always followed by slumps of a dangerous and uncontrollable type. In times of war certain industries experience an unnatural boom. Post war reconstruction can also bring about a limited boom. But these booms do not necessarily have any vitality in them. They may come and go without leaving any economic impression of a lasting variety. The present slump in India has been brought about by certain long period forces connected with unscientific efforts at industrial development. But on top of this has come a great fall in agricultural production which has diverted almost all purchasing power of the majority of the people to food purchases. This has caused an intensive fall in the purchase of all other kinds of goods. As a result all industries producing a variety of goods are facing a "no demand" atmosphere

of a fantastic kind. If agriculture improves there may be a revival of transactions in the markets of certain varieties of goods. These are the products of well established industries for which the demand is conventional and fairly elastic. People buy these things after meeting their requirements of food, medicine, school books and essential clothing. The current shortage of food with exorbitant black market prices for rice, flour, pulses, sugar, vegetables, meat, fish, eggs and fruits have pushed the demand for all other goods into near nothingness. The sudden awareness that the slowly growing slump has developed during recent months is entirely due to the semi-famine conditions. When this passes off, as is expected, if agricultural conditions improve, the general long period slump will continue nevertheless until trade and industry are readjusted by the normal functioning of socio-economic forces. This is not happening yet on account of the political atmosphere prevailing in India which induces government to follow a strange economic policy of vague hopes and no clear cut objectives.

1. Guarantees

No country can or should depend on guarantees given by other countries for its defence, food supply or other essential requirements, unless it has some means at its disposal by which it can force other countries to honour their commitments. This country has no such means at its disposal which can be used as levers to achieve any objectives of an essential nature. Our probable defenders may at any moment turn out to be aggressors. For of the powers which have any strength to defend any one, one is our declared enemy and one is not likely to come to assist any other country which is ideologically its not camp follower. The other two powers are definitely more attached to one of our declared enemies than to us. In the circumstances defence guarantees, even if given, are not likely to be effective if and when we face a nuclear attack. Moreover nuclear attacks are made so quickly and their effects are so destructive that India can be reduced to cinder long before any guarantor can do anything about it. What we need is utter preparedness to repel nuclear attack

by nuclear weapons. All probable attackers must know that a hydrogen bomb used against India will draw two such bombs towards its own largest cities. The reason why China is now making nuclear bombs is that she fears nuclear attacks from other nations. Now that China can also direct ICBMs towards the great cities of the world, she can be sure that other nations will not launch nuclear rockets at her with impunity. India, however, continues to think that nuclear weapons are morally worse than bullets and bows and arrows. They are too, for they can kill millions at one stroke. But, then, if it is a choice between getting our own millions killed rather than someone else's in retaliation; we do not see any way out of a moral quibble without risking the lives of millions of Indian men, women and children.

As to food supplies, our dependence on foreign supplies and the difficulties that arose recently in obtaining the promised quantities of foodgrains from foreign sources, proved the uselessness of such arrangements. We shall never know exactly how many thousand persons have died due to starvation or near-starvation during this year but we have no doubt that considerable numbers have died. This has also been the result of our foolish faith in foreigners. Our dependence on foreign countries for essential materials and machine parts has caused endless suffering to our technically productive workers. They have quite often suffered retrenchments as well as lay offs, just because the Government could not spare enough foreign exchange to procure these materials and parts. The nation has lost valuable production and the nation's industrial progress has been badly hampered. The only remedy the Government could think of was further intensification of their efforts at hamstringing the nation's economy by tackling economic problems by speeches, pronouncements and gestures. Every day every hour some one makes some high sounding and hopeful announcement. The AIR thrives on these and the newspapers waste their printing potential on these. But nothing else happens. Poverty and suffering go on for ever. The people deserve it; for they depend on ineffective persons to produce results. But then the ineffectives should have better sense than to stick on for ever and ever.

Storm in a Tea Cup

When Pakistan snatches away a large slice of Kashmir from India with the connivance of many "friendly" nations of the latter country India swallows the insult as meekly as befits a spineless junior member of the United Nations Organisation. But when a few hundred peasants with bows and arrows and twelve guns fight amongst themselves for the possession of land and some of them hoist the Red Flag or quote Mao Tse-tung; the Government of India has convulsions. Actually the real reason for this psychological upheaval is Peking Radio's references to Naxalbari as a great centre of agrarian revolution. If China expects to conquer the world with bows and arrows and twelve guns, it should be allowed to dream her dreams of world revolution in the manner of her opium addiction of the pre-Sun Yat Sen period. If the Nagas ambush and kill hundreds of India's soldiers, never take effective measures against them. If the Mizos act similarly we sit in Delhi and hold meetings. The reason being the urge to protect the Congress Government in Assam, however worthless it may be. But Naxalbari must always be in the headlines and be blaringly announced at the time just because the Government in West Bengal is not Congress however efficiently it tries to handle the situation there. And there is China too making idiotic broadcasts about a great army of peasants facing the Indian Army with twelve guns and an unknown number of bows, arrows, spears, catapults and sticks. The Chinese are supplying automatic arms (and not just words of encouragement) to the Nagas. The Pakistanis are doing the same to the Mizos. The Radio Peking or the Radio Pakistan says nothing about it to the world. *Akashvani* also is rather reticent about what the Nagas and the Mizos do. When they hold meetings in Delhi, they come in for top priority publicity. When they use the arms given to them by foreign powers against Indian soldiers they are mentioned for the occasion in the news. But no furore about their connection with anticidents and all the rest of it. Pakistan's occupation of "Azad" Kashmir is not news any more for have we not sworn our souls away in terms of the Tashkent Declaration? The Americans, the British, the Russians, together with other

If fry are all lined up against India when comes to Kashmir. And India tolerates this. It is not goodness or fear or both. If it is fear we should try to overcome it by better military preparation. If it is goodness, we should study the way for developing a better spiritual outlook. However, it is due to the inability of our political leaders to realise the true meaning of national honour, there is no cure for it. But the people can change the leaders.

Social Control by Force

There are some persons in India who think that peace loving people must act according to their dictates, for the reason that they can be unmannered, obnoxious and violent and the peace loving people are not capable of retaliation. The police also do not and cannot interfere just to enforce good manners and orderly behaviour. In other words these unruly elements make life unbearable for the law-abiding peace loving members of society by their acts of minor lawlessness which sometimes burst into wider deeds of violence. The Governments of the States do not appear to be capable of controlling these lawless elements. The reason for this inexplicable incapacity lies in the connections that exist between the law makers and the law breakers. Government servants, members of legislatures and political party leaders are quite closely associated with these groups of hooliganish persons, who help them in elections and in securing for them much needed public support when they feel the need for the same. Whatever that may be and however useful these unruly elements may be to some persons of importance, no society can agree to be bullied by small gangs of persons who have no sense of nor willingness to observe those rules of conduct which hold society together. If hooliganism is permitted to be rampant in society and if social virtues are taken advantage of by the vicious; then there is every chance of law abiding persons to make their own arrangements for preserving their rights and dealing with such persons as try to force their will upon society in a suitable manner.

It is better however that political leaders considered these points in time and induced their sup-

porters to act in a law abiding manner and without destroying the rights and privileges of other members of society. For, the political leaders surely know that their followers and supporters are not many, while the general public vastly outnumber them and are quite capable of dealing with them if they chose to do so. There are many persons in society too, who are better organisers of social opinion than the political leaders, and if there is continued interference with the rights of the public, they may come forward to defend society and the culture and civilisation of the Nation by organising the forces of propriety against those of rowdiness and usurpation of rights. No one desires that society should remain hide bound and in the stagnant pool of age old tradition without any changes in the structure of society. India has progressed greatly during the last one hundred and seventy five years. Women have made astounding gains in their social position and personal rights. The common man has gained in rights and privileges in a remarkable manner. Social institutions have developed and legislations enacted which have brought much needed advantages to the people. There have been no acts of hooliganism behind all this progress. Our social reformers have always been good men who always acted in a lawful manner to achieve their objectives. We therefore do not approve of hooliganisms as a method of achieving progress. We rather think lawlessness retards social progress and cuts at the root of civilisation.

Terrorism

During the days when the rulers and the ruled were not considered to belong to the same human family; but lived together in the same State as totally superior and utterly inferior groups of persons; the rulers persecuted and terrorised their subjects, who, in their turn feared and hated their lords and masters. In such a set-up violence prevailed in society openly as in the case of the strong arm men employed by the rulers, and secretly as in the case of the Assassination clubs that the subject peoples organised in order to retaliate against the reign of terror that was called government in those days. But with the coming of representative government the rulers and the ruled slowly merged and

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frightfulness no longer remained a characteristic feature of statecraft. Nevertheless some people continued to behave in a barbarous manner and political murders took place from time to time. Some political parties have greater liking for violence than others and where these parties flourish acts of violence occur in the normal course of things. In order to civilize these rough elements one has to carry on continuous propaganda, so that all men eventually understood the futility of such savage tactics. Very recently we have had a few cases of political murders and it is necessary that political parties sincerely condemned such action. For surely no party desires that its leaders died at the hand of assassins. Timely action is necessary to put a stop to such terroristic activities before things went completely out of hand.

Make Idle Resources Productive

We have said, time and again, that India's economic health depends on making fuller use of her idle resources than on establishing right principles regarding the ownership of the means of production. For if the means of production either do not exist or remain unknown and unrealised, their ownership would not really matter as far as the size of total national product was concerned. For instance our vast unemployed labour power which if fully employed in the least valuable type of work might yield an additional product of 20,000 crores per annum, remains useless to us. If we said all these workers should be employed by X or by Y, what difference would that make either way, if they continued to remain unemployed or almost entirely so? We have, let us say, agricultural potential in an extra 300 million acres of land. It is fundamentally and basically owned by the State or can be owned by the State by the stroke of a pen. But so long as nobody does anything to make proper use of all that land, the ownership of the land makes little difference. We are in a State of a permanent economic crisis and we should be glad to get any work done any how without wasting any energy in arguments about economic rights. Private management is preferable to State mismanagement. State inaction is more condemnable than individual laziness.

National borrowings are more likely to be used or wasted than money obtained by a debenture of established private companies. Foreign loans obtained and used in a wasteful manner are a source of danger to the nation's solvency. Private enterprise cannot endanger the nation's economy by such borrowings for the reason that foreigners would not either lend to private parties or, at least, they would not mortgage on the nation's total assets by lending.

The nation has already mortgaged its future earnings to foreign lenders to the tune of 6,67,000 crores of rupees. All the funds obtained in this manner have not been properly soundly invested or used. The State, i.e., those who have managed the affairs of the State so far, therefore are considered guilty of inefficiency, negligence and even malpractice by the taxpayers and loan givers. In the circumstances propaganda for the nationalisation of banks or paddy fields do not rouse any enthusiasm in the hearts. Processions can be organised by the Government, posters can be printed and pasted on walls, but the fact would still be there that the Government, who would take over charge of establishments, the name of the nation would not automatically prove their ability and integrity to the nation by the mere act of taking over. In other words, the State officials, ministers and members of legislatures at the Centre as well as in the provinces must convince the Nation that they have the ability and the integrity to run the affairs of the Nation in a fit and proper manner, before the Nation can wholeheartedly agree to give them the economic *carte blanche*. Nationalisation of banks or that may land the Nation in a worse position than there is now and that will not be tolerated by the Nation, no matter what processionists shout or posters may say. If the Nation came to a verdict in processions, the verdict might be entirely different. The Nation has been the dupe of politicians so far, but will it remain so longer?

Regional Languages

All really cultured people of certain linguistic groups in India have a good enough knowledge of their mother-tongue to think and express

their thoughts in that language. In Bengal, for instance, all properly educated Bengalis could think and express their thoughts in Bengali for the last one hundred and fifty years, if not longer. This had been possible for the reason that large numbers of cultured Bengalis had used Bengali as their medium of intelligent conversation and correspondence during numerous decades. Bengali literature also was developed by the writings of persons whose standard of education and general proficiency in the Arts and Sciences had been very high. Their knowledge of Bengali was also very good. Bengali as it is written by the so-called modern and progressive writers now cannot claim the excellence and the qualities of accurate and precise expression which the Bengali written by previous generations of writers undoubtedly possessed. This is largely due to the tendency among moderns to think in English and to render these thoughts into a kind of vague and confused Bengali. Modern Bengali, therefore is no longer that accurate, precise and perfect medium of expression that the Bengali of Rabindranath's and previous periods had been. In the circumstances, though it is encouraging news that Bengali will be used as the medium of higher education, it is also a source of anxiety to those who cherish *Buddha* and correct Bengali, to learn that many writers will now write text-books for all subjects in Bengali. There must therefore be some attempts made by persons in authority to save Bengali from

these writers of Bengali text-books. For the lure of royalties will urge many to render their confused thoughts in English into utterly confused and meaningless Bengali.

What goes for Bengali also goes for Hindi and other languages of India. Everywhere the modern writers are thinking in English and translating their thoughts into an Indian language without devoting much attention to the correctness and precision of what they write. Indian languages everywhere have to be saved from the modern and 'progressive' thinkers and writers whose thoughts are English in structure and substance and who have not a deep enough knowledge of the Indian languages to express their thoughts accurately, unambiguously and with any degree of aesthetic perfection in these languages. So before there is a full scale plunge into Indianising English thoughts, our educationists should take timely steps to see that the Indian languages, as shaped by their text-book writers, retain their own etymological and idiomatic purity. It is true that education can be best imparted through one's mother-tongue. But if one has a very limited knowledge of the mother-tongue or, if the mother-tongue is undeveloped, one has to modify one's plans. The first need then becomes one of developing the mother-tongue and of acquiring the ability to make use of it accurately, precisely and perfectly.

ABOUT AMERICA'S MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN

SUDHANSU B. MITRA

Social attitude toward mental retardation, in whatever terminology this human affliction was signified, evolved through the centuries based on superstition and fear. The first scientific enquiry into the problem started with the pioneering efforts of Jean Itard, a physician, to educate and civilize a wild boy of about twelve captured in the forest of Aveyron, France, in 1799. Itard's most famous student, Edouard Seguin, who migrated to the United States in 1848, and Samuel Gridley Howe, a native American, were instrumental in establishing institutional facilities for the mentally retarded in this country.

Institutional care of "idiotic children" started in 1818 at the Perkins Institute in Boston founded by Howe. In the course of the next forty years, fifteen institutes were established throughout the country. By 1917 institutional care was provided for 37,200 patients in both public and private establishments spread out in all but four states.

Changing Character of Institutional Care.

Howe, Seguin and others in the field, who were pioneers in setting up institutional facilities, were motivated to help the poor victims of mental subnormality who had been neglected all along. They worked with a humanitarian zeal: their emphasis on institutional care was to "cure" the patients who would otherwise be doomed for life. Public and professional attitude toward amelioration of the plight of mental defectives, however, started changing slowly, after the principle of institutional care had been well accepted and residential institutes set up in many of the states. By the middle of the nineteenth century the movement started for building residential facilities with the sole purpose of serving the mentally retarded. Toward the beginning of the present century, the

concept slowly changed and residential institutes were used as asylums for isolating the mentally deficient who were considered as a menace to the community. Public opinion crystallized in favour of institutionalization as a means of segregation. The old, humanitarian outlook of early innovators of institutional care thus underwent a complete reversal in course of about fifty years.

The Advent of a New Era.

The early years of the twentieth century were marked by genealogical studies of the notorious Kallikak and Jukes families. Proponents of eugenics and eugenics drew their own conclusions from these surveys, as to the causal factor of mental retardation. The story of the Kallikak family aroused the great "eugenic alarm" which stressed the overwhelming importance of heredity as the determining factor in intellectual and social inadequacy. The study of the Jukes family, however, attributed both hereditary and environmental factors to these deficits.

Besides these widely-known studies which caused quite a stir during the period, there were other developments which regenerated interest in mental retardation. Newly introduced intelligence tests which were applied on a large scale to army personnel during World War I and discoveries in biological sciences which brought about a break-through in the organicity of mental deficiency provided an impetus for further exploration in the field.

Other factors which helped the cause of mental retardation were the rehabilitation programs for disabled servicemen after World War II. These programs proved beyond doubt that the mentally retarded also could benefit from vocational training and from placement in

competitive or sheltered establishments according to their aptitudes and abilities.

The leadership roles played by national organizations like the American Association on Mental Deficiency established in 1876 and the National Association for Retarded Children founded in 1950 are especially important in this context. These private bodies have succeeded to offer professional guidance in the field of mental retardation and to mould the public opinion in providing service facilities to the retarded as a social responsibility. Added to the there private, voluntary efforts, is the generous contribution of the Federal Government through its Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and various other agencies by way of research grants and training programs. These have greatly helped in stimulating public interest in the cause of all those suffering from subnormal mentality, whether due to organic causes or environmental deprivations.

The most-worthy recent development in the checkered evolutionary history of the services and care for mental retardates in this country is the blue-print prepared by a body of professional experts appointed by President Kennedy in October 1961. The President Panel's Report, entitled "A Proposed Program for National Action to Combat Mental Retardation," has not only provided a comprehensive plan for the continuum of service for the mentally retarded, but it has succeeded in developing public awareness of this national problem.

A new era has begun. A definite change in the approach for the total care of the retarded is in the offing. In contradistinction to the days of Howe and Seguin, the present approach embraces many disciplines, such as medicine, sociology, psychology and education, all geared to the services of the mentally deficient.

II. Place of the Family and the Residential Institution in the Scheme of Services

In the previous section a short review has been made of historical developments in mental retardation in this country, especially in relation to the evolution of institutional care. Besides

institutional placement, a variety of plans for the long term residential care of the mentally retarded has developed over the years. These plans include foster family care, adoptive home, small group home, boarding home, and half-way house. The newly developed facilities sometimes supplant or supplement institutional care. It is not the intention of the writer to discuss here the relative merits of these community resources in order to evaluate their utility *vis-a-vis* institutional placement. In stead, this article will concentrate on a discussion of some of the relative merits and limitations of institutional care compared to homecare. The institutional care in this context generally refers to residence in large institutes for the retarded.

The Mentally Retarded Child and His Family.

In recent years certain factors have contributed to developing a notion against institutionalization. Parents of the retarded, and the communities in general, have come to realize that the old approach of life-time segregation in institutes or asylums is no panacea to the problem of mental retardation. The rising costs of construction and maintenance of isolated institutions with the ever-increasing growth of retarded population are a heavy drag both on the public exchequer and private generosity. Expansion in the life-span of the retarded as a result of invention of anti-biotic drugs also makes the limited number of beds available in the existing institutional establishments practically out of bounds for many new entrants. Long waiting lists and lack of alternative community facilities are a source of mental anguish and a cause of suspense for most of the parents of the retarded. Parents also realize that the conditions in many of the State institutions are far from satisfactory and that institutional upbringing is not conducive to optimal development of individual potentialities.

All these handicaps involved in institutional care have convinced the parents that their mentally retarded children actually belong to the community and that community resources should be ex-

exploited to be fullest extent to provide alternative facilities with the goal of vocational rehabilitation and social adjustment of these youngsters. There is a growing understanding in the community that retarded children are a part and parcel of the society like all other normal children and they cannot attain their rightful place in the society if they are denied the benefits of social agencies like "family, church and school." Of these agencies, the family obviously assumes the most important role. Home care has accordingly come to be reckoned as the primary service for mentally retarded children and community-centered programs represent the current trend in the schema for their "continuum of care."

Taking care of the retarded child at home is a strenuous job for the parents even in cases where the disability is not so serious. It is, therefore, essential that the services of voluntary family agencies and child care agencies should be made available to the family to supplement their "capacities." Day care service, homemaker service, "home training" programs and even temporary residential placements are helpful in contingencies of this nature.

The parents of the retarded child experience a great shock when their child's condition is diagnosed. In severe cases the retardation is pretty obvious quite early in life. Mild retardation may not be detected till the child reaches the school age when it becomes noticeable by learning disability.

In most instances the diagnosis of retardation of the infant overwhelms the parents and they pass through a "mourning period" before they can reconcile to the situation. Sometimes a feeling of guilt dominates their behaviour which is marked by an attitude of over-protection or rejection of the child. In cases involving retardation of a serious nature, the parents are faced with the problem of planning for the future care of the child. Most parents are in favour of home care which they want to be supplemented by community services as are available. Only as a last resort, they decide for institutional placement when they find that taking at home is not beneficial

for the retarded child or not congenial to the home environment.

Research literature abounds in evidence which shows that retarded children brought up at home are much better off than their counterparts raised at isolated institutions. Even among institutionalized children, those who get parental attention by frequent visits show better results than others who are completely ignored by their parents. A large body of research material points up to the adverse effects of maternal deprivation and environmental handicap on the all-round development of the child—intellectual, social and emotional. Institutional children invariably lag behind in language skills, mental development and social adjustment. Parental efforts should, therefore, be directed to giving experiential stimulation with love and care to retarded children as much as possible and early institutionalization avoided unless the specific situation of the child and/or the home warrants such a step.

The Mentally Retarded Child and the Residential Institution.

There are certain circumstances in which placement cannot be helped. For example, in a family situation where dissension and disorganization prevail or marital relations of the parents are threatened by the presence of a severely retarded child, some sort of residential placement, at least for short periods, will be necessary. Then there are situations in which siblings are deeply affected by the retarded child living at home. Studies indicate that younger retarded children cause greater problems of adjustment of their siblings than do the older ones. In both these instances, foster family care and small group home care may be considered in stead of placement in large institutions.

In certain circumstance involving behavioural problems, residential care becomes imperative for a youngster or a girl of subnormal intellect. Segregation of this nature not only protects the community and the resident from the adverse effects of uncontrolled behaviour, but it also

provides an opportunity of character-training for improvement of behaviour.

Kirkland (1967) has discussed some of the limitations and the benefits of large state institutions. She points out that mental retardates institutionalized early in life for a number of years find it extremely difficult to adjust to the society later. Institutional living experiences become a part of their life, with the result that some desensitization mechanism need be applied for their maintenance outside the sheltered environment of the hospital. In the deinstitutionalization program, half-way houses and group homes, now being developed by child-welfare agencies, play an important role by effecting gradual adjustment to environmental influences.

Another drawback of the institution is that it tends to create a public impression that all retardates are at the same level of subnormality, without any individual difference. Nothing can be more enormous than this sort of view. The range of ability among retardates varies as widely as in the case of people with average or above-average mentality.

Some of the values of institutional life, according to Kirkland, relate to the "mechanical operations" and the "impersonality of the institution." Retardates with emotional disorder may find the institutional environment more congenial than the home situation in which demands of interpersonal relationship may cause great strain on them. Large institutions are in a better position to provide physical facilities suited to the needs of particular residents. They also provide "training in conformity" in various ways, which are of great value in the society outside.

Institutions also operate historically as an agency for segregation of certain types of retardates to the mutual advantage of the community and the individuals concerned. They also offer certain facilities for behavioral treatment which are not normally available from other community services. For example, operant conditioning or reinforcement therapy, as it is also called, can be applied more effectively in an institutional setting than in a home environment. Certain types of

medical and psychiatric treatment may also be available in large institutions to the benefit of particular individuals at certain times. But it should not be assumed that institutional care is suitable for all retardates for all time.

As regards the care of the severely retarded, regional or state institutions are playing an important role. These institutions will be needed in future to provide total nursing care to severely damaged retardates, especially belonging to the non-ambulatory category. This trend is noticeable from the steady change in the make-up of the population of the Children's Center run by the District Welfare Department in Laurel. Only about 25 per cent of the residents are at present involved in any educational program, as against 80 per cent a few years ago. In other words, the position is completely reversed. About 80 per cent of the patients now cannot benefit from the program of the District Training School. Most of them will require custodial care throughout their life-time. This shift in the composition of the population of the institution is regarded as the direct result of developing public awareness and acceptance of the problem of mental retardation, and increasing community services for the retarded. It appears that the educable retarded are now mostly retained at home and finally assimilated in the community.

Dr. Dybwad (1959), a well-known authority on mental retardation, thinks that residential facilities of the future will not only serve the severely retarded, but they will broaden their spheres of activities to cater to the needs of other groups. For example, he contemplates that children with multiple handicaps—physical and mental—may benefit from "an intensive therapeutic program in a residential setting." Institutions may also conduct specialized programs in education to help severely retarded children adjust when they return home after two to three years of residence. Similarly, intensive training programs may be introduced in residential facilities to help some of the retarded adolescents who cannot profit from the available community services. Dr. Dybwad finally considers that the

institution may provide sheltered environment to older retardates who find it difficult to withstand "the pressures of community living."

Making best use of the community services for purposes of treatment is the latest approach in dealing with the mental retardation problem. In this context, institutionalization is thought of mainly for multiply damaged, low grade retardates. Even in their case, return to the community is stressed with the improvement of their debilitating conditions.

Attitudes of Physicians toward Institutionalization

Of all the professional people closely connected with the treatment and care of mental retardates, physicians are by far the most important inasmuch as they are concerned from the prenatal stage through the life-span of their patients. It is, therefore, interesting to have some idea as to their views on institutionalization.

The Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has compiled a pamphlet (1963) containing four articles, Simon Olshansky and others, which attempt to evaluate attitudes of certain members of the medical profession. The studies make an assessment of the physicians' responses against "the new views" that are slowly gaining ground in the field of retardation. According to this developing notion, family care is regarded as more wholesome than institutional care in regard to its effectiveness for promoting the soundness of body and mind of a child. This "anti-institutional ideology" deprecates placement of a retarded child immediately following birth, unless, of course, the severity of the condition of the child and/or the emotional imbalance of the mother caused by "the crisis of giving birth to an imperfect child" suggests otherwise. The new "perspective" places the responsibility of institutionalization on parents who should make the judgment based on the specific conditions attending each child, and in this respect physicians should help parents appreciate the present and the projected situations in light of their professional knowledge and experience.

If, however, appears from the studies that large number of physicians so not conform to aspects of the "new views." A minority group, but quite substantial in number, is still in favour of institutionalization of the retarded child immediately after birth. Some physicians even think that the decision for placement rests with them. an assumption on the part of the physician causes unnecessary worry to his clients, whenever they cannot act according to his advice either because of the paucity of institutional facilities or on account of their own conscientious evaluation of the situation.

The investigations further point out that many of the physicians viewed the mongoloid child as nothing but a case for institutionalization. There are, however, indications that even such a child can benefit from the home environment in the early years of his life, and it is possible to maintain him in the home with proper "supportive services." These findings go to show that hasty decisions for placement are not conducive to the well-being of the retarded child, and each case should be considered on its merit.

III. Conclusion

With the gradual change in attitude toward residential care, the institution is assuming an important place in the scheme of services for the mentally retarded. Institutional emphasis is now on treatment and care with the ultimate aim of returning the patient to the community, rather than providing a place for custodial care throughout the life-span of the retardate away from the society. Institutional care is being directed more and more to provide for specific purposes specific needed by individual retardates, in stead of treating all the residents as an undifferentiated mass with little human consideration. There is a move afoot to replace large institutions by smaller ones of the dormitory type, to facilitate better rapport between the residents and the staff members and to promote individuality of the former so essential for personality development.

There is, however, still a wide gap between

theory and practice in many institutions. With a large body of resident population, paucity of well-trained personnel, absence of progressive programs and lack of resources, many of the institutional establishments are a long way off from the ideal condition. Most of the residential institutes are under constant pressure from the long waiting lists, which aggravate the handicapping situation.

In the present context of exploration in the area of mental retardation, institutions are serving a unique function in providing facilities for investigation in interdisciplinary fields involving biological and behavioral sciences. Close collaboration between universities and residential institution of mental defectives facilitates a direct dialogue between fundamental research and applied research in the field to the benefit of the society. The "service setting" of the institution functions as the laboratory for experimentation of the hypothetical concept emanating from the scholarly mind on the campus of higher learning.

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THE TWO INVASIONS OF KASHMIR

S. L. ROY

Since 1947, two unsuccessful attempts have been made to take Kashmir by force. A third is not ruled out. The arms presently being supplied to Pakistan by USA, directly and also indirectly in the name of Turkey, Iran and Germany presage the preparation for another imminent conflict.

Since the failure of the second attempt to take Kashmir, America's attitude towards India became so bitter that no doubt now remains in any Indian mind that Kashmir is wanted by USA for its global strategy against Russia.

Posing as the champion of democracy, USA has been constantly aiding and abetting Pakistan which is an oligarchy, ruled by a military man. Pakistan's sixty million men have no voice in the Government of the country. "Guided democracy", a politically fraudulent conception, with theocracy thrown in, received support from USA and UK. The newspapers of these countries spread shameless lies about India, which has proved to be the most democratic country in the world today. American Universities publish books upholding the two-nation theory and justifying Pakistan's claim on Kashmir on that ground.

I am referring to "the Danger in Kashmir" written by Joseph Korbél, with a preface by the late Admiral Nimitz and published by the Princeton University. Korbél's thesis is that Muslims are a "nation".

Kashmir is a muslim country and so must belong to Pakistan. President Johnson and Prime Minister Wilson had better remember that if "muslims" are a nation, there is a "nation" from Pakistan to Morocco. If united, that nation will be a greater threat to Europe than Russia and the Jews have so claim to cling to a part of the homeland of the "Muslim Nation" in Palestine.

Admiral Nimitz in his preface to Korbél's book says that the Kashmir problem is an "international problem", and "unless it is solved, there will be a world war". This aspect of the Kashmir problem has never been explained to the public by the Indian Govt. or by the journalists and politicians of this country. Pakistan does not want Kashmir. Those who hold Pakistan in fee want it and their rival, USSR, would prevent it. The "world war" predicted by Nimitz, might come that way.

THE FIRST INVASION OF KASHMIR

The military aspect of the first invasion shows that Pakistan could not have undertaken this adventure. Pakistan was created on 14th Aug. 1947. Nineteen days later on 3rd Sept 1947, came well-organised attacks on the long western border of Jammu-Kashmir State. This could not be possible without lengthy preparation. It was a well-organised, expertly led massive "anschluss." The plan was to scatter the small Kashmir

army and then to attack *en masse*. This attack came on 24th October and Srinagar would have fallen in a week. But man proposes God disposes.

The attack did not come from "raiders"—untrained and undisciplined Pathan tribes of the N. W. Frontier. It was led by Pakistan army officers, guided by British and American officers. Early in the war, India had to protest against the activities of British officers in Pakistan. Several American army men resigned from their service and joined the Pakistan army, Brigadier Haight of the USA army was one.

Any novice in military affairs can see that a military operation in a mountainous country, without roads, in an area of difficult logistics required a preparation of at least 7 or 8 months. Going back from the date of the first attack, 3rd September, we get February 1947 when the invasion of Kashmir was planned. At that time the common man in India did not know that there was going to be partition of the country. Mountbatten's declaration about partition came on 14th June 1947. Therefore it is Q. E. D. that the entire planning was done by the British army under Auchinleck and Mountbatten knew about it.

There are other facts that indicate British complicity in the first invasion.

(1) V. P. Menon in his book "Integration of Indian States", says that in Jan. 1947, British and American army officers began purchasing survey of India maps of Kashmir in such numbers that the stock was almost exhausted. Had the stock been entirely exhausted, the later operations by the Indian army would have been impossible. This was evidently the purpose. Secondly, these

maps were required to plan the path of the invasion. Menon says that at that time the expression "Operation Gulmarg" was being frequently banded about by British officers. Nehru's External affairs Ministry did not give India an insight into this background of the Kashmir invasion. Nor were they mentioned in India's petition to UN.

(2) In 1883, the British Govt had, by a treaty, taken lease of Gilgit from the Maharajah and J and K., and had stationed an army unit there—the Gilgit Scouts—which watched the Russian border of India. The India Independence Act abrogated this treaty and the British Govt. in India was required to hand back Gilgit to its original owner. But the Russian threat now is greater than that from Tsarist Russia. When Kashmir's representative went to take over Gilgit, Major Brown, the British commandant, arrested the Governor-designate of the Maharajah and raised the Pakistani flag over the fort. This was on 14th Oct. 1947. Neither Mountbatten, nor Auchinleck prevented Brown's action. The British army continued to occupy Gilgit till 1958 when the American army took over and still holds it. The occupation of Gilgit by America makes it a political issue of importance. Why should USA, a member of the security Council, which is the judge in the Indo-Pakistan quarrel, hold and occupy Gilgit. USA thus becomes a party to the dispute. One would prefer to ask the government to explain to Indians this aspect of the Gilgit question.

AFTER THE INVASION

When the invasion was beaten back and the Pakistan army was about to be

thrown out and J & K territory, Mountbatten intervened and induced Nehru to take the matter to UN. Immediate cease-fire followed and the area held by Pakistan remained in Pakistani occupation. The major partners of the Security Council deliberately allowed the aggressor to enjoy the fruits of aggression, as they are doing today in Egypt. Though, it should not be forgotten, when India was near Lahore, the UN forced India to go back to its own frontier. India was not allowed to remain on Pakistani soil.

Mountbatten had advised Nehru to take the Junagadh affair to the UN. But Sardar Patel's firmness had prevented India committing the mistake. Nehru's initial mistake was to petition the UN before clearing J and K territory entirely of the Pakistan army. His second mistake was to talk of "raiders" assisted by Pakistan.

In the Security Council, Warren Austin, the American delegate subjected India's petition to a critical analysis and tried to prove that Pakistan was not an aggressor. Any other proof is not necessary to show America's interest in Kashmir. At this stage of the drama, India should have roundly accused USA and UK for the invasion. World politics would have taken a different turn then.

"Plebiscite" in Kashmir was Nehru's voluntary proposal. It was honest and logical due to Junagadh and Hyderabad complications. Nehru's condition for plebiscite was accepted in the UN resolution. Plebiscite—after J and K territory was cleared of Pakistani army. But both USA and UK prevented this. They allowed Pakistan to

continue in "Azad Kashmir" area. They knew that a plebiscite then would go against Pakistan because of Shaikh Abdullah who was bitterly against the Muslim League, Jinnah and Pakistan. The plebiscite cry was raised repeatedly after Shaikh Abdullah was 'bought' by USA. Korbelt inadvertently lets the cat out of the bag.

The fact is apparent that Pakistan is not an independent country. West Pakistan is USA's base against Russia. It is the eastern end of the Southern ring around USSR. Without Kashmir this base is strategically weak. So USA must have Kashmir. A direct attack would bring USSR into the fray—the predicted world war of Nimitz. Hence the international bluff of Pakistan wanting Kashmir.

THE SECOND INVASION

The second invasion came after long and elaborate preparation—both military and diplomatic. The diplomatic preparation is very complicated and China has come into the picture. That question will require a separate thesis. I shall just mention here that since 1958, when Russia and China quarrelled, USA stepped into the breach and has been assisting China financially and otherwise (vide article by David Onacia in the "Statesman", 4th July 1967). The fact that China has remained stictly aloof from the Vietnam war, clearly indicates her political alignment. Occasional anti-USA gassing by China is to hoodwink the ignorant.

My hunch is that China's invasion of Indian territory in 1962 was just to oblige those who were preparing to invade Kashmir. It was meant to deal a severe blow to India's military arm.

Without taking into consideration the Ichogil canal, the sabre-jets, the Paton tanks and other armaments, let us see the strategy of the second invasion of Kashmir.

(1) Aggression in Kutch. A diversionary tactics to draw away attention while 5,000 armed infiltrators were being induced into Kashmir. This is deduced from Farvin Zini's statement, quoted in the Statesman, that Ayub had decided to send 5,000 infiltrators into Kashmir in May 1965. That was the time of Kutch aggression.

(2) The infiltrators were to raise an insurrection on 9th August 1965, involving the Indian Army in such a way that a Pakistani Army kept poised beyond Chhamb could push in and take Jammu, hemming in the Indian army in the Kashmir valley and preventing assistance.

(3) Near Fazilka was another army which would simultaneously advance. They expected to reach Delhi without much opposition.

(4) To cut off military movement from the Eastern frontier of India certain anti-Congress Political parties were heavily bribed to start a province-wide disruption of railway and postal communications. It must

be remembered that these parties declared a 'Bihar Bund' movement from 9th August, timed with the proposed uprising in Kashmir.

Fortunately for India on 5th August our Govt. started operations against infiltrators, wiped them out and our army command moved forward to oppose the so-called Pakistani aggression.

In this connection I would ask readers to remember that when Lalbahadur Shastri wanted to meet President Johnson—after Kutch aggression—the latter very bluntly and insultingly declined the suggestion. This was done because President Johnson was then absolutely sure of India's defeat in the war that was coming and hoped to dictate the terms of Kashmir's surrender at Delhi. Both British and American newspapers were capering gleefully about India's defeat, when the 21 days war was in progress.

Lalbahadur understood the USA—U. K. attitude towards India in this war and he immediately approached Moscow, and created an international issue of Kashmir. Today, Kashmir is no longer an Indo-Pak issue. It has now been projected into the two rival camps of world politics.

That is the Kashmir problem.

GANDHI AS A JOURNALIST

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Gandhiji dominated the Indian political scene for three decades until the day of his death. He profoundly influenced people in all walks of life, in many countries. Albert Einstein said on hearing of Gandhi's assassination: "Generation to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".

A great political leader that he was, Gandhiji was also an accomplished journalist. In this respect he resembled many other leaders of thought and action. Karl Marx, whose writings have so profoundly influenced people all over the world, started his career as editor of a newspaper, Marx's famous articles on India were contributed as a news correspondent's despatches to an American daily newspaper in the nineteenth century. Similarly Lenin was editing the daily *Iskra* (Spark) which played such a decisive role in determining the course of the Russian Revolution. Indian political leaders likewise become convinced very early in their fight for freedom of the importance of journalism as a means to secure their goal of national liberation. Margarita Burns notes in the book *The Indian Press*: "In India from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Keshub Chunder Sen, Gokhale, Tilak, Feroz Shah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, C. Y. Chintamani, M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, there is a distinguished line of public men who have used, and are using, the press as a medium for the dissemination of their ideas of moral values" (pxv).

Six decades of Journalistic career

Gandhiji's journalistic career may be traced to the year 1891 when he wrote his first article for the *Vegetarian*, organ of the London Vegetarian Society, of 7 February. He wrote the last article (relating to a new constitution for the Indian National Congress) on 30 January,

1948, the day of his death. (D. G. Tendulkar—*Mahatma*, Vol. 3 p. 287). Thus his career as a writer is spread over nearly fifty-eight years. In London, however, Gandhiji was a spare time journalist. His first serious venture in journalism came in 1903 when on 4 June the *Weekly Indian Opinion* was brought out from the International Printing Press, Darban in the Republic of South Africa. Although Gandhi was formally neither editor nor the owner of the paper, the first editorial article entitled, "Ourselves"—an unsigned one—was written by Gandhi. "We offer no apology for making an appearance", he wrote, "The Indian community in South Africa is a recognised factor in the body politics, and a newspaper, voicing its feelings, and specially devoted to its cause, would hardly be considered out of place: indeed, we think, it would supply a long-felt want". (Quoted in S. N. Bhattacharyya; *Mahatma Gandhi—The Journalist*, Bombay, 1965, p. 9). That Gandhiji was the heart and soul of the weekly has been made amply clear by Gandhiji himself in his autobiography ("I had to bear the brunt of the work, having for most of the time to be practically in charge of the journal", he wrote) as also by others. Indeed for some time he had to take upon himself the management of the paper. When the legal ownership of the paper was transferred to a Trust, the *Indian Opinion* wrote in an editorial article on 14 September, 1912: "The Trust Deed which we publish in this issue, and which is in course of registration, marks a step forward in our work. Mr. Gandhi ceases to be sole legal owner of the concern known as the International Printing Press where this journal is printed." (Quoted in Bhattacharyya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 26). Needless to say that the changeover was done at Gandhiji's own suggestion. The paper continued to exist after Gandhiji's return to India and for some time after his death as well.

Gandhi returned to India on 9 January,

1913. He did not do much writing for some time. "I was not editing any journal at that time, but I used occasionally to ventilate my views through the daily press," he writes in his autobiography. In an article written for the Gujarati daily *Hindustan* published from Bombay he wrote: "The reporting of speeches in Indian newspapers is generally defective. There are very few who can take down a speech verbatim, so that speeches are generally found to be a more hotch-potch. . . . It is often observed that newspapers publish any matter that they have, just to fill in space. This practice is almost universal. It is so in the West, too. The reason is that most newspapers have their eye on profits.

(Quoted in Bhattacharyya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33). From this it is evident with what keen interest Gandhiji was viewing the press. Nearly half a century later today, when the press can have the benefit of all the technological advance registered in the meanwhile which obviates the need for any material reason for inaccurate reporting, the press still suffers very much from the same defects over which Gandhiji was lamenting in the second decade of this (twentieth) century. The reason is that man is yet to obtain complete mastery over the disposition of knowledge and technological and technical advancement gained so far.

As Formal Editor

In 1919, Gandhiji was offered the editorship of the influential *Bombay Chronicle*, whose redoubtable editor, Mr. B. G. Horniman had been ordered to be deported to England. Horniman, who had earlier worked in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Statesman*, was an uncompromising champion of the cause of Indian freedom and had invited upon himself the wrath of the British authorities in India. Gandhiji was hesitant to accept the offer but his indecision was resolved by the Government, which suspended the publication of the *Bombay Chronicle*. Soon, however, another offer came from a number of Gujarati businessmen inviting Gandhi to take over the editorship of the *Young India*, the English weekly, which

was being published from Bombay. He accepted this offer and immediately converted it into a bi-weekly but soon reverted to the original periodicity of a weekly. He also took over as the editor of the monthly *Navajivan*, published by the same group, and converted it into a weekly. The headquarters of the papers were transferred from Bombay to Ahmedabad and in October 1919, the first issues of the reoriented *Navajivan* and the *Young India* came out on the 7th and the 8th respectively. In his editorial article Gandhiji explained the policy of the *Young India*, in the following words. "A word as to the policy of *Young India*. Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive 'Satyagraha', as also sometimes cleansing 'Satyagraha'. Cleansing 'Satyagraha' is a civil resistance where resistance becomes a duty to remove a persistent and degrading injustice such as the Rowlatt Act." ("Quoted in Bhattacharyya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33-. The power of Gandhiji's writing can be gauged from the fact that, to quote Mr. Sailendra Nath Bhattacharyya, who has made a study of Gandhiji as a journalist, "At one time the circulation (of the *Young India*) reached the figure of 40,000. What was more, Gandhiji's articles were now freely reproduced in most papers in India." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 39). His editorship of the two papers was interrupted by his arrest and imprisonment in 1922. He resumed charge in April, 1924 and continued to edit the *Young India* until the early months of 1930, when Gandhiji was again arrested in the wake of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Government forfeited the printing press and the *Young India* appeared in cyclostyle form until the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931 denoting the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The first issue of the *Young India* reappeared in the printed form on 12 March, 1931. In the following year the paper suspended its publication.

After this Gandhiji no longer edited any paper formally though in practice he still remained an active editor. On 11 February, 1933, the weekly *Harijan* made its appearance under the editorship of Mr. R. V. Sastri. The editorial

GANDHI AS A JOURNALIST

article was written by Gandhiji himself and the first issue published an English rendering by Rabindranath Tagore of a Bengali poem by Satyendranath Datta, the noted poet, entitled "Scavenger". Its publication was suspended on 31 October, 1940, as a protest against the orders of the Government of India, to be restarted on 18 January, 1942. The resumption was shortlived because it was closed down again following Gandhiji's arrest on 8 August, 1942, for his decision to launch the "Quit India" movement. Although Gandhiji was released on 6 May, 1944, the publication of the *Harijan* was not resumed until 10 February, 1946. But he could not regularly write for it for a few months as he had to be constantly on tour in a bid to pacify the communal passions that had been roused. He resumed writing for it towards the end of May, 1947, and continued doing so until his death on 30 January of the following year.

A consummate Journalist

Gandhi was a consummate journalist. He knew all departments of journalistic work: reporting, commenting, sub-editing and proof-reading. He was also an astute manager of newspapers. He was one of the chief promoters of the Indian language newspapers. Mr. S. Natarajan, historian of the press in India writes in his book on Gandhiji's contribution to journalism, "As a result of his wide interest, his genius for simplification, his eagerness to reach the largest number of people, and the startling nature of his activities, there was a quickening of life in journalism. Many of his followers were moved to write and publish in the Indian languages, and in imitation of his own direct style they wrote a simple prose. Regional journalism began to acquire an importance and there was hardly an area of the country which did not have its newspapers." (*A History of the Press in India*, Gombay, 1962, p. 190). Early in his life he took considerable trouble to secure advertisement for the *Indian Opinion* published in South Africa. He, however, declined to accept any advertisement in the *Young India* and *Navajivan*, whose editorship he took up in 1919, and in the *Harijan*, which he started in 1933.

He started the newspapers or edited with an end in view. Mostly the papers edited by him were more concerned with expression of view rather than with news. This was partly dictated by his own conviction as to the objective of the paper and partly by the fact that he was editing weeklies and not any daily. While he respected freedom of opinion of others he would not brook any difference with his opinion on the pages of the paper edited by him. Although he never worked formally as editor of the *Harijan* he wrote in its issue of 24 September, 1938 that "*Harijan* is not a newspaper, it is a viewpaper representing those of one man. Even Mahadev and Pyarelal (who worked as his secretaries) may not write anything whilst I am alive". (Quoted in Tendulkar, D.C.—*Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 335 first edition).

Champion of Free Press

Gandhiji was an uncompromising champion of the freedom of information and publication and comment. He would criticize the Government at the slightest affront to the press. He denounced the police search into the offices of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta in 1929 and the residence of the editor of the paper, the late Ramananda Chatterjee. He preferred suspending the publication of the *Harijan* in November 1938 rather subjecting his writing to precensorship. He had published many secret circulars and letters issued by the British Government. "Let us realise under the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult under tyrannical rule for honest men to be wealthy", he wrote in an article in the *Young India* of 8 May, 1930. He did not hesitate to criticize the Government in the most forthright terms. And evidently the Government also had to think twice before deciding to take any action against him. Mrs. Annie Besant complained in an article in her own *New India* in the twenties that "Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* is allowed every week to excite hatred and contempt against the Government in language compared with which criticisms of Government, that have received many papers, are harmless: I rejoice that the Government is strong enough to treat

Mr. Gandhi's vapourings with contempt instead of bestowing on him the martyrdom he courts. But I urge that a Law not enforced against the influential should not be allowed to crush the weak". (Quoted in S. Natarajan : *The History of the Press in India*, 1952, p. 200-201). Mrs. Besant's chagris is quite understandable.

Corrector of Popular Mistakes

Gandhiji was a great critic of the Government of his day. "Reference to abuses in the State is undoubtedly a necessary part of journalism," he wrote in 1925. In his autobiography he elaborates the subject and writes, "One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it ; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments ; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects". Unfortunately the newspapers do not always succeed in living upto the third expectation of exposing defects in popular attitude. Bewailing the failure of certain journalists to rise above communal passions during 1946-47, Gandhiji said in agony, "The newspaperman has become a walking plague". According to him, "A journalist has... to use his discretion, as to what to report and when. As it is, the journalists are not content to stick to the facts alone. Journalism has become the art of "intelligent anticipation of event". His observation has got a particular relevance to the reporting on contemporary events. Many of Gandhiji's followers have supported the agitation for imposing a ban on cow slaughter—going against the express wishes of Gandhiji to the contrary. We quote D. G. Tendulkar, who has written an eight-volume biography of Gandhiji. "In his prayer speech of July 25, (1947)", writes Tendulkar, "Gandhi said that Rajendra Babu had told him that he had received about 50,000 post cards, 30,000 letters and thousands of telegrams, asking for the prohibition of cow slaughter in the Union of India. A telegram was received today saying that a pundit had already undertaken fast in Cawnpore on that issue. The Hindu religion prohibited cow slaughter for the Hindus, not for the world. The religious prohibition came from within. Any imposition from without meant compulsion. Such

compulsion was repugnant to religion. India was the land not only of the Hindus, but also of the Mussalmans, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews and all who claimed to be of India and were loyal to the Indian Union. If they could prohibit cow slaughter in India on the religious grounds, why could not the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol worship in Pakistan on similar grounds ?.....Just as Shariat could not be imposed on the non-Muslims, the Hindu law could not be imposed on the non-Hindus....." (Vol. 6 p. 61 Government of India edition).

Ranmohan Roy and Gandhi

Nearly a century and a half ago Raja Ram Mohan Roy explained the objective of journalism in the following words : "In short, in taking upon myself to edit this paper (Mirat-ul-Akhbar), my only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience and tend to their social improvement ; and that to the extent of my abilities I may communicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their Rulers : that the Rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the peoples : and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their Rulers." (Quoted in Bimanbehari Majumdar : *History of Indian Social and Political Ideas*, Calcutta, 1967 pp 2-3). A great English editor, Wickham Steed explained the role of the press over a century later on in the following words : "The underlying principle that governs, or should govern, the press is that the gathering and setting of news and views is essentially a public trust. It is based upon a tacit contract with the public that the news shall be true to the best of the knowledge and belief of those who offer it for sale, and that their comment upon it shall be sincere according to their lights.If it be held, as I think it should be held, that false ideas are more harmful than adulterated sugar or soap, the journalist who betrays his trust is more blameworthy than a dishonest tradesman". (Wickham Steed : *The Press* A Penguin Special, 1938 p. 11). Gandhiji was a true Journalist by these strict standards of Judgement.

THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION

NATRANJAN A. WALA

The recent preplanned and ruthless invasion of the Arab lands by the juvenile state of Israel should be an eye-opener to the newly liberated Afro-Asian countries regarding the great difference between the professions and the practices of the International Jewry in general and its more visible alter-ego, the state of Israel in particular. This invasion, which is the third of its kind in the 19 years of the existence of Israel was meticulously planned in collusion with the Anglo-American powers. Whose policies are by and large dictated by the Jewish financial interests.

Even though it is generally believed that it is the greed and, desire to exploit, on the part of the Anglo-Americans which have motivated them to incite Israel against the Arab countries, it is in reality the International Jewry which uses Israel as a spring-board in Asia for the conquest of the Asian and African nations and to mete out the 2000 year old Jehovah's vengeance to the ancient races of Asian and African countries.

Having gained unquestioned economic, cultural and political stranglehold over the Western christian nations like the United States, Canada, Great Britain and other European nations, by the patient, but cunning and ruthless use of monetary power, economic black mail, usury, incitation of class-war-fare, trade unionism and subversion during the

past 100 years International zionism is spreading its vicious influence over Afro-Asian countries in its bid to ultimately dominate the world,

Plans For War

The Israeli plans for invasion of the Arab lands were long prepared in consonance with the world wide plans of International Jewry of step-by-step aggression in Asia. These took shape in the quite operational rooms of the Pentagon where the American War-lords hatch the plans to keep Asia in a state of the turmoil of war and unrest. Having been frustrated year after year in the jungles of South Vietnam by the plucky Vietnamese people, the American Generals were searching for another spot in Asia. Where they could start a conflict much more to their liking. The open, sandy tracts of Sinai and Palestine area offered an ideal arena for the frustrated American War-lords to fight a copy book war-campaign to brighten up their tarnishing public image and to please their Jewish paymasters.

The flow of American and British armaments to Israel was stepped up and experienced American and British soldiers started pouring in Israel under civilian disguise. Considering the false and unethical nature of Jewry and the manner in which it has utilised the last two World Wars to further its aims, it was

quite natural for them to import hired mercenaries to fight the Jewish war. Nothing else can explain the rapid expansion of the Jewish forces from 70,000 men to 200,000 men at the start of the five day War. A nation with bare population of five million people cannot possibly put 2,00,000 armed men in the field even at very long notice. Further the startling battle victories such as achieved by Israel could only be achieved by veteran soldiers and not by half-baked part time militia men.

The second step in the design for aggression was to procure the services of the well-equipped and experienced air forces of the United States and Great Britain. Prior to the American and British air-craft carriers in the Mediterranean area. Each of these carriers had a capacity of over 400 planes. Further the British and American bases at Malta, Crete and Southern Arabia could provide another 1000 to 1500 aircraft, mainly medium and heavy bombers.

Even though both Israeli and the Anglo-American authorities have denied the aerial collusion, the nature of the all out aerial attacks on the first day of the invasion and the near crippling effect of these attacks on the Arab armed forces certainly gives a lie to the Israeli assertion that its 500 odd air force could have brought about such a startling result. Considering the aerial actions of the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 and comparing the results of these actions with those of the Israeli-Arab conflict, we could easily conclude that at least 2000 aircrafts must have been employed on the first day to cause such a terrible havoc to the Arab armed forces.

During the Indo-Pakistan War both Pakistan and India has many times more aircraft and experienced personnel than Israel and the U. A. R., yet we did not witness such amazing results. Either the Israelis had supernatural forces aiding their 400 pilots or that the Anglo-American air forces were fighting on Jewish side. The low altitude sneaking attacks by high speed aircraft generally make it impossible to identify them even if these aircrafts did not put on the colours and markings of the Israeli air force

First Gambit

After the plans of war were ready the Israeli warlords began a series of steps to incite the Arabs and to bring them into an open conflict. A couple of months before the invasion, the Israeli Air Force committed open violation of international rules and bombarded the peaceful Arab Villages of Syria under a plea that these villages were harbouring Arab subversive elements. This grave provocation had three purposes, first to incite the Arabs to action, secondly to isolate Syria and finally, to confront President Nasser with the choice of bitter militarily aiding Syria or to give up his claim to Arab leadership.

The dastardly act of aerial bombing of the Syrian villages was followed by a virulent hate campaign against the Arabs from the Israeli propaganda organs. The threats to attack Syria were interspersed with abusive and false charges against the Arabs.

Nasser's Action

President Nasser proved himself capable of meeting this challenge and took three

courageous decisions that not only united the entire Arab world against the expansionist moves of Israel, but his actions forced Israelis to come out in their true colours. The first of these three steps was to ask the U. N. Emergency Forces to vacate the Gaza area which was occupied by the U.N.E.F. with the express consent of the U. A. R. after the 1956 Israeli aggression. President Nasser was perfectly justified in asking the UNEF to withdraw from the U.A.R. territory. The Israeli hot-heads had never allowed an inch of Israeli territory to be occupied by the U.N.E.F. The U.N. Secretary General even though he invited displeasure of the Anglo-American henchmen of International Jewry, complied with President Nasser's action, demonstrating an Asian's sense of justice and play.

The second action of President Nasser was to close the Gulf of Aquaba and the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping and to those ships that were carrying supplies to Israel. The Gulf of Aquaba was within the territorial waters of the U. A. R. and Israel had been abusing the privilege of the use of this passage during the past. The American and British armament meant to inflict injuries on the Arabs was being freighted by Israel through this important sea passage. President Nasser was well justified in denying this vital sea passage to Israel in the light of the wild and aggressive behaviour of Israel.

The third of President Nasser's step's was to mobilise the U, A. R. army and to move it to occupy the strategic points on the U.A.R. Israel border in the Sinai desert. Here too

President Nasser displayed sound judgement. If he would have refrained from doing so, Israel would have sown the seeds of disunity, for the Jewish python to swallow the weaker Arab nations one after another.

The quick and forthright actions of President Nasser demonstrated his best trait of leadership and succeeded in uniting Arab countries as never before. Even the Arab Heads of States who were against President Nasser's leadership in the past rallied under the banner of the U.A.R. and a joint command of all Arab forces was formed under President Nasser's personal leadership.

Jewish Reaction

These positive actions taken by President Nasser not only robbed Israelis of the political initiative but placed them in a ridiculous position. The deceit and intrigues now boomeranged towards the Jewish Warlords but like a cat that always lands on its feet from any awkward fall, the Jew began to extricate himself out of this impasse in the typical Jewish manner of lies, falsehood and abusive propaganda.

While the Israeli Radio and other propaganda channels stepped up their virulent hate campaign against the Arabs and increased threats of reprisals and invasion, the world-wide propaganda machine controlled by international Jewry and its Anglo-American vassals took up another tune to deluge the intelligentsia of non-Arab Asian and African countries. The Jewish controlled world-wide chains of newspapers and periodicals, radio and television channels and the international news agencies and hired mouth-pieces of the Jewish sympathisers in various

countries took up an unceasing rant of the terrible persecutions suffered by the innocent and peace loving jews in the past and the various injustices meted out to Israel by the neighbouring Arab countries.

Indian Reaction

In India even though the Prime Minister and her Government took up a just and fair stand to support the Arab people, following the noble traditions established by late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a true friend of Asian People's, a section of the Indian press and some of the opposition political parties took up the chorus of pro-Israel sentiments. Another factor that hindered the true assessment of the Arab case was the communal tinge imparted to it by certain politicians even though it is a historical fact that almost all muslim invaders of India in the past were Turks, Persians, Tartars and not Arabs. Further the Indian population has no experience of the fanatic racialism of the Jew and the morbid jewish desire for vengeance which finds expression in piratical and ruthless feretting out of former German officials in exile some 25 years after the second World War even though most of the accusations against Germany including the parrot like charge of murder of six million jews are the falsehoods perpetrated to further allied propaganda.

The Dark Hour

The Soviet Union played a very curious role both before and during the Israeli invasion and her motivations certainly require a close scrutiny. Undoubtedly Stalin's era is long over when the late unlamented

Russian dictator had not only married a Jewess but had gathered a bunch of crafty Jews in the top echelons of his Government.

Even though there is every reason to believe that the jewish stranglehold on the Soviet Union has disappeared, it was quite evident from the recent Soviet behaviour that it has certainly let down the Arabs. First of all she encouraged Arab expectations by putting up a display of Russian might in the mediterranean Sea by the manoeuvres of the Soviet flotilla. Even more curious was the urgent message from the Soviet Prime Minister to President Nasser requesting him not to use initiative on the eve of the Israeli attack.

This message not only robbed the Arabs of the vital first move but perhaps it lulled the Arab high command into a sense of security till it was rudely awakened by the Anglo-American swarms of fighters and bombers that were blasting away the key points all over the U. A. R. Had the Arabs taken the initiative of an all-out attack on Israel perhaps the history of the present conflict would have been a different one, because the Israeli armoured columns would have been caught flat footed in a narrow area. The vast armada of Anglo-American fighters and bombers would have had an unpleasant task of blasting their pay masters' territory. In modern warfare it is the one who takes the initiative that win the game and it is here that the last minute Soviet message turned the tables.

Card Board Rommels

The five day Israeli invasion and the unfortunate rout of the Arab forces swung

the entire Jewish propaganda machine into a frenzied glee. The achievements of the Israeli air force and Israeli tanks were praised. The Israeli General Dayan, who is credited to have guided the Jewish armies to victory was compared with the famous German General Rommel who achieved great victories in the African desert against a very powerful enemy by the clever use of the armoured columns. Those who sung the pens of praise for the easy Jewish victory, world over, forgot the actual reality behind the Israeli bravado, the legions of Western mercenaries who fought in Israeli uniforms and the vast armada of the Anglo-American planes that paralysed the Arab resistance and opened the way for the Israeli tanks to rush in almost unopposed. Victories of the great German General were not purchased by mercenary arms and the men like the one achieved by the card-board Rommels Israel.

The Lesson

The recent aggression by the Jewish megalomaniacs hold several lessons for the African and Asian countries. First, the Jew and his Western vassals are using all overt and covert means to vanquish the rising nations of Asia and Africa in pursuance of the 100 years old Jewish dream of World Power as embodied in the Secret Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Second, only a ruthless revision of economic, cultural and political systems by rejecting Jewish created ideologies, can stem the Zionist inroads in Asia. Third the Jew fears the Asian races like the Arabs, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese more than the Christian races of the Western world since the Western people have been carefully brought under the stranglehold of Zionism by a patient and relentless application of those principles that were laid down by the Jewish leaders in 1873 in the secret Protocols of the Elders of Zion.



FINANCING OF THE FOURTH PLAN OF INDIA.

YOGESHWAR SHARMA

The basic objectives which have been enunciated for the fifteen year period of intensive economic development from 1961-62 to 1975-76, are to lay sound foundations for self sustaining economic growth, to provide avenues and opportunities of employment to all those who seek it and while narrowing economic and social disparities, to ensure a minimum level of living to every family in the country. The Third Plan which was presented as the first phase of such development has fallen short of its targets, and the objectives set for the fifth plan with regard to income and standard of living etc. can not be achieved unless the fourth plan makes good these short falls of the third five-year plan in addition to its own tasks. The central problem as referred to in the memorandum on the fourth plan is that of generating rapid increase in the national product without impairing social stability. More explicitly basic goods and services required for consumption by the mass of the people have to be produced, and at the same time investment in human and material resources should generate a much larger supply of those goods and services, essential for future growth, which are now imported into the country and for which India is critically dependent on external assistance. It is only in this way the worst enemies of human society, hunger, poverty, and

unemployment can be fought and eradicated.

There have been some difficulties during the third plan period such as foreign exchange stringency, the price rise, short falls in agricultural production, etc. opines Mr. Kharbanda because of these difficulties it is possible that the likely effects on the country's progress in the next decade of a failure to achieve in the fourth plan period, a high rate of growth and essential structural changes may not be fully appreciated. But as it is, the short falls of the third plan make it necessary for the economy to strive for much higher rate of growth than were originally envisaged for the next two plan periods, if the objectives in regard to adequate employment and higher standards of consumption are to be reached by 1975-76. The crucial problem for the fourth plan is thus of accelerating the tempo of development without letting loose inflationary forces in the economy. This obviously requires higher rate of savings and its reinvestment, and clear priority not only for plan as against non-plan expenditure, but also for essential as against non-essential private expenditure. Any slackening of efforts can only lead to further delay in the fulfilment of the objectives of planning.

It has been agreed upon by the memorandum on the fourth plans that "while the

perspective up to 1975-76 may require some revision in the light of the past experience, there can be no resiling from the commitments regarding employment and living standard set for attainments by the middle of the next decade". The preliminary outline of the fourth plan presented in the memorandum keeps in view the following:

(1) For enlarging the income of the rural population, as well as for augmenting the supplies of food articles and agricultural raw materials, all possible efforts should be made to ensure a growth rate of not less than 5% per annum and, if possible, move in agricultural production.

(ii) For enabling this objective to be realised, production of such goods as fertilizers insecticides, agricultural implements, including pumps, diesel engines, tractors, etc. should be given the highest priority in the programme for industrial development.

(iii) For enlarging the supplies of essential consumer goods on which additional incomes will be spent, production of articles like textiles, sugar, drugs, kerosene, paper etc. should be accelerated,

(iv) With a view to improve the supply of residential housing the production of cement and other construction materials should be augmented.

(v) For ensuring continued growth in metals, chemicals, machine-building, mining electric power and transport, industries schemes in-hand should be completed early as well as new schemes undertaken.

(vi) For the development of human resources, not only should the maximum possible facilities be provided in the social service sector, but that these should be

suitably re-oriented in the direction of increasing productivity.

(vii) The organisation of effort in all these directions should be such as to promote rapid progress towards greater employment and social justice.

To implement the broad strategy of the plan, it is essential to mobilise economic surplus available in the country towards investment. Firstly the amount of surplus available is not very large, and secondly its channellisation for investment involves many socio-political problems. Amount of surplus available in rural sector is much larger than the surplus in urban sector. Mobilisation of these resources for the fourth plan depends upon the development of the various sectors of the economy which are interdependent. Mr Kharbanda has argued that "the development of the various sectors of the economy depend on one another. For example the development of agriculture and social services are closely linked with the development of power, transport and industries. The supply of fertilisers, pesticides, construction material, implements etc. required for the success of the agriculture programme as well as of other mass consumption goods on a scale that the inflation does not show its ugly face, depend upon the development and expansion of the industrial sector. Development of small scale industry is required to create employment opportunities for the people, and it is clear that these can not develop without the balanced development of power and transport sectors". A huge amount of public revenue is expected to come from the income generated in these sectors. Slowing down of their development will make the task of resource mobili-

sation much more difficult. Increasing rate of economic development would result in making more and more surplus available to be channelised for investment. It is essential to create the tempo of development and for this purpose we require accumulation. To suggest resource mobilisation to meet the development needs of fourth plan various working groups were constituted by the planning commission, Govt. of India. On the basis of their preliminary estimates, it is anticipated that resources of the order of Rs 21,500 crores would be needed for financing the fourth plan outlays, of which about Rs 7000 crores are expected to be mobilised by private sector. The estimate of resources for the public sector, is based on assumption that number of policy measures will be taken to keep down non plan expenditure and maximise revenues at the existing rates of taxation, that very tentatively a credit of Rs 2500 crores may be assumed for budgetary receipts, corresponding to external assistance, and additional resource mobilisation of the order of Rs 2500 to 3000 crores will be undertaken during the plan period. These additional resources as per memorandum on the fourth plan are to be raised through increased taxation, reduction of tax avoidance and evasion, and adjustment of prices charged by public sector undertakings specifically for this purpose. Memorandum is optimistic that if the growth rates actually achieved in the initial years of the fourth plan are sufficiently high, it would be possible to mobilise even larger resources than what have been assumed here.

Then the deputy chairman of the planning commission and at present minister for planning is understood to have told the informal consultative committee that it was possible to raise resources required to finance the proposed outlay of Rs 21, 5000 to Rs 22,5000 million for the fourth plan. He is also understood to have expressed the view that "the problem was not as much lack of resources as of intensifying the efforts to mobilise them".

The perspective planning division of the planning commission made an outline of the fourth plan. Study groups of perspective planning division of the planning commission came to the conclusion that an increase of 7% in income per year is a goal which India should attempt to achieve and for securing a rate of increase of 7% in national income in the fourth plan is consistent with the goal of self sustained growth. It was estimated by the perspective planning division that the investment of Rs 210000 million would be necessary for this purpose. This implies that the level of investment must steadily grow from the level of Rs 16000 million in 1960-61 and estimated level of Rs 23000 million in 1963-64 to Rs 50000 million in the year 1970-71.

The sectorwise distribution of investment between the public and private sector during the fourth plan has been done in such a way so as to suit the broad policy of socialistic pattern of society which the Government of India has adopted as a policy for economic development. The share of government in the total investment which has been growing from 46.4% in the first plan to 60.6%

in the third plan would continue to grow in the fourth plan also. An estimate of investment in 1965-66 and 1970-71 is given below.

	(Rs. in crores)	
	1965-66	1970-71
Total investment	29000	50000
Public sector	17500	31500
Private sector	11500	18500

Table ¹ given below refers to the fourth plan outlay in public Sector. It also includes development expenditure in it.

	(Rs in crores)
Agriculture	2400
Irrigation	1000
Power	1950
Small scale industry	450
Organised industry	3200
Transport and communication	3000
Social services	3495
Miscellaneous	125
Total	15620

In addition to this investment in public sector a huge amount of resources, to the tune of Rs 7000 crores is to be invested in private sector. Now we discuss the different means through which resources are to be mobilised for the fourth plan. The following table gives the sources of finance for the public sector in the terminal year of third and fourth plan.

(See Table next page)

The above table gives the position of investment finance in the year 1965-66 and

1970-71. This gives the comparative position of estimates of resource mobilisation from different sources towards the end of third and fourth five year plans. We can broadly classify these sources into four parts and analyse how far these sources are in a position to channelise country's surplus, and how far prices are affected by them. The four categories are as given below :

1. Net surplus on current account
2. Surplus of public enterprises
3. Draft on private savings
4. External assistance.

1. Net surplus on current account—It could be split up into two parts for the sake of analysis. A) Balance from revenue. B) Additional taxation.

(A) Balance from revenue account. The estimates made in this study are in terms of 1960-61 rates of taxation. In estimating the receipts reliance has been placed on observed relationship between the growth in taxation and taxation at the existing rates and the growth in income. During the fourth plan period the national income is assumed to increase by 7 p.c. and taxes could be estimated to grow at the rate of 8 p.c. But due to some political considerations the growth of taxes has been projected only at 7 p.c. which could be considered as an underestimate.

This leads to the conclusion that a deliberate attempt is being made to divert the resources for investment. Income has to increase by 7 p.c. and taxes by 8 p.c. that means efforts are being made to divert the share of increased income for national development at increasing rate.

FINANCING OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR INVESTMENT

Source of finance	1965-66 level estimated to be attained		1970-71 estimates	
	Amount of Rs. in crores		Amount of Rs. in crores	
1. Surplus on current including additional taxation	3300	19.3	10500	33.3
2. Surplus of public enterprises	3550	20.3	8200	26.0
A. Railways	790	4.5	1740	5.5
B. Others	2760	15.5	6460	20.5
3. Market borrowings	2200	12.5	3800	12.1
4. Small savings	1550	8.8	1550	4.9
5. Provident fund	700	4.0	950	3.0
6. Other miscellaneous capital receipts	200	1.1	1500	4.7
7. Budgetary resources	11500	65.7	26500	84.0
8. Deficit financing	1500	8.5	2500	8.0
9. External assistance	4500	25.7	2500	8.0
10. Total	17500	100.0	31500	100.0

Revenue expenditure according to the plan estimates is expected to grow at the rate of 6 p.c. per year. Direct demand on revenue which is the cost of collection of tax revenue from various sources is expected to grow at 5p.c. This increase is expected to take care of the increase in salaries as a result of increments in pay and increase in staff, consequent upon the adoption of new tax measures and for assessing large number of people. Defence expenditure is again a non plan expenditure. It could be justified as essential to safeguard aggression the economy from external aggression. Rationalisation of revenue and defence expenditure would release large resources to be diverted towards investment for development

purposes. Expenditure on education, medical facilities and family planning is also expected to increase by 13p.c. and 10p.c. respectively. But its results are to be beneficial for the economy. Table below shows the balance on revenue account at 1960-61 rates of taxation.

BALANCE ON REVENUE ACCOUNT ESTIMATES

Head of account	1965-66	1970-71
1. Revenue receipts		
A) Tax revenue	18730	26350
Direct Tax	5600	7630
Indirect tax	13130	18720
B) Non-tax revenue	6660	10130
Sem com. enterprises	1500	2040
Interest receipts	2990	5200

Others	2170	2890	consumers price-index ³ considering 1955-56 as the base year.	
C) Total receipts	25390	36180		
2. Revenue expenditure			Year	Index number
A) Direct demand			1955-56	100
on revenue	1030	1300	56-57	111.46
B) Interest on debt.	3600	5600	57-58	116.66
C) Defence and			58-59	123
Border roads	9000	10000	59-60	128.12
D) Other non-develop- mental expenditure	5490	6730	60-61	129.6
E) Development expenditure including			61-62	132.29
revenue plan	11730	17820	62-63	136.46
F) Total revenue expenditure	30850	41450	63-64	142.70
3. Balance on revenue account (1-2)	(-5460)	(-4970)		

From the balance sheet it is very clear that the non-developmental expenditure constitute the major part of expenditure. Unproductive expenditure on administration and defence is continuously increasing. Table below gives the growth of defence expenditure from 1961-62 to 1966-67².

YEAR	EXPENDITURE IN CRORES OF RS.
1961-62	313
62-63	505
63-64	704
64-65	692
65-66	769
66-67	798

Sharp increase in defence and administrative expenditure on one hand has tightend the resource position and on the other hand this unproductive expenditure has helped in inflating the inflationary trend in the country. Below is the table of all India working class

The table given above clearly shows that after 1961 there has been an immediate rise in prices. Prof. Kalecki¹ has argued "that the rate of growth of national income exceeds the rate of increase in the supply of necessities, the real income of the persons comes down and consumption is restrained by the increase in their prices." Rise in prices of food articles has rather been sharp, which has increased the miseries of poor people. There is an immediate need to rationalise the expenditure. Of course in the early stages of development mild inflationary pressure cannot be ruled out, but it should be properly controlled.

Additional Taxation—The estimate of resources from additional taxation has been put as Rs. 8800 crores in 1965-66 and Rs. 15500 crores in 1970-71. Major contribution to this increased taxation is to come from indirect taxation, as it is not possible to increase the direct taxation at length due to possible adverse impact on private investment and some political considerations. Increase in indirect tax has inflationary impact over prices. But Government by

its wise policy of putting heavy taxes on non essential commodities, can discourage their use and channelise the resources for development purpose. A bold attempt has been made by the finance minister⁵ by increasing taxes on cigarettes, sugar and finer varieties of cloths during the budget proposals for 1966-67. Budget estimates provide for revenue receipts of Rs. 2617.12 crores, with anticipated new levies of Rs. 101.51 crores, it will go up to Rs. 2718.63 crores.

Coming back to the overall picture of the fourth plan estimates of additional taxation of Rs. 15500 crores, which is fairly mild. If through some drastic measures tax evasion could be stopped, actual yield in tax receipts would be very high. (Mr. Mahaveer Tyagi has estimated that the income of about Rs. 5000 crores evades income taxes). The net surplus on the current account comes to Rs 10500 crores during fourth plan period. It constitutes more than one third of the total resources estimated for investment during the fourth five year plan.

Surplus from public enterprises—Public enterprises are expected to earn profit of at least 10 p.c. during the plan period as per estimates by Mr. Kharbanda. Memorandum on the fourth five year plan says that "a return of 12p.c. on the invested capital would be an appropriate criterion for public undertakings. To earn profits and mobilise surplus available with those undertakings for its mobilisation towards the plan, will require special efforts to keep down the cost and improve efficiency. Public sector undertakings will have to be paid considerably

greater attention, towards the reduction, in inventories economy in the use of raw material, and optimal utilisation of labour employed. Reserve Bank of India made a study of 1001 companies, which shows that the return on the capital employed was 13.8 p.c. in 1955-56 and 13.0 p.c. in 1956-57. In the light of the above study it seems to be quite justified to estimate a return of 10 p.c. or 12 p.c. the capital invested.

The third five year plan had anticipated the resource mobilisation from this head of Rs. 2200 million in 1965-66. But if the return from railway, posts and telegraph is 6 p.c. and other enterprises 10 p.c. then the estimates referred to by Mr. Kharbanda show that the resources available by 1965-66 would be Rs. 3530 million. The following table shows the surplus of the public undertakings available for investment in 1965-66 and 1970-71.

Items	Rs in million	
	end of 1965-66	end of 1970-71
1. Total		
investment	82900	161680
2. Fixed capital	69650	180350
3. Working capital	13850	31330
4. Return on total		
investment	4960	10320
5. Interest payments	2560	4500
6. Gross profits (4-5)	2400	5820
7. Taxation	260	830
8. Net profits (6-7)	2140	4990
9. Depreciation		
provision	2390	4700
10. Depreciation		
outlay	1000	1540

11. Depreciation		
resources (9-10)	1390	3160
12. Total resources		
available (3-11)	3530	8150

In estimating the surplus, separate estimates have been made for railways, post and telegraphs, road transport, electricity undertakings, steel, fertilisers, oil explorations, refining and distributing, machine building and mining. Taxation has been calculated at 50% the rates prevailing in 1963-64. In respect of all non-departmental undertakings giving a tax holiday for 5 years. Interest has been estimated at the rate of 4.5% for all enterprises except electricity undertakings, for which it has been taken as 4.57% which is the rate at which loans have been sanctioned to the electricity boards by state govts. The contribution of public enterprises is expected to give 26% of the resources for the plan.

What is essential here is that the price policy of public undertakings should be used mainly as a tool for resources mobilisation for financing the economic development. No should be given to the principle of no profit no loss, and efforts should be made to increase the profits by reducing the cost and optimising the production.

Draft on private savings—Draft on private savings play a very important role in mobilising the economic surplus from household and corporate sector, for economic development in a mixed economy, as it is difficult to channelise all the available surplus through taxation, due to some socio-political conditions. A very important role can be played by different voluntary schemes for mobilising surplus. This includes market

borrowings, small savings, provident fund of government employees, and other miscellaneous sources such as a deposits of private agencies with the government. Deficit financing is also a source through which the government absorbs savings of private sector. But here proper care should be taken that it does not encourage the inflationary tendencies in the country. According to the estimates of perspective planning division, planning commission of Govt. of India quoted by Mr Kharbanda: "Taken together the absorption of private savings would provide to the public sector Rs 6150 in 1965-66 and Rs 10300 million in 1970-71.

The contribution by various agencies through which market borrowing is done is as given below.

	Rs in millions	
	1965-66	1970-71
Life insurance	950	1900
Statutory provident fund	570	1050
Commercial Banks	400	600
Others	250	250
total	2170	3800

Increase in the life insurance corporation business could be much more if its coverage is increased to rural increased to rural areas. It may provide a very good alternative to the rural masses, if properly advertised, to invest their savings for national development. As life insurance scheme provides some guarantees for the family, rural population might invest their money in this scheme, instead of gold and silver hoards. Under the light of the facts referred to above the contribution of life insurance could actually bear an upward revision.

Coming to the statutory provident fund, increase has been estimated due to two reasons: (A) increase in the labour force (B) extension of coverage to a large number of industries. The scope of the two factors mentioned above is very wide in any developing country. Estimated contribution of Rs 1050 million due to this factor is quite possible.

Commercial banks can play a vital role in market borrowings. Under the fourth plan contribution due to commercial banks is expected to increase to Rs 600 million as against Rs 400 million during the third plan.

Small savings—small savings could not play a significant role in mobilisation of economic surplus from public. In the country like India where a large number of population form the low income group, small savings has a definite role to play. On one hand it provides an opportunity to low income groups to participate in their country's economic development, and on the other hand it discourages non-essential consumption of poor persons by providing them suitable opportunity to invest at attractive terms. Till now vast resources of rural areas have not been covered under this scheme. There is a scope for extending this movement in rural areas. A very meagre amount of Rs 1550 million has been proposed to be raised for investment through this scheme, towards the end of the fourth plan. It will not be difficult to raise the allotted resources through this scheme.

Other miscellaneous capital receipts—It has been estimated that the receipts on this

account as against the estimated Rs 200 million in 1965-66 will be Rs 1500 million in the year 1970-71. Major items under receipts are repayment of loans and advances. Some receipts also accrue under other deposits and advances which represent the net result of inflow and outflow of funds, under a large number of items. Under disbursements non-plan loans is the single major item. The disbursement under this head were budgeted at Rs 1200 million in the year 1963-64. Such loans should be restricted to the minimum, so that maximum resources could be available for the plan. Perspective planning division has estimated it to be Rs 1100 million in 1970-71. Net contributions from capital receipts for the economic development according to the estimate of perspective planning division will be Rs 1500 million.

Deficite financing—

Perspective planning division's study about deficit financing relates to the increase in money supply. This increase in money supply takes place through increase in government money and credit creation through banking system. It is the government money which is to be considered deficit finance here. A part of this money is also utilised by way of credit to the cooperatives. It is only the balance which is to be considered as true deficit financing. If it corresponds to the growth and degree of monetisation in the country, it can not have any inflationary impact over economy. Fourth plan memorandum estimates the growth of annual income by 7.1 and non-inflationary deficit finance has been estimated by the perspective planning division to the tune of Rs 2500 million, which is quite safe.

External resources—external resources have been classified into two parts (A) supply of foreign exchange through export earnings (B) foreign aid.

External assistance, at present serves two purposes. It provides foreign exchange content of the plan, i. e. it provides the machinery and other components for basic and heavy industries which can not be produced at present domestically. It also provides resources in excess of domestic savings for financing the investment programmes. Memorandum has referred that during the fourth plan period external assistance will be needed to the tune of Rs 2100 crores, to cover the deficit on merchandise account, in addition to this, memorandum refers that resources will have to be found for payment of interest and payment of foreign debt. In all foreign exchange gap is estimated to be of the order of Rs 3200 crores. " This gives the measure of volume of external assistance which will be needed during the fourth plan in the form of aid from foreign governments, international agencies, foreign private capital, in public and private sectors, too much reliance on assistance can not be appreciated because it is not available easily and it has some direct or indirect political strings attached to it. Recently during Indo—Pak trouble all aids from western countries were suspended which has further proved the necessity of the country becoming self reliance. All out efforts be made to find out market abroad and increase the exports.

Financing the private sector—under fourth plan memorandum, investment in the private sector has been estimated to the tune of Rs

7000 crores. Investment in the terminal year of third and fourth plan i. e. in the year 1965-66 and 1970-71 would be Rs 11500 million and Rs 18500 million respectively. The investment under fourth plan in this sector has increased over that of previous plans but as a decreasing rate. Mixed economic set up of the country provides the opportunity for private sector to grow and flourish but growth of public sector is to be faster than the private sector looking to the needs of the country. Below is the table which gives the details of financing of the private sector.

Financing of private sector
1965-66 and 1970-71

Sources of finance	Rs in crores	
	1965-66	1970-71
1. Corporate savings	1400	2400
2. Non-corporate savings	9350	12630
3. Direct external assistance	750	530
4. Total	11500	18500

It would not be difficult to finance the private sector looking to the huge volume of surplus available with the public. What is essential is to provide a scheme of incentives to the public for investment.

To conclude the discussion, it could be said that there is no dearth of resources to finance the economic development. What is essential is to make a bold and deliberate effort to channelise the potential economic surplus available in the country for economic development, by keeping down the non essential consumption of the public and rationalising the unproductive expenditure of government and corporate sector. Perspective planning division has estimated that the personal savings will grow from Rs 15500 million in the year 1965-66 to Rs 25900 mi-

lition in the year 1970-71. This increase in personal savings implies roughly a marginal propensity to save of about 14 p.c. during the fourth plan.

Dr Baljeet Singh⁷ of Lucknow University has rightly opined that "In terms of real resources a much larger and more objective fourth plan is practicable. But the confusion of finance, estimated conservatively with resources has led to an unnecessary curtailment of the plan and lowering of its income and employment objectives. Revenue from additional taxation have been, as in earlier plans, under-estimated. As against an initial estimate of Rs 4500 million by additional taxation in the second plan, the actual additional tax revenue yielded about Rs 11000 million. In the current plan additional taxation was estimated to yield Rs 17100 million. According to mid-term appraisal (Nov 1963) the receipts from this source are likely to be Rs 24000 million, that is Rs 7000 million more than the target. The fourth

plan target of additional taxation is certainly an under-estimate. A tentative estimate of Rs 25000 million Rs. 18000 crores in public sector and Rs 7000 crores in private sector would still be quite conservative. What is essential is to make the optimum utilisation of the country's resources available.

1 Memorandum on fourth plan. 1964. p.13

2. Source Budget speech. Finance minister, Govt. of India. Times of India 1.3.66

3. Table constructed on the basis of information given by Reserve Bank of India bulletin Dec. 1961, p. 1616.

4. KALECKI M. Research paper vol. 2 WARSAW 1965, p. 46.

5. CHAUDHRI. S. Budget speech. Times of India 1. 3. 66.

6. Memorandum on the fourth plan 1964. p 23.

7. SINGH B. J, "Lowering of sights will defeat the purpose" YOJANA 6. 12. 64.

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NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND TEACHING OF HISTORY

AMAR NATH VIDYALANKAR

Most of us are feeling deeply distressed at the thought that a process of disintegration of our country has already started to set in. Numerous separatist and fissiparous tendencies are aggressively claiming to assert themselves in social and political fields. During our freedom struggle and immediately thereafter, the forces lending succor and sustenance to disruptive temperaments, continued to remain *dormant* and submerged under the powerful upsurge of nationalism. But these trends are now acquiring a number of insidious shapes and forms, and very many interested groups in India and outside are seeking to fully exploit any weakness that our central authority might betray at any level.

India is a country of numerous diversities that have contributed to the richness of our common heritage. But even diversities have continued to be subtly inter-woven into a unique multihued picturesque social and cultural fabric, through a broad comprehensive and catholic intellectual and emotional approach, that had kept our people through many ages, tied down to the concept of India's physical and cultural solidarity. Occasionally however, symptoms of narrow groupism and sectarianism have marred our progress towards complete nationhood, and led to weakening and disintegration. These same symptoms are now reappearing.

The pernicious influences of continued foreign domination seriously undermined the potentialities of unifying factors. The most

important and strategic field where the forces of *national unity* were astutely, but systematically subverted and gradually annihilated, and germs of sectarianism and disruption were nurtured and bolstered up was the field of education. Under the auspices of the British rule, successive generations of our educated classes, were so regularly conditioned through a cleverly designed educational system, and deliberately distorted teaching of our country's history that the consciousness of social and political conflicts was accentuated to a high degree. Consequently, perpetual duality of mutually conflicting emotions, those of nationalism on one hand, of sectarianism of numerous varieties on the other became one of the characteristics of our day to day existence. Through making English language the only link language and the means of intercommunication, a unscalable high partitioning wall between the educated classes and common masses was erected to divide them all in two separate camps. And then they sought to pollute the very springs of national ethos and aspirations by laying exaggerated emphasis on internal conflicts in our social and political history and by presenting highly-garbled, distorted and disjointed version of events in our history text books, where the value of common achievements through fusion of thoughts and cultures had been very much under-rated. The prolonged conflicts in the world history, between the centripetal and

centrifugal tendencies, between the loyalties for the whole society and the country, and the loyalties towards one's own community caste, locality, religious or linguistic group, were almost finally resolved by our wise forefathers by cultivating a comprehensive and synthetic outlook. It is an absurd notion of human history that it is a long chronicle of discord and belligerency. In real fact human history is a long story of human concord, cooperative effect, mutual aid, otherwise human being would have been still living a beastly life. He subordinated his individuality and submerged his isolated self into the common pool of humanity, and began to share benefits of life commonly. Individualism wanting to live in isolation, asserted and resisted, when the society desired to take a new leap conjointly towards progress. The individuals and their small groups created conflicts, but ultimately they had to surrender. Our history books have totally ignored all other values in our history, and solely laid emphasis on political conflicts. That is sheer distortion of history.

During the 1947 communal frenzy and holocaust, Gandhiji admitted in one of his prayer meetings, that "Communal harmony could not be permanently established in our country so long as highly distorted versions of our history were being taught in our schools and colleges, through the History Text Books."

Late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the following observations in his famous book, "Discovery of India", regarding the Indian history books written by the British authors :

"The histories of India that most of us have had to read chiefly written by

Englishmen are usually long apologies and panegeries of British rule and barely veiled contemptuous account of what happened here in the millennia preceding it. Indeed real history for them begins with the advent of the Englishmen into India. Even the British period is distorted with the object of glorifying British rule and British virtues."

Even the present history text books by and large were based primarily on these earlier text books, and have been nothing better than a long chronicle of internecine strife and conflict, in which divergent elements in Indian population continued to engage themselves. For almost two hundred years these history text books continued to corrupt the minds of Indian youth with virus of narrow groupism, communalism and sectarianism, instead of inspiring in them sentiments of common nationhood and patriotic fervour. Distorted versions of history produced mutual distrust, conflicts, and fear from other fellow citizens, belonging to different classes, castes, religious or linguistic groups, and they were made to conceive the horrors of a situation when the protecting hand of British rule was withdrawn or removed. Through these History Text Books long forgotten memories of conflicts, aggression, war and persecution perpetrated by one section of population against the other were revived and brought into prominence. The result was that the controversies settled or quietly lapsed many ages ago were resurrected, that now re-started embittering our daily life ; challenging assertions were made, and threats and warnings began to be addressed to one and all. The history teaching was used as a weapon for

creating perpetual rift among our people. This is how Indian minds were conditioned in our educational institutions.

To elucidate the point a few instances can be cited, because substantially the same awry and twisted narratives are being served to our students even today in free India, and the same sectarian prejudices are being implanted in the minds of our new generations, only because we have not cared to rewrite our country's history from our own national angle. The Englishmen produced "The Cambridge History of India," in four volumes, the British version of our history long ago, and they are now preparing to bring out its new and revised edition. The Russians are writing Indian history from a different angle, in four volumes, each of 800 pages, and two volumes of that history have already come out. American Scholars are doing the same, and preparations are afoot to bring out a comprehensive book in several volumes. Only we have grossly neglected our national duty in this regard and have tolerated even as a free country that a distorted image of India should continue to be presented to our young students and before the world.

The most atrocious twisting and distortion of our country's history was deliberately committed in respect of our relations with the Islam and the Islamic world. Firstly, instead of dividing Indian History into natural ages and periods determined according to our social cultural and political evolution, it was divided into periods of so called "Communal rule", like the Hindu period and British period, Muslim period and British period, with a view to divide our

childrens' minds from the very beginning into communal compartments. How mischievous disjointed and scientifically erratic this kind of division is, can be easily realised when we see our historians ending the so-called 'Hindu period' with the decline of the Kingdom of 'Vijaya Nagar,' and then again taking back the student to the 7th century, to start the History of the Muslim Period' that ushers in with the attack of Arabs on Sindh. The Muslim Period ends with the disposition of the last mughal King Bahadurshah from the Delhi throne, and then the students get back to the events connected with the entry of Portuguese in India, in order to start the narrative of the British Period. According to these disarrayed versions of history the two great conquerors, Rajendra Chola and Mahmud of Ghazni ought to belong to two different ages, because we find the former living in the 'Hindu' period, and the latter in the 'Muslim' period although both were contemporaries, and should have come on the scene together. The histories of various so called 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' states from the 8th to 16th century could not be separated from each other and form one single whole. To tear them apart is unnatural and will be robbing history of its environmental base. To take another example, the kingdom of Orissa in the 15th century extended from Rajmahal to Trichinopoly, and was then the biggest state in India, while the history books still continue to focus our attention on Delhi, even though the Kingdom now shrank to an area of 14 miles. The British historians did not aim at a synthetic handling of the whole Indian history, and they never attempted to correctly assess the sum total of the

events that always act and react on one another. Their aim was to present a disjointed picture of India where different sects and communities were building up mutually exclusive social and cultural life, and were trying to establish domination of one over another. Even art and sculpture was presented as Hindu, Baudha, Jain and Muslim art, architecture and sculpture, the great expert on Indian art, Rai Krishen Das demonstrated the absurdities of these notions. He had been able to trace the ancestry of the moghul School of painting and its links with Ajanta.

Where the head of the state happened to be a muslim, the state was described as Muslim, and vice versa. The character of the rule, mode of relationship between the state and the people, and the form of administration were considered of no consequence. For instance, if the whole polity of Mughal administration was thoroughly and minutely compared with the earlier, so called 'Hindu' polity, or subsequent polity adopted by Shivaji, and the systems of imperial administration were properly compared, it would be found that basically the system introduced by the Pathan King Sher Shah Suri, and later further adapted by Akbar and his successors was only an extension and adaptation of the systems developed in earlier times, advocated and expounded by the scholars of the statecraft, such as Kautilya, and other famous writers on Indian polity and administration. But an impression was sought to be created on the minds of Indian youth, that with the advent of the rule of Sultanate and subsequent Pathan and Mughal kings an entirely new 'Muslim' polity and system of administration was imposed, that

were absolutely alien and foreign to the 'Hindu', and had altogether alien origin, having no relationship with the indigenous system. Thus, the continuity of Indian history, particularly that of political and administrative institutions was absolutely broken, immediately with the invasion of the Mahmud of Ghazni and subsequently of Shahbuddin Ghauri.

Meanwhile in the history books, the close relationship between the Arabs and Indians during the period from the 7th century till the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazani, a period of nearly three hundred years, was altogether ignored. These were the years when most intimate and cordial social, intellectual and cultural relations between the Hindu scholars, and Arab scholars were established and constant interchange of ideas and outlook had become an order of the day's and we must not forget that these were the golden days of the rapid rise of Islam in Asia and Europe, and the Arab Islamic world was brimming with new vigour and freshness of outlook. However, the so called 'inherent' intolerance of Islam was hardly conspicuous in those days in the mutual relations of Hindus of India and Muslims of Arab. But the British historians presented Islam in entirely different role in India and elsewhere.

Mahmud of Ghazani started his adventures in India in A. D. 1001, and he died in A. D. 1029. Shahab-ud-din Ghauri conquered Delhi in A. D. 1192, i. e. nearly 200 years deliberately skipped over the whole period of two hundred years, omitting most important and very relevant narratives of

close cultural, commercial and political relationships that still continued to develop, of which the great scholar Al Beruni and other brilliant writers had made references. The motives could be easily judged. These history books nowhere mentioned the fact revealed by R. B. Kashinath Dikshit that Mahmud of Ghazani got his new coins issued, on one side of which the Islamic Qalama was inscribed in the Arabic, and on the other side its Sanskrit translation was inscribed: "The God is one, and The Muhammad was the Prophet." This coin was struck in the mint of Lahore.

A large bilingual Sanskrit-Mongolian inscription found in Waziristan shows that Sanskrit was very well understood by the intelligentsia in Waziristan even upto the end of 14th century A. D.

Very few people know that the renowned historian of Rajasthan James Todd, was directed by the political Resident of The Hukar's Darbar to compose his famous book eulogizing the Rajput warriors in their battles against the 'Muslim rule'. This was done soon after the 1857 Revolution, with a view to wean away the Rajputs from the Muslims. The Todd's Rajasthan had remained the chief source of inspiration to this day of Hindu communal chauvinism.

Rana Kumbha has been depicted a great 'Hindu' warrior and saviour of 'Hindus' "who razed to the ground the mosque of Nagore". But these historians never disclosed the other fact that on the great victory Pillar of this gallant 'Hindu' ruler, that he had erected at Chittaur, along with the images of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu, he had got inscribed in Arabic and Nagri scripts the name of 'Alla' also.

The late Dr. G. H. Ojha proved to the hilt that the word 'Rajput' and the idea of a 'Rajput' caste did not come into existence before the 16th century, and yet many history text books have put a 'Rajput' period between the 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' periods.

Let me illustrate other aspect. No effort is made in the history text books to find our proper original Indian names. How ridiculous errors are being committed by our authors and scholars because of their too much attachment to the English Language and complete detachment from Indian environment will be seen in the following instance. In Tamil Nad there is a small hill, called "Elamalia". The English writers translated this proper name into the 'Cardamum Hill'. Dr. Shambhu Chatterji brought out a Hindi Atlas, and without caring to know the original name, very well known in the locality, translated from the English as "Haji Ki Pahariya". The slavish copying habit from English has made most of our authors lose the spirit of adventure and discovery, that should help them knowing accurate local names. The mount Everest is still known by the name of a European Surveyor Mr. Everest, and no one has attempted to enter the Dudhkosi Valley of East Nepal, from where the Mount Everest is visible, and where people must have given this high peak some local name, as they gave names to the other peaks, like Nanda Devi, Kaanchajunga. Shri Jayachandra Vidyalkar did make researches and had found an Indian as well as Chinese name of this peak. Very few people know the original name of the famous Elephanta caves, near Bombay. The broken statues and images

remind us of vulgarity and vandalism of Portuguese pirates and invaders. The present popular name was given to these caves by these very sea-pirates, but we have never attempted to give our children the true name and history of this beautiful site which was built up by the Gupta rulers. In Indonesia and other surrounding countries, Indian culture predominated for many centuries. Many originally Sanskrit names are now acquired a distorted form. For instance, "Sulubesi" is a derivative of Sanskrit name "Sulu Vishaya" or Northern District. But we would only pronounce English versions of these names, while the local pronunciation is much nearer to the original Sanskrit. Toponymical researches are needed to find out accurate local names, that will throw further light on our history.

I can add innumerable instances like those quoted above, to show in what hopeless state our national history is being presented, and how great scope there is for the removal of numerous inaccuracies, misinterpretations, and radical improvement in the outlook.

The demand for a national history of India is as old as the first Swadeshi movement. In 1931, that doyen of Indian historians, late Shri Kashi Prasad Jaysawal tried to arouse the interest of our people, secured collaboration of Indian scholars and also found a publisher to finance it. That attempt could not proceed much further. In 1937, under the Chairmanship of Late Mr. Rajendra Prasad, and with Shri Jaichandra Vidyalkar, as its Secretary, an institution named "Itihas Parishad" was organised to undertake this huge task, with the assis-

tance of many other scholars. Prof. Habib of Aligarh University, who collaborated with Shri Jaichandra Vidyalkar, suggested that the Sanskrit sources should also be explored to correctly write the history of the Sultanate period. So far that history was based entirely on the versions of the Persian writers.

The studies of regional histories are now becoming more and more important. I fully appreciate the importance of these studies, so long as these studies were not permitted to be motivated with separatist and chauvinistic considerations, regional histories would be meaningful only if they are written in the context of the whole history, for then only one could see in proper perspective the significance of their distinctiveness.

Our history books have also deepened an impression that two separate races, Aryans and Dravids respectively have inhabited in the northern and southern half of Indian continent. The reality of the situation is that today it is highly improbable to come across any huge racial patterns anywhere in India. In the course of thousands of years of co-existence, there have been continued and thorough admixture of blood. And yet there have been constant interchange and admixture of races and their customs. Hindu philosophy of transmigration of the soul was originally propounded by the philosophers from the South. The Indian culture today is a fine admixture of the Aryans and Dravidian cultures. But our history books have never sought to present an integrated picture vividly, because the authors wanted to impress our students with a different image of India.

Parochialism, communalism, and linguism flourish in our country, on account of very false notions generated by our history books. Our educated people seems to have forgotten that what they have really inherited from our ancestors, is the composite cultures of India. we have preserved certain basic concepts, thoughts, and social and cultural values, that are commonly inherited and assiduously protected and preserved by every individual and communal group. Our history could only be the history of this composite culture, and this cannot provide a true picture of the same un-

less the approach of the writer was sympathetic. In short, we have criminally neglected what was our sacred duty towards the country, to get the National history properly and correctly interpreted to the world.

If the minds of our people will continue to remain divided as a result of false notions of our history, nothing on earth will bind us into one nation. Our history books should be written in a manner that thought and emotions of nationalism should get permeated in the veins and blood of our new generations.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

The Nature Of The Vietnam War

In a recent statement reportedly ascribed to U. N. Secretary General U. Thant, the nature of the Vietnam War has been diagnosed most definitely as not a war of communist aggression upon a democratic South Vietnam, but really as one against "all foreigners." This is, perhaps, the most forthright assessment of the causes and nature of the Vietnam war and the U. S.'s involvement in it that we have, to date, come across. Knowing of the U. S. dominance over the U. N. and the large areas of unquestioned support to and condonation of U. S. policy in this regard, it must have taken a great deal of courage on the part of the U. N. Secretary General to have so openly and forthrightly condemned U. S. policy. But, then, the question is, as to whether such a statement, however legitimate and forthright, is at all likely to influence U. S. policy in this South Asian theatre of trouble towards a negotiated settlement. U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was recently reported to have averred that despite the U. N. Secretary General's appeal for a stoppage of U. S. bombing of North Vietnam as the first step towards creating a climate of negotiations rather than settle matters on the battle field, the U. S. Administration could not possibly agree to accede to such a request until President Ho Chih Minh agreed to suspend all North Vietnam's war activities. Secretary Dean Rusk, however, did not care to concede in that context that such suspension of North Vietnam's military activities as a condition-precedent to stoppage of U. S. bombing of North Vietnam would very likely prejudice issues that might be brought to the negotiating table and be bound to materially prejudice North Vietnam's case at such a possible future conference.

After all there is one indisputable fact which

cannot be conjured away by any amount of back chat on the part of the Americans. The North Vietnamese are fighting a war on their own soil and to preserve their own national identity, even existence: the Americans are interlopers who have no legitimate right to dictate what kind of a society or Government the Vietnamese people should or can have. One is already fed up with America's tongue-in-the-check claims that it has been staking so much of men, materials and a great slice of U. S. revenues in Vietnam, so that democracy might survive in South East Asia. To talk of survival of democracy in Vietnam would naturally presuppose that there was already a democratic order of society functioning in this region which the North Vietnamese Government threatened to shoot out of existence and to preserve which the U. S. Government was most reluctantly compelled to intervene. This is a kind of balderdash which will not wash down with any one in the whole wide world except those who are in advance determined to believe this myth. From the very beginning the trouble between North and South Vietnam has essentially been one of power struggle between an entrenched military dictatorship and a new-born peoples' regime. It is quite notorious how corrupt and selfish this military dictatorship has been from the very inception when power passed out into its hands from the French colonizers and which was one of the principal reasons of the people's revolt against the South Vietnam overlords and the eventual establishment of what has been described as a peoples' democracy under Ho Chih Minh in North Vietnam. The oppressive and anti-people activities of the self-same South Vietnamese dictatorship had driven the people to establish the Vietcong. All this has been notorious; but successive U. S. Administrations from the time of General Eisenhower onwards has been backing

up this corrupt South Vietnamese dictatorship and providing it with immense floods of money and materials and military assistance, ostensibly for circumscribing the area of growing communist influence in the region; but more possibly with the intention of establishing a new type of American imperialist order in the region.

With the installation of Lyndon B. Johnson in the White House following the tragic assassination of John F. Kennedy, what started as mere involvement has now come to be replaced by unalloyed and direct participation. The Vietnamese War is no longer a war of power struggle between two sections of the Vietnamese nation each fighting for a different order of society,—if ever it was so in the earlier stages. The Vietnamese War to-day is frankly and overwhelmingly a war of imperialist attrition by the U.S. upon a self-respecting Vietnamese people. If an account were taken of the length of time through which this war has been going on—and the end is as yet as far from sight as ever before—and the never-ending flow of men materials and money that is being poured into it by the U.S. Administration, it should be obvious how hard-pressed the little Vietnamese people must be in being at all able to carry on the struggle without, so far, caving in under this tremendous load of American military and political pressures which are being more and more escalated from day's end to day's end. The Vietnam War is a classical example of how one of the poorest nations of the earth has been valiantly standing up to one of the mightiest and richest among the nations of the earth. It is quite obvious that however large may be the measure of assistance that may have been pouring into North Vietnam and Vietcong from Communist sources, its incidence, compared to the measure of American men, materials and resources that are being deployed here could only be infinitesimal. It is heartening for all formerly imperialist dominated and now newly emancipated peoples of Asia and Africa to see that the back of Vietnamese resistance to American aggression is yet far from breaking up; obviously it is their indomitable sense of self-respect and their invincible determination to preserve their national identity at all costs or die in the attempt, which has been sustaining them in this massive and classical struggle.

If the world has any conscience and if moral values still continue to survive in the welter of corrupt Western affluence, it should have been roused to a fury of indignant protest and condemnation against America's wholly illegitimate intrusion into Vietnamese politics; unfortunately, although there have been a few feeble voices here and there including a few Americans of outstanding moral and intellectual stature have been raised against America's unwanted intrusion into Vietnamese life, it has so far only been halting and largely equivocal and could not, therefore, be expected to impress, let alone influence American policy in this regard. The voice of U. Thant, a former school master, who by his intellectual brilliance and moral integrity has gradually risen to a position of world leadership has been the first really unequivocal and wholesale condemnation of U.S. policy and activities in the Vietnam. His is a lead which, one hopes, would be both emulated and followed by other world leaders of a like moral and intellectual stature and a strong body of forceful world opinion concentrate around this initial leadership to stop the new method of imperialist aggression which is being pursued by the U.S. and her friends in Vietnam and other region of the world. The U.S. must be made to realise that her very great affluence and military might cannot be allowed to suborn and distort basic moral and social values and it cannot be allowed on account of her immense military might and the length of its purse-strings to suborn the national integrity of other peoples and dictate what kind of society they must be made to accept.

Indians in Burma

The arrogance of Indian leaders have alienated many of our Asian neighbours against ourselves. Our leaders, notably the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, have always and most arrogantly tried, from time to time to lay down the laws which they expected other Asian nations to conform to without question. They have not accepted the dicta laid down by our leaders; nor could they be expected to if they had even an ounce of self-respect within their make up. All that this arrogant claim to leadership of thought and action over all Asian peoples (even Afro-Asian

peoples) has succeeded in doing has been to generate a kind of revulsion against India and the Indians. This happened in marked measure in Indonesia, in Singapore and Malaya, in Burma and elsewhere. Unfortunately since they were not able to reach Indians in India, this revulsion naturally was concentrated against the very large Indian populations resident in these South Asian countries. To this class of Indian Djakarta, or Singapore, or Penang or Burma have been more their homes than any place in India which was alien to them. Most of these Indians have been resident in these countries for generations and have been all but in name nationals of the countries of their residence than the country of their origin where they have been strangers and aliens for all practical purposes.

The tragic outcome of the so-called moral and political arrogance of our national leaders with ambitions for pan-Asian or pan-Afro-Asian leadership has, generally, been to alienate the nationals of most South Asian countries against the large community of Indians who have been resident in their country for generations and whose contributions, over generations, to the development of their respective economies and administrations have acknowledgedly not been inconsiderable.

Burma, which had a very large population of Indians for many generations, has been an outstanding case of similar alienation. Many of these Indians have never been to the country of their origin, did not even speak their own language, have all but in religious persuasion and certain inherited personal habits, been more Burmese than Indians. The Burmese, on their part, are the most lovable people; easy-going and without conceit, friendly and sociable, if a little indolent and lazy. It is generally said that a man of Burma would grab hold of any available excuse to put off his work; would never do to-day what he could possibly shelve without disaster for the morrow and would never turn his own hands to anything which he could get others to accomplish for him. It is also said that the average man of Burma is so generous by nature that he would donate his very last *lungi* to cover the nakedness of an unfortunate friend. It would sound strange, therefore, that it has been the very same people who have roused to such a fury against their

Indian neighbours that they have been doing everything to eject all Indians from their country (including a great many who had embraced Burmese nationality and had no kind of economic or even social stake left in the country of their origin) after taking care to strip them of all the competence they had earned or put by while resident in that country. There is not the least doubt that there has been a great deal of Chinese instigation behind this concentrated Burmese wrath against their one-time friends and neighbours of Indian origin. It should be realised that like other South Asian geographical regions, Burma also had a large population of Sino-Burmese. There has been a sprinkling of what may be described as Indo-Burmans also in the country but possibly on account of the differences in their respective religious persuasions, the growth of a mixed race of Indo-Burmese has been comparatively slow and circumscribed compared to the larger and fast-growing Sino-Burmese community. The Chinese residents in Burma and the Sino-Burmans occupy a comparable status of rivalry with their Indian compatriots in Burma in the country's economy. Like Indians, they are largely a community of traders and manufacturers and, in a limited area, industrialists. It is possible that the Chinese element in the Burmese population hoped, if they were able to successfully persuade the Burmese to eject the Indians, to infiltrate into and permanently occupy the gaps that would thus be left in the economy. The result has been quite undeserved deprivation and misery for a large community of Indians in Burma who have thus been uprooted from their homes and occupations in Burma. Most of these people have had no other home nor any prospect of a gainful occupation in what virtually was to them an alien country with a heavy backlog of millions and millions of unemployed from which they would be able to earn a self-respecting livelihood. The Burmese political leaders would, no doubt, claim that they had never asked any of these Indians to leave their country. With characteristic Mongoloid adroitness what they did was to rob these people of their occupation; they nationalized every trade and industry in which these Indians were engaged and which they mostly owned themselves. If the Burmese Government were charged with illegitimate and wrongful deprivation in their cases, they

would naturally reply that no one had been deprived of anything ; the Government had both the legal and the moral authority to nationalize all sources of production and distribution in accordance with the economic and social objectives aimed at by them ; compensations for all property thus nationalized would, of course be paid after due assessment which, naturally, would take some time. In the meanwhile if any Indian wished to leave the country, there was no objection from the part of the Burmese Government. They could take along with them any accumulated capital they may have after appropriate tax clearances had been obtained. This also is a process which takes some time ; and this some time may and, in this particular instance generally is such a long time that they would all be dead in the meanwhile. If, however, there are any Indians who would elect to stay on in Burma until these necessary legal and tax processes have been completed, there was no possible objection to their staying on. As to how they would continue to live during such an interim period, deprived as they have been of their sources of income, is their own affair and the Burmese Government could not naturally be expected to assume responsibility in this regard. Naturally, on the face of it, it is all clean and above board ; but the practical effect of the Indian policies of the Burmese Government has been to drive out of the country in a literally destitute condition hundreds of thousands of Indians from that country leaving behind all that they were able to accumulate over generations of unremitting effort, in the remote hope that the Indian Government and such near relatives as they may have left in the country would, at least, help them to make survival possible for these unfortunate repatriates.

Naturally, this has caused great and deep bitterness against the Burmese among a large community of Indians. As to whether the Burmese people or their Chinese or Sino-Burmese compatriots have gained from this ruthless process of wholesale expropriation, deprivation and physical ejection of Indians from that country is something the answer to which is naturally not known to us. From certain visible symptoms in the present-day Burmese economy,

some pointers in this matter would not be difficult to gather. Burma has been one of the richest agricultural countries of South Asia for almost centuries past, and the country has been a net exporter of huge quantities of rice which used to help feed most of the deficit countries in South and middle Asia. India, for instance, has traditionally been a large and regular importer of Burmese rice. Burma, likewise has been a very large exporter of timber and other forest products and some quantities of very valuable minerals, including petroleum which used to be mostly exploited by Western nations residents in or trading in that country. As already observed above, the Burmese are traditionally a most indolent and ease-loving people, extremely friendly and convivial, but always used to shun hard work of any kind. This applies to Burmese at all levels of society and Burma's agriculture used to be manned by a very large community of very hard working and very able Indian cultivators and agriculturists. It was really their hard work that might be claimed to have built up a very large area of Burmese prosperity and with most of these people having been repatriated away from the country, agricultural production has visibly gone down so steeply that Burma can now hardly afford to export any rice at all. Apart from paddy, in other sectors of the country's agriculture also, production appears to have gone down so very steeply that, let alone exportable surpluses, there is hardly enough to go round to adequately cover the basic needs of home consumption even. Industry also, it is reported, has been suffering from a like cause because the labour force of the limited area of Burmese industry used mostly also to comprises of Indian workers who have now mostly repatriated to their own country of origin.

It would appear that the Burmese Government had not counted the cost carefully of the process of wholesale ejection of Indians to their national economy. The Chinese have been virulently anti-Indian ever since Nehru refused to concede the Aksai-Chin area—where, according to the latter, “not a blade of grass grew, nor any person could live,” in exchange for a firm mutual commitment about the Himalayan Sino-Indian boundaries—and have become avowed

and frank enemies of India and the Indians following their unsuccessful invasion of our northern boundaries. The Burmese Government have, for years, been cultivating the Chinese without definitely committing themselves to communism, so that flow of Western aid and maintenance of friendly relations with China may be maintained together and at the same time. It is also possible that the Burmese people and their Government, apparently very friendly to the Indian residents in that country, were jealous of the competence that Indians generally were able to earn and put by generations of intelligent and, often, pioneering hard work in their country and possibly hoped that as the foundation laid by these hard-working Indians were already laid down, it should not be difficult for them, once the Indians have been made to leave, to fill in the gap and keep the economy running without much effort. But, mainly, it was quite clear, that the anti-Indian policies of the Burmese Government, were the outcome of instigations by the Peking as well as the Burmese-Chinese. The result has been a severe production and export drought in the Burmese economy.

But Chinese friendship has now proved to be very fickle and unreliable for the Burmese. It is understandable that Burma would not want to antagonise a militarily powerful and politically a highly infectious people like the Chinese. It was perhaps a case of over-enthusiasm on the part of the Burmese Government to have gone all out to please the Chinese more than they need have done. Recent events in Burma, as elsewhere in the world, has proved how unreliable, and even positively dangerous Chinese friendship may prove to be for any self-respecting people. Initially, perhaps, Gen. Ne Win had hoped that the bonds of race placed the Chinese much nearer to the Burmese than Indians and it would pay dividends if he were to try to please such powerful friends as the masters of present-day Chinese destiny. He obviously did not know, or if he knew he did not remember at the time, that to a Communist of the rabid Peking variety, race means even less than religion and provides no cementing principles to bind two peoples together; truth means merely a point of view which can be adjusted to suit particular circumstances and might—armed might—

is the only sanction which establishes social and political rights. So, however, great the measure of sacrifice that Burma willingly underwent to please her Chinese friends by driving out the large community of Indian residents in that country, the Chinese did not hesitate to break up her old relationship with Burma as soon as no longer suited her purpose to do so. Inevitably, therefore, Peking and Rangoon have fallen out with each other and only Rangoon has now to pay the price, for the lack of imagination and short-sightedness of her political leaders.

But there is yet time to repair old damages and get back to a footing of old sweet relationship if only General Ne Win decides to act,—act promptly, without pressure and in a manner more like a human being with proper human feelings and sentiments and not like a brutalized and unconcerned military leader. The most effective method in this process of restoration would be the most simple; first, denationalise certain categories of economic activity, such as agricultural production and small shop-keeping, which, in any case, can never be successfully and efficiently socialized. Secondly, all those who have been deprived of their trade under the process of nationalization should be immediately promised either restoration of their business or full and adequate capital compensation on a liberal basis. Finally, there should be a categorical assurance that any one willing to go back to that country and to his old trade or profession under such possibly changed circumstances, would find all necessary assistance and helpfulness from the Burma Government towards his speedy re-establishment into his old position and that there would be no apprehension of a repetition of old apprehension in this regard. It may take a great deal of bitter swallowing of needless vanity to do so on the part of any Government, but it would be the wise thing to do. Many Indians—possibly a large majority of them who were compelled to repatriate to India—would find it a relief to go back in such circumstances and re-establish his old footing in the country. So far as Burma is concerned it would unquestionably provide a very much needed stimulus to her stagnant and moribund economy. But, will wisdom prevail?

The Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been constantly before the U.N. ever since it was first brought to the attention of the Security Council. Unfortunately, no satisfactory settlement yet appears to be in sight. On the contrary all visible signs lead to the apprehension that the present pause in hostilities may prove to be very short-lived and there may be further violent armed engagements which may possibly escalate into an eventual global holocaust.

The attitude of the Israeli Government, supported by her Anglo-American sponsors and friends, appear to continue to be aggressive in both tone and design. The Israeli's persistent refusal to both give up its claims upon the Jordanian sections of Palestine as well as to evacuate the eastern banks of the Suez Canal, vital issues on which the Anglo-American bloc in the U.N., appear to remain overtly partial to Israeli claims, is something to which neither Egypt nor Jordan can be expected to willingly acquiesce. The role of the U.S.S.R. in these palavers seems to remain quite as indeterminate and non-committal as it has been at an earlier stage of the conflict. With the result that Arab unity, which appeared to be more of an amorphous kind earlier in the history of the U.A.R., would now appear to have found a strong cementing principle upon which to build a new structure of Arab cohesion and an anti-Israeli platform.

All these do not bode well for the future peace and development of the West Asian region. It may do much more. It may even be the first step towards the building up of a new Afro-Asian solidarity of a most lethal kind which may destroy the very foundations of peace and good will upon this unhappy earth. The Arabs have already pledged their continued loyalty to the leadership of the U.A.R. President Col. Gamal Nasser. The African nations also seem to be coming gradually closer to this newly resurgent Arab leadership. It was only inevitable in the face of the past oppressions of Western imperialist nations and their continued intrusions into African nationalism. If such an outcome of the present Arab-Israeli conflict ever comes to pass

and become a reality, then further violence in the Western-Asian and north African regions may become impossible to wholly avoid; and in that instance increasing involvement of West European powers in the present Arab-Israeli conflict may become equally inevitable and unavoidable. The picture seems to be still vague and uncertain, but the present directions of the build up of affiliations and attitudes do not seem to auger a peaceful future in the region.

In such an event the present indeterminate position of the U.S.S.R. may also be forced towards a clearer and more definitive stance. The Western powers, in the event of fresh and more large-scale hostilities, possibly only primarily between the Arabs and the Israelis, are not likely to remain neutral and indifferent. Their present pre-Israeli attitudes—even to the extent of repudiating most of the principles enunciated by the U.N. Charter—seem to clearly indicate that in the event of further fresh hostilities, they would not remain passive on-lookers, but will be bound to actively intervene, possibly ostensibly to limit the area of hostilities. But Western intervention—if the U.S.S.R. are really determined to maintain her spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and elsewhere—would very probably compel her direct participation in the conflict on the side of the Afro-Asians. If that happens, it is difficult to foretell what may not happen. Already Chinese overtures to the Arab nations and, by implication also to the Africans, would seem to indicate a certain eagerness on the part of Peking China to snatch the U.S.S.R.'s initiative in the middle East and establish a new sphere of Chinese influence in this region. This is something which the Soviet Union cannot afford to let happen. Here is all the build up for a future global catastrophe.

The attitude of the Anglo-American powers on the Israeli-Arab dispute is unmistakably dictated by their imperialist designs in the region. The methodology of the new post World War II imperialist technique may have changed materially, but its basic motivations and nuances remain unchanged and immutable. But the principal question is as to whether they are determined to pursue their questionable designs in this oil-rich re-

gion with the Israelis as their decoy-ducks to such an extent, that they would be prepared even to face the fearful possibility of another global holocaust? This is something the answer to which remains wholly unpredictable.

If the Anglo-Americans are really sincere in their professions of world peace, the only intelligent thing for them would be to compel the Israelis to abrogate their illegitimate designs upon Arab territory, accept a satisfactory compromise on the Palestine issue equally acceptable to both parties and compel the Israelis at the same time to evacuate the Gaza strip and the eastern banks of the Suez Canal. While the Israelis can have no legitimate claims on these territories, the very legitimacy of their claims upon even the territories covered by the Israeli state without these disputed areas is a highly questionable one. Prof. Arnold Toynbee has already pronounced that the resettlement of the displaced Jews from Europe cannot be a legitimate excuse for sponsoring a new state in territories which have been traditionally under Arab occupation for centuries past. If Britain and America were really concerned about satisfactorily settling the displaced Jews of Europe, they could easily be found very adequate and satisfactory homes in both England and the U.S.A. It was the dream of future world Zionist domination that led the Zionist movement to claim a separate state for the Jews and it is the obvious political implications of this claim that has been at the root of all the present trouble.

It is difficult to foretell at this stage how things will eventually shape out in Western Asia anent the present Arab-Israeli conflict. The only satisfactory solution which may be blessed with a measure of permanence would, of course, be the wholesale liquidation of the Israeli state. But that would, in the present circumstances, be to ask for the impossible. All that can be done to resolve the present deadlock is to recognize legitimate Arab claims and compel the Jews to accept and concede them. But to enable this to be done, it would be necessary to not merely eliminate present anglo-American pro-Israeli attitudes, but also obtain their positive and active cooperation in persuading the Jews to accept such a solution. Such a type of positively helpful Anglo-American attitude, however, is at present not on the cards.

Colonialism in Africa—The Present Phase

With the liquidation, in progressive stages, of colonies of erstwhile western imperialist powers that had started with the end of the Second World War, colonialism appears to have been increasingly assuming new and more sinister aspects in certain areas of Africa. The most obstreperous among these pockets of colonialism has, of course, been the Union of South Africa. It is notorious how the *bona fide* coloured South African populations have been not only deprived of all political initiative, they have even been robbed of the very basic human and social rights to which every human being is entitled in his own hearth and home. The British Commonwealth which, in name at least, had changed from a collection of British colonies to self-governing and equal members of the Commonwealth, naturally and vigorously objected to White dominance in South Africa and the segregation into inferior and sub-human status of the African populations in the country. Initially The Government of Britain tried to gloss over these objections by pursuing or ostensibly seeking to do so, lines of compromise which all proved infructuous, so much so that in the end the latter had reluctantly to acquiesce in a move to expel South Africa from the Commonwealth. But, so far as the white members of the Commonwealth were concerned, this expulsion has not meant any break on their part from the South African Government; they, have all, including Britain, reinforced their old relations with this white colony by individual treaties.

Very similar is the case of South Rhodesia. Although formally the British Government did not accept the proposals of the Ian Smith Government of South Rhodesia to a system of franchise under which the coloured populations of the country would remain perpetually subservient to, even enslaved by, a handful of white colonists, mostly of the British origin, its treatment of the so-called rebel South Rhodesian regime after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), has been singularly indulgent and forbearing. No doubt, the British Government sponsored a so-called economic blockade of South Rhodesia but in effect this blockade has had no result at all and

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has not, so far, visibly affected Rhodesian economy in the least degree. In fact, Britain appears to have been continuing to deal in South Rhodesian merchandise via South Africa. The whole matter of emancipation of the coloured peoples in these two and several other pockets of white colonialism in Africa would, thus, appear to have been left at a most unsatisfactory state. In other areas of the continent also there is evidence that constant attempt is being made by white colonists and their agents and friends to erode the independence of the coloured peoples.

The situation in Africa in respect of these former white colonies and now—in respect of some of them— independent white dominions, would seem to pose the question as to whether the Commonwealth has any positive role to play to enforce the emergence of a clearer picture of the lines that future political developments should assume in these regions. Patently, appeals to and intervention by international agencies like the U.N. are not likely to yield any favourable results. The U.N. has not merely not been able to induce any change in the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government, it has also been quite impotent to end South Africa's mandate over the territories of South-west Africa which the South-African Government has, for all practical purposes, annexed to its own empire in disregard of U.N.'s directives to the contrary. If, therefore, the Commonwealth desires, collectively, to do something to correct the situation to more acceptable norms, it will have to decide to assume a more positive role than it has been able to play so far. Within the Commonwealth Britain, despite her professions to the contrary, would do nothing to force issues; the other white members, such as Canada and Australia and New Zealand, are only likely to toe the lines that would be chalked out by Britain in this behalf. The only way out would seem to be for the non-white members of the Commonwealth to wrest the leadership of the Organization from Britain and chalk out their own lines of initiative in this behalf. It is only natural that Britain would not easily or passively abdicate her own leadership in the Commonwealth, but the principles upon which the Commonwealth is supposed to be based and the ideals that are supposed to inspire it, require that there

should be such a change of leadership. It may, of course, mean a break away from the commonwealth as such for the non-white nations. But they should be able to face such a possibility with equanimity. Liquidation of British leadership of the Commonwealth is not likely to affect, in the least degree, either the economic interests or the political status of the non-white members. On the contrary, the probability is that the Commonwealth would both gain in political stature and its non-white members benefit in greater measures of economic adequacy than under British or white leadership.

New Tones in Indo-Indonesian Relations

It is a happy augury of possibly widening areas of co-operation and mutual assistance between India and Indonesia that relations between these two Asian countries, which have so much in common, but which had passed through a period of extreme tension and strain, are being re-established on a firm footing of renewed friendship. There is a great deal in common between the two countries rooted in their respective past histories. Some of the cultural heritages of India which had been passed on to the geographical regions now known as Indonesia, and some of which India herself had lost but which have been carefully nurtured and preserved in the latter country, would seem to create bonds of affinity which differences in political ideologies may temporarily strain but, seemingly, cannot utterly destroy.

Now that the tensions of the recent past have been conjured away by a resurgence of Indonesian nationalism, a fruitful period of mutual co-operation and exchanges between India and Indonesia can, again, be confidently looked forward to. Both countries have so much in common. Both have suffered cruel exploitation and suppression of elementary human rights at the hands of western colonial powers; both are economically underdeveloped and have an overwhelming sector of primitive agrarian economy; what is even more important, both countries are heirs to a rich, composite and amazing pattern of integrated Indo-Islamic culture; and, what is of

the greatest moment, both are determined to build up a society along lines of socialist development.

What would appear to encourage and foster the spirit of mutual exchanges between the present Indonesian regime and India is the former's recent rapprochement with Malayasia with which the deposed Indonesian leadership was violently at enmity. This will also widen the scope as well as the pace of Indonesia's own development in which India would be only too happy to play such part as she may be called upon by the Indonesian people to assume. It would be recalled that India

played quite a considerable part in helping Indonesia during the period immediately following the latter's emancipation from Dutch colonial rule. Unhappily the leadership of the country started to move violently towards the left and, in that measure to develop a kind of abhorrence of India's catholic international ideals. Relations were strained almost to the breaking point, but happily the tensions have now been broken and the traditional relationship of friendship and mutuality are on their way to re-establishment on sound and lasting foundations.



DETERMINANTS OF YOUNG DELINQUENCY IN INDIA

GORACHAND KUNDU

Culture, manners, and customs, etc., of India are much at discord with those of the West. Expedients and ways of crime also differ greatly. Likewise causes of crime are not always the same. The resemblance of determinants of crime committed in India and other countries is not nil. Yet it will be predilected if the source of any crime committed in India is determined, depending on the reason avowed of similar offence committed in other country or countries.

An attempt has, however, been made here to resolve some determinants of the juvenile delinquency in India. In a survey carried out amongst the legally convicted inmates of the Reformatory School, Hazaribagh, Borstal (that includes Industrial) School, Berhampore of the Eastern Zone, 217 inmates of the said schools were personally interviewed. Also contact was made with their parents, relatives, neighbours, friends etc., to the extent possible. The Methods and Procedure have been distinctly discussed in "Young Delinquents of India".

Determinants

Economic : Generally people, even intelligent, scholarly and scrupulous people, frequently express that the causes of delinquency is poverty. Economic condition is one of the causes of delinquency, but not its only source. As it has been observed, at present delinquency is no longer confined to poverty-stricken areas but also extends to the well-to-do families; rather its incidence among the latter is found to be increasing.

Sexual

Obviously the sexual urge is one of the factors contributing to crime but it is not the original cause in every case. It is often noted that the initiative of the girls in sexual activities persuade the young boys directly or indirectly, to commit any offence. From the very tender age girls perceive that their main capital is sex, so to

say, which they use in many cases, "as a condition of the realization of other wishes" e.g., amusement, pretty clothes, excursion, etc. Juveniles commit offences to meet the stubborn demands of the girls for sex. Another reason of sexual lead by girls, is that the girls mature sexually early than the boys. In the language of Scheinfeld, "For a highly significant conclusion, reached in many studies, is that the first sex experiences of boys may be prompted less by desire than by curiosity or bravado and that young boys are in many instances sexually initiated by girls of their own age or younger, chiefly because their girl contemporaries are so much more mature sexually". Some young boy offenders, of course, take initiative as found in some cases.

Precocious puberty in girls, that arouse inquisitiveness in the young boys, may be one of the causes of juvenile crime. It was found that early development of secondary sex characters drew the interest not only of the boys but also of the girls.

An inmate of the Reformatory School, Hazaribagh, informed about a girl having precocious puberty. The girl was 10 years old when she was first interviewed. Her mother was a worker of a jute mill. Both mother and daughter could not be persuaded to co-operate. However, with great difficulty, the following information could be collected. The girl started her menstruation at the age of seven. Her breast development at the age of 10, was like that of a 14-16 years-old girl. Her axillary hair was scanty but she had thick pubic hair. She had sexual interest.

Later on again another attempt to make contact with the girl was made without success as the girl and the mother were not traceable.

Status Aspiration

Status aspiration is also one of the reasons for delinquency. The young offenders believe that wearing of pretty and high quality clothes, going to the restaurants, and hotels (preferably

big ones). enjoying the moving pictures from a costly seat, etc., are the prerequisites of higher standard. They also believe that they become more distinguished persons if they can procure a young girl to accompany them and can meet the expenses of entertainment.

The young may sometimes commit offence to get the attention and companionship of the girls. Also, children may commit some crime prompted by a sense of bravado.

Maladjusted Family

Maladjusted spouses often defame each other openly or secretly. Frequent disagreements, quarrels etc., keep the family in tension. Children rarely breathe normally. The maladjusted husband and wife rarely give proper attention to their children.

The virulence, spite, etc., of the spouses gradually breed malignity in the offsprings that sometimes is the cause of maladjustment between parents and children. At any time over strictness of the parents causes the maladjustment between them and children.

Certain parents believe that their progenies are their personal property. They desire to mend their descendants according to their longing. They want to realise their wish through their offsprings, disregarding the latter's wish and aptitude. Like overstrictness and suppression the maladjustment between parents and children is caused due to indulgence also. For want of proper relationship with the parents the children feel lonely in the home condition. They do not find comfortable and easy life at home. They go out for freedom in the larger world, and commit offence to accomplish their wish.

Association Fatigue

With the advancement of the civilisation the Indian joint family or the extended family is breaking up into simple family. Simultaneously the interest in the family, as it was in the joint family in the past, is decreasing. Throughout the year functions or festivities were almost the regular affairs in the joint family.

In the past, ceremonies were frequent either for birth day or for *Sadh Vakshan*, giving a pregnant woman a dinner, or for *annaprason*, ceremony of putting rice to a child's mouth for

the first time etc., when all the members of the joint family were delighted, and enjoyed the savoury food. For this reason the people rarely attended hotels or restaurants for elegant food, and for entertainments. In joint family, very frequently different Gods and Goddesses were worshipped, when the neighbours, relatives etc., were generally invited and they enjoyed it. Due to these various activities in the joint family, the members scarcely felt monotonous or fed up with association.

Simple family life, specially in eastern zone, is more or less continual. Festivity, pastime etc., are practically nil in the house-hold. The life now is depressive and uninteresting.

Unhappy marriage and maladjustment between parents and children are, also, the causes of association fatigue and dull life in the family.

For amusement, excitement, fun etc., and to get over the humdrum of family life the juvenile gradually becomes interested in the outside world. While some of them act unlawfully due to the influence of bad persons or criminals, some others commit offence out of fun and pleasure.

Decrescent Religious Fear

The main purpose of religion is to direct the followers to lead an honest life. Primitives prescribed some laws and rules, also prohibited some relation, to stop *melee*, to abstain male from transgression, and to restrain the female from adultery, etc.

The laws, rules and prohibition etc., which were preached by the religious persons to preserve the balance in the society are generally known as ethics. In the past people were more devoutly pious and theistic than at present. In the past though some adult crimes perturbed the society, yet the incident of juvenile delinquency was not so alarming as it is now. The main reason as it is observed is that religious scruple is decreasing in the society. Many people believe that religious faith is not unscientific only, but superstitious also. In effect moral training in the form of religious training in the primary school e.g. *Tol*, *Madrasa* etc. has remarkably diminished. As a result the progenies have become increasingly atheists. "The morality of the juvenile is degrading and criminality is progressing".

WANING CAST PRIDE :

Along with the decrescent of religious fear the cast pride is also waning. In the past the criminal activity among the higher castes was not so high as it is now. Generally the status, pride and the position in society curbed the high caste people from committing any offence. Also the early religious and moral training mostly restrained the descendants of high castes from indulging in any crime.

Mentally Unbalanced

Feeble-mindedness as well as lack of mental balance are, sometimes, the causes of crime. The mentally unbalanced juveniles fail to understand the social rules and laws and commit some offence only to fulfil their wishes. Mental diseases like kleptomania, insanity, epilepsy, psychoneurosis etc., are also the causation of crime.

Superstitions

It appears that a belief is prevalent amongst some sections of the miscreants, that the person having venereal disease will come round if the diseased person has an affair with a minor girl, whose periods have not started. The said affairs would not be merely of a contact but of penetration for complete recovery Very often the viles advise the juveniles to have affairs with the young girls to immunize themselves from venereal infection. Another belief is that one will have much wealth in life if one can steal without any second person's knowledge on *Nasta-Chandra*, the fourth lunation of either fortnight in the month of *Bhadra* (August-September). Also young boys are in many instances criminally initiated by girls, chiefly because of the sex superstition, that girls are no better than strumpets if they marry any person other than the boy, premaritally related.

Discussion

In the middle ages crime was described as simply brutal due to evil influences. It was believed that the causes of crime were the devil's handicraft.

Doctors differ in theories of the causation of crime in modern times. Dr. Bose opined "that crime is a disease of the social body". According to him, "a crime is the inevitable result of foregoing individual social, hereditary ethnological, and other factors".

There is no doubt that crime is anti-social or as Dr. Bose termed it social and may be abnormal. But all a-social and abnormal activities, recognised as offence by one society may not be marked as crime in another society. Take for instance kissing between the spouses in the presence of others in Westernised societies. In India the said action is neither a-social nor abnormal, but in traditional society that action will not be socially approved. The a-social and abnormal acts have a limit to be viewed as crime.

It is difficult to accept that crime is a disease. Disease, in all periods and in every country will be diagnosed as such. But crimes will not be so. For certain acts that are designated by one society as crime, but not so in another, even certain acts that at some periods in any society are regarded as offence, may be differently viewed at other periods.

Some disease may pass on from one generation to another. But whether crime can be transmitted from parents to the descendants genealogically, is a matter of great doubt. However, it is not easy to find out the causation of crime in the way as that of the disease can be determined.

Many criminologists accept the multiple-factor theory according to which, "a cause is complex—it consists of a number of conditions each of which is only a part of the cause". That is, offence cannot be ascribed to one or two determinants. But viewed that crime would spring from a vast diversity and "usually from multiplicity, of alternative and converging influences". The multiple-factor theory may be applicable to the West, but there is doubt whether it is suited to India in every case. There are cases whose causes are diversified. Yet in many cases in India it is found that the cause of a crime is attributable to a single factor.

Two major points, for the idea of multiple causes of an offence, have been envisaged in India: (a) Many investigators are confused with

the wide variety of causes and fail to assess properly the ground of a delinquency. Generally they mingle each cause with the other and opine that the causation of a crime is multifarious. (b) According to conventional definition a child is said to be delinquent when he is convicted. (He is used for child as in India there is no provision in the law to convict a minor girl). In many cases it is found that the delinquent, prior to his conviction, had committed offences several times. The ground of a crime is simple in the beginning, but as he is growing old and gathering experiences the cause of a crime is also becoming complicated. Hence when he was convicted, even for the first time, the determinants may be found multifold. And it is not easy for an investigator to trace back the single source overcoming the matted causes in a definite period of time.

Conclusion

It will not be unwise to speak in the language of Burt that, "it needs many coats of pitch to paint a thing thoroughly black." for adult criminals. The adult criminals, prior to their conviction usually have to pass through different phases or stages of delinquency. But it is doubtful whether the same thing can be said of these juvenile delinquents. Except in case of a few habitual criminals only one or two coats of delinquency may have been painted on the young. To find out the determinants of the juvenile delinquency may not be much difficult, if investigation is carried without any prejudice *ab initio*.

Usually people have repulsive attitude towards black objects. Any shortcoming, sorrows, crime, etc., are commonly compared with black. Investigators step forward with unbiased and positive attitudes in consciousness to determine the source of crime. But some bias may be working in the unconscious which unknowingly influence the mind of the investigator. Due to the natural tendency towards crime the investigators project their evil wishes to the delinquents and consciously try to understand the causes thereby lending a bias to the investigation. Due to the repression of the said natural tendency, the investigator often fails to acknowledge delinquents' honest life history as authentic, as we have a tendency to look for various motives behind each and every case of narration of their life history by offenders. This search for a vicious motive may originate in the desire of the investigator to trace a crime to that motive.

Lastly, as the author expresses, as 'what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose', similarly there may be no equal rule for all countries, as in one country a net of many factors is the result of "aberrant behaviour" in another country there may be a single determinant for a crime. Also the determinants of crime may not be similar in every country and in every period.

In conclusion the author expresses that the list of determinants of crime mentioned here may not be complete. During a preliminary study the determinants of crime mentioned above, have been detached. Further study is necessary for precise generalisation.

THE CHOICE OF TECHNOLOGY—NEED FOR A RE-APPRAISAL

PREM R. DASWANI

One of the main characteristics of the Indian economy is the scarcity of a number of factors of production such as capital, technical know-how and skilled labour. Another characteristic of the economy is the high degree of unemployment and a much larger amount of disguised unemployment. It is only logical that we should have a strategy of economic development that allows labour to be most productively employed as a whole with the use of limited capital resources that we have at hand.

There is a general notion that the Western countries have achieved economic progress because their industries have used mechanisation of a high capital-intensive order. It cannot be said that the conditions in India, specially those relating to the availability of labour and capital, are the same as they were in the Western countries at the time of their industrialization. The comparison is even much less applicable with regard to the present conditions in the West, where the cost of labour is very high. Since unit level profitability is the main criterion for investment in the Western countries, the problem of choice of technology is dependant on the market structure there. In India, the government directly participates in the economic activities and has freedom to adopt technique while considering the over-all economic gain rather than unit level profitability. The government regulates to varying degrees industries in the private sector as

regards location, size, price, foreign exchange allocation and could regulate the choice of techniques to be used in production.

Obviously, the techniques of production for many types of industrial operations in India have to be more labour-intensive if we wish to achieve over-all gain to the community. If such techniques are available or can be developed, we may have to consider what is the scope for such techniques, the extent to which and the areas in which they could be used, and the criteria for their choice.

Projects in India are generally evaluated on the recommendations of engineers who unfortunately do not have an adequate understanding of concepts such as social costs and social benefits. The economist, if at all he gets a chance to participate in the evaluation, does not know of the available techniques and the engineering possibilities that exists in every project. A case study of Bhakra Nangal project made by Dr. K. N. Raj illustrates these facts and shows that at the time of project appraisal the question of choice of techniques was not considered. Only fourteen per cent of the total expenditure of Rs. 200 crores approximately on the project was spent on unskilled labour. About forty-five per cent of the cost involved capital expenditure in the form of foreign exchange. Considerable savings in the valuable foreign exchange could have been obtained and considerably more employment provided if alternative techniques had been explored.

It is true that in sectors like steel, chemical fertilisers, oil refineries, heavy engineering and basic chemicals, we have necessarily to adopt highly capital-intensive techniques according to the known processes of production. There is however scope for research in developing labour-intensive techniques on the production line even in these industries. Moreover, there are many fields such as textiles, agricultural processing and numerous items of consumer goods in respect of which labour-intensive techniques already exist and their use would reduce cost burden on the economy as a whole. There has been little organized effort on the technical plane to identify industrial processes in which labour-intensive methods and techniques could be used, or to develop machines and equipment which are relatively more capital-saving. We have to blaze our own trail in these fields. Administrative action can only follow the establishment of such technical possibilities.

There is of course no 'a priori' solution to the problem of appropriate capital intensity in a programme of industrialization. Planning can only be a function of the overall objectives or goals, formulation of which is the political responsibility of the government. The alternative goals set by the government call for alternative optimum solutions. Consequently, to each particular set of goals corresponds a given combination of both labour-intensive and capital-intensive processes.

However, the establishment or expansion of producer goods industries with high capital requirements and long maturity-periods requires the simultaneous development of cer-

tain consumer goods industries with shorter maturity periods. Otherwise, the rise in income generated in the producer goods industries will create consumer demand which cannot be met, this will cause either price increases or pressure upon price controls, and in both cases, political unrest may follow. This in fact has been the result of the recent course of events in India. It follows that the small scale and cottage industry type of production not only should continue to exist but should be expanded at the same time as mechanisation is introduced in that sector.

It must be emphasized that there is no case for "freezing" technological change in the small-scale and cottage industry sector but only for regulating such change; and active measures to prevent the introduction of certain types of advanced techniques appear entirely justified. For, there is such a thing as an optimum technique from the larger social point of view in any given set of conditions, and the technique actually adopted by a private entrepreneur or a public sector undertaking may not conform to it. At the same time, positive steps should be taken for a planned transition from one technique to another so that the measure of protection given to the sector does not become its permanent feature. The case for such temporary protection whether it involves direct subsidization or not, has a parallel in the infant-industries argument which has been accepted by most recognized economists.

Criteria for choice

The problem of optimal choice of technology however can be treated with the full

generality with which it needs to be treated only in the context of complete, consistent and optimal programmes. Though it will always be necessary to make pragmatic compromises with inadequate methods and data, the nature of the inadequacies should be recognised. This statement can be illustrated by an example. One of the sectors in which the choice of technology is most important for undeveloped areas is transportation. Transportation systems can be based on railroads and locomotives and rolling stock of various types, or alternatively highways and buses, trucks and cars, or some combination of the two systems. The choice of methods is a choice of technology. Yet it is obviously not one that can be made in abstraction from the rest of the economy for the choice itself will determine how the rest of the economy develops. That is, it is not legitimate to ask "What is the optimal technology—railroads or highways—to carry a particular number of ton-miles of freight?". And leave it at that, because the answer to the question will change the way the question is formulated; specifically it will change the number of ton-miles which have to be transported to achieve the economic development specified. Therefore, it may not be possible to give any formula for an individual choice of the optimum technique for individual industries. There will be an optimum collective choice, which may be dependant on such ratios as the surplus per worker, capital-labour ratio, capital-output ratio, for all the industries and all the different techniques taken together.

Moreover, the scope for using a particular technique depends not only on the optimum collective choice, but also on many other

considerations including the size of plant and scale of production, the relative prices and types of labour and capital, the quality of the product, the cost on the relevant social infra structure and the future expectations with regard to each of these considerations. For instance, after the basic technological data for each industry, product or process (the alternative physical combinations of labour and capital) are assembled, they must be adjusted for the relative prices of labour and capital if we are to arrive at the least-cost combination of factors. The market prices of labour (wages) and of capital (interest rates) are, of course, influenced by the particular characteristics of labour and capital markets. The choice of technology may also depend on the quality of the labour force and the management element and the existence of, or possibilities of establishing, training facilities. Moreover, when calculating and comparing the capital intensities involve in different techniques of production, it is necessary to take into account not only investment in machinery and installations, but also investment in social infra-structure such as land reclamation, housing, schools and hospitals. Above all, plant and equipment need to be chosen with an eye on the capital labour combination to be expected a decade or more hence, and emphasis placed on flexibility. As a general rule, the longer the relevant time horizon of the plant (gestation period plus life of the plant), the higher should be the capital intensity of the techniques chosen. For example, some of the major transport installations such as railways and ports provide services for a very long period (fifty years or more) and

should, consequently, embody relatively higher capital intensity than others with a shorter time horizon.

Applications in the industry

In some cases the choice of alternative techniques for a given industry, product or process may in fact be non-existent or at least severely limited. As a general rule, however there is a great scope for employing labour-intensive techniques in the construction of all projects. A number of alternative techniques involving a wide range of different combinations of labour and equipment are available for construction activity. It is important to note that the share of total construction activity in incremental gross fixed investment in the economy is, on the average, about 60% in both underdeveloped and developed countries.

There are a number of technologically flexible" industries which allow for considerable substitution between labour and capital and which are therefore amenable to the use of labour-intensive technique in the manufacturing phase. In weaving cloth, for example, there is a spectrum of techniques involving different combinations of labour and capital ranging from primitive throw-shuttle handlooms through fly-shuttle handlooms, semi-automatic looms, cottage powerlooms, and factory non-automatic to fully automatic powerlooms.

Further, there is a clear distinction between ancillary processes and "core" operations in industrial enterprises. The former consist of materials handling, internal transport, warehousing, packaging, flying squads and main-

tenance shops, tool maintenance and tool making rooms, utilities and the like. There are considerable opportunities for employing labour-intensive methods in these operations. The use of labour need not hamper future rationalisation of them nor limit the total efficiency of the plant. As regards core operations in the "technologically inflexible industries such as heavy chemicals, fertilizers, steel, electric power and telecommunications, the attention of engineers, scientists and technicians should be drawn to the possibilities of selecting capital-saving techniques. Research and development of such techniques should be undertaken.

A field where wide variations in capital intensity appear possible is agriculture, as is the case with the field of transportation. This applies not only in to the capital in the more restricted sense of buildings, equipment and cattle, but also to capital including land. Land reforms have therefore particular significance for the choice of capital intensity in agriculture.

On the production line proper as well there appear to be opportunities for larger labour utilisation. For example, multi-purpose tools, and machines which operate at lower rather than at higher speeds may be used in place of specialized tools or high-speed machines which in over-all terms are more capital-consuming. In countries with capital scarcity, equipment should be utilized to the utmost, whereas in countries with short labour supply and high wages, more attention should be given to the workers' time so that it could be continuously occupied.

Government Policies

The planning of the growth of the economy, specially of the industrial sector, should encourage a technological process in the very small industry and handicraft sector to permit the expansion and growth of selected small industries in order that they may achieve some minimum efficient scale of production, and increase the interdependence of large and small-scale units through subcontracting and marketing connexions, while seeking to reduce large disparities in wages and productivity in these different scale enterprises. The guide-lines to be followed in the choice of techniques in the industry should be :

1. To the extent that it is technically and organizationally feasible, labour-intensive techniques should be employed in the construction phase of all projects.

2. In the operative phase, a system of techniques in descending order of capital intensity (progressively more labour intensive) should be selected in (i) machine manufacturing projects and transport installations with a long time horizon, (ii) other basic industries and projects producing important intermediaries, both products and services: also, those with a long time horizon (gestation period plus lifetime of machinery and equipment), and (iii) all other projects.

- 3 Special consideration should be given to export industries projects facing competition in the world market from developed countries.

4. Within this system of preference in techniques, production operations in the operating phase of a project which cannot be subsequently mechanised without additional

heavy costs should embody relatively higher capital-intensive techniques.

Application of these guide-lines will enable planning authorities to the extent possible, to select factor proportions consistent with the maximum use of labour within the given institutional and social limitations, prevent an uneconomic structure of costs of production and losses arising from technological obsolescence and safeguard export industries facing foreign competition,

There are certain points in investment decision-making where the influence of public policy on the choice of technology in the private sector should be made clear. When government financial institutions are asked to make loans to private enterprises for the purchase or modification of plant equipment, account be taken of the technical as well as the economic and financial merits of the application. The lending institution should have the professional staff, economic and engineering, to enable it to examine the alternative technologies available.

There are certain economies of scale in the industry derived from the facilities of economic "overheads" such as research, bulk buying and selling cheaper and easier credit facilities, advertising, standardisation of products, specialised facilities for tooling and repairs, organization of specialized maintenance staff, facilities for specialists' advice and so on. These facilities can be provided to small production units by surrounding them with appropriate agencies—private, co-operative or statutory—which can take over the functions of economic overheads and perform them as common services to small units.

Research and information facilities provided by the government can also do much to increase awareness of technological alternatives. Research organizations may find it useful to investigate the machinery and equipment and engineering services available in those more advanced countries where small scale industries are relatively more significant (Italy, Japan, for example), or where small industries are notably efficient (Sweden, Switzerland, for example). Small scale industries may derive special benefit from these government research and information facilities, since they are often unable to provide this knowledge from their own resources.

The government has set up a large string of national laboratories amply housed, generally equipped and with large complements of scientists and technicians. They have not been sufficiently oriented, however, towards solving the productive problems of industry; nor have they in turn had adequate opportunities to demonstrate the results of their researches, to establish in pilot plants on a commercial scale whatever they have proved in their laboratories. The management of a public sector undertaking, on the other hand, is anxious to avoid the risk and bother involved in trying a new indigenous process as against importing an establi-

shed equivalent abroad. A system must be devised whereby in appropriate cases the hazard is assumed by the government and the public sector management is safeguarded against a failure arising out of the novelty of an untried indigenous process.

A vigorous policy of support and encouragement to indigenous consultancy and design engineering in all fields and more specially in the vital fields of steel-manufacture, oil refining, fertiliser production and metallurgy, is one of the imperative necessities of the current situation. The issue must be approached, however, with discrimination and not merely in a spirit of patriotic fervour. Whenever necessary, foreign processes and services may be used instead of undertaking in minor cases heavy expenditure which is not justified by the present level of development in the country.

In the running of public enterprises, the government should provide a model for private investors by using efficiently labour-intensive methods wherever feasible. Here the efficiency of the system of industries or utilities as a whole must be kept in mind. Application of the principle of optimum technology to the system as a whole need not preclude intensive use of machinery in particular operations in the system.

FAMINE IN PURULIA AND BANKURA

MIHIR SEN

The gigantic effort that is being made in Bihar both by the Government and non-official organisations leaves an overwhelming impression of an all out crusade, a war being waged on all fronts. At every district headquarter I found the District Magistrate's office converted into a sort of control room, bristling with maps, charts, graphs as in a battle headquarter. Competing almost with equal vigour are the offices of Jayaprakash Narayan's Bihar Relief Committee dotted throughout the land. Besides I found the field offices of various voluntary organisations scattered in the numerous towns and villages humming with activity. It seemed not only the entire country, but the whole world has come to Bihar to fight the great famine.

As one crosses into Bengal, however, and enters the famine affected district of Purulia, he is almost immediately aware of a slackening of pace, a certain absence of purposiveness in the air.

One of the first persons I encountered on entering Purulia district was a sad little boy, pathetically emaciated, standing by the roadside munching something halfheartedly. The time was nearly 2 p.m. Talking to him I learnt that their family of 8 residing in the nearby village of Ayemundhi, under Sadar Block depend solely on the meagre income of Rs. 30.00 of his elder brother who works in a

hotel somewhere in Bihar. His mother had died due to lack of medicine 2, 3 years ago. His younger brother Dukharanjan aged about 6 died a fortnight ago due to starvation. In their house rice had not been cooked for 10-15 days and in fact no cooking had been done for the past 5 days. He had some 'Moori' in the morning and was munching a handful of dry 'Cheera' for lunch. He did not know if he would have anything to eat at all at night.

Talking to people in the village I soon found out that the condition of most people was that of this little boy.

Satyanarayan Pande and Motilal Pande of the same village confirmed that the boy's brother had indeed died of starvation and added that they had authentic reports of starvation deaths in nearby villages of Chirka and Dimdiha. There was no free kitchen in the neighbourhood—the nearest one being in Lalgah miles away—and that many people were starving in Joypore Block. They have had no test relief work, only 10 people had received agricultural loan (out of a total population of 500) and despite repeated applications none of my informants had received any loan. They implored me to tell the authorities in Purulia that they had no seeds and unless they had some within 15-12 days, their lands will lie fallow. Nearby in Bartard village I found practically every-

one bringing something to sell in the 'hat'—a goat, chicken, even an old Sari, so they may buy some food. Food was nowhere to be had. This then was my introduction to the beautiful district of Purulia rendered desolate and ugly by a disaster, that I would later discovered was of far greater magnitude than I had imagined.

When one reaches the district headquarter there is no escaping from a sense of anti-climax. Right in the middle of the grim crisis the government has transferred the District Magistrate (called Deputy Commissioner in this district). The present incumbent has taken charge only on the 10th of June and is yet to know his district, let alone get acquainted with the colossal challenge that confronts Purulia and its population of one and a half million people. I did not find any control room nor any combative zeal to tackle the gruesome problem. There was marked reluctance to disclose or even discuss the facts of the problem and visible absence of enthusiasm and vigour at the nerve centre of the district administration. It was a depressing experience to note the degree of complacency and emphasis on routine that dominated the official attitude barring honourable and rare exceptions.

After acquiring the district of Purulia in 1956, the Government of Bengal seem to have lost all interest in it. Today, this potentially most prosperous district is the most backward and poverty-stricken. There isn't a single industry nor even a mile or canal in Purulia. As a result, its 1,500,000 population are entirely dependent on a one-crop-a-year agricultural economy which again

is totally left to the tender mercies of the rain god.

I was shocked to find that not an acre of land is irrigated by any perennial system of irrigation independent of the vagaries of monsoon. The numerous tributaries of Subarnarekha, Damodar and Kausai crisscross the land. Yet no attempt has been made to exploit the irrigation potential of these streams by storing up their water in vast, reservoirs. Nor any conscious policy was pursued to instal diesel pumps throughout the district. Last year alone one crore of rupees is reported to have been spent in various relief works in Purulia, yet no deep tubewell was sunk nor a pump installed which alone can solve Purulia's problem permanently. As a result the farmer in this fertile district is condemned to grow only one crop (Aman paddy) and do nothing the next six months. The same land I found, when irrigated produced three crops in Bihar. Hence the total, abysmal poverty of the farmer in this beautiful district. History will never forgive the the politicians the way they have destroyed this god's gift of a country during the past twenty years or the way they are trifling with it now.

The present famine in Purulia and Bankura are only incidentally natural calamities but essentially man made.

Purulia has been reduced to such ignominious state of degrading, chronic poverty and wretchedness that the Government spends every year almost a crore in various kinds of relief but no determined effort was ever made to devise ways of irrigating the lands. At the cost of Rs. 10 crores a small scale

integrated irrigation scheme could be developed which would ultimately supply water to the fields round the year and enable most of the farmers to grow 3 crops a year instead of one and atleast double the wealth of the of the district and banish hunger and suffering for ever.

This calamity can however be turned into a blessing if the Government immediately prepares a master plan for smallscale irrigation system in both Purulia and Bankura which will include sinking of deep tubewells (by borrowing some of the giant Halco-Tiger and N.C.D.C. rigs now operating in Bihar) and installation of 5 H. P diesel pumps at Government expense throughout the district. The numerous small streams and tributaries could be dammed and reservoirs created to hold monsoon rains. Large tanks and artificial lakes (Purulia town was saved during the summer by the big tank which is situated inside the town) could be dug up as part of an intergrated plan to irrigate the 2 districts. The Central Govt. is willing to advance funds. In Bihar this is exactly what is being done. Otherwise all the lakhs and crores that are being spent now, will have no long term effort.

Rains did not fail completely last year in Purulia. But the rain fall had been both erratic and less than average not only last year but during the past three years as may be seen from the date below :

Normal rain fall—53 inch

1964—49 "

1965—44 "

1966—36 "

Last year 1¹/₃ of the total rainfall however occurred in the 3rd week of June when it was not needed.

As a result crops failed extensively and in some areas the harvest was practically nil. The following figures of production in a well looked-after fertiliser-supplied, partially irrigated farm of 50 acres belonging to the famous Leprosy Mission in Purulia will show how rainfall had adversely affected the production not only last year but during the past 3 years.

Normal harvest—900 maunds

1964-65—800 "

1965-66—420 "

1966-67—139 "

What happened to the poorly fertilised non-irrigated fields of the impoverished peasantry can easily be imagined. Often I found in whole areas the harvest last year was a total failure.

The problem of much neglected Bankura I found was practically the same. Bankura with a total cultivated area of 300,000 acres and a population of 18 lakhs (compared to Purulia's 700,000 acres and 15 lakhs) has an irrigated area of 125000 acres (15.5% of total cultivated area) served by D. V. C. canals. Rainfall was slightly over half the normal last year (normal 50 inch, last year's 32 inch). As a result the harvest in the district was one third of the normal yield. But this again is illusory, since the irrigated areas had normal crops and in the non-irrigated areas which is almost 85% of the total the average harvest was a mere 10% and in some places nil. Bankura has no industries and the entire population depends on agriculture which again is a one crop economy except for the small irrigated areas. I was told in Bankura, as I was told in Purulia there were 'Schemes' for irrigation which have remained in blue prints all these years. Out of 22 blocks of

Bankura district 10 are totally in the grip of of famine and 7 are partially affected. Since the vast majorities of the population both in Purulia and in Bankura are landless labourers, the grip of famine on this section of population in the "partially" affected 7 blocks of Bankura is also both complete and severe.

To anyone with foresight it would have been clear as daylight by September 1966 that famine was coming to these areas. In Bihar it was realised at about this time that danger was ahead. Red lights were flashed from the districts, news papers started publicising the crop failures and the strident voice of Jayaprakash Narayan made it a world issue.

Here in Bengal although I am told some of the district authorities sent S. O. S. to the Writers' Buildings, no serious note was taken, no alarm was sounded. Routine relief measures which were resorted to in earlier years were instituted. No attempt was made to assess the progressive nature and extent of the disaster nor any integrated plan prepared with an eye to the removal of the real source of the calamity—the problem of irrigation. Measures undertaken in 1966 were only different in so far as vote catching aspect of these were prominent since it was an election year. The opposition parties, too busy in mutual squabbling were interested in the problem again with a shrewd eye on the short term result in terms of votes.

It is a pity, a great pity that at the time of Bengal's harrowing misery no single leader of eminence found time to take up the case of the starving children and suffering mothers and crusade for them as did Jayaprakash Narayan.

I heard in Purulia unsavoury reports of misuse of relief funds last year. I also found for myself the shameful utilisation of meagre funds available to Purulia district for brazen political purposes even now. For example, almost 300 of the 550 rickshaw-pullers in Purulia town are already receiving fortnightly gratuitous relief (that is Rs. 2.60 per head for each adult member and half as much for each minor in a family per fortnight either in cash or in kind) from the government and the rest 250 are expected to get the same benefit soon, which incidentally is earmarked for the blind, diseased, old, disabled or totally destitute. Curiously enough I found the Biri workers of Purulia (they number several thousands) enjoying the same windfall. Now the rickshawpullers I ascertained by talking directly to several of them earn between Rs. 4.00 to Rs. 5.00 per day and the Biri workers get a little less. The reason for this favoured treatment was not far to seek. The unions of both these groups are controlled by a dominant extremist partner in the present government.

KHANDU BOWRI—a youngman of about 30, lives or rather exists, God knows how, with his 7 dependents in village Khan-nadihi under the sadar block of Purulia. He is a landless labourer and one of the 12 lakhs worst hit by the famine in this district and has absolutely nothing to live on. He was denied as no doubt many, many thousands in the distant villages have been, the inadequate blessings of Gratuitous Relief. Doubtless, he seems not a lucrative political investment right now.

It was refreshing however to see the alertness and desire to do the best under the circumstances on the part of the district

authorities in Bankura, especially of the District Magistrate Mr. D. N. Banerjee.

It will not be out of place to point out the magnificent work that is being done by non-official bodies and organisations. Foremost in the field is C. A. R. E. (Co-operative American Everywhere) who are feeding one meal almost everyday to 300,000 children in both the affected districts. Ramkrishna Mission, Bharat Sevak Samaj and the National Christian Council deserve every credit for the great work they are doing. The students wing of the Lok Sevak Samaj, Women's Co-ordination Committee, the All Bengal Teachers' Association, the Red Cross, the House of Birlas, amongst many others are doing their best to fight the scourge. But with approximately 40 free kitchens in each of the two districts, the unofficial effort, doubtless most laudable, is hardly a drop in the ocean.

The magnitude of the non-official effort that is being made in the worst affected district in Bihar can be seen from the following figures:

District	Population	Number of free kitchens
PALAMAU	1,300,300	400 approx.

The Government in Writers' Building it seems has only now woken up to the frightful magnitude of the problem and belatedly has decided to open 250 free kitchens each in Purulia and Bankura from this week. Each of these kitchens is expected to feed 500 persons (200 grams each) or a total of 125,000 persons in each district, which will meet only a fraction of the vast problem.

I feel to meet the problem of mass hunger in the worst 3 months to come, that is upto

end September, Purulia will need atleast 500 more feeding centres and Bankura 350, each feeding 500 persons at the rate of 200 grammes per day.

I appeal to the religious and charitable organisations, as well as to the giant business houses to open a few kitchens each in this areas. To run a kitchen of the above size it is estimated to cost between Rs. 4,000.00 per month. For 3 months a feeding centre will cost (based on Government estimates) no more than Rs. 12,000.00. Volunteers can be raised. Any one willing to help may write to National Emergency Relief Service at 11 Pretoria Street, Calcutta-1

Jayaprakash Narayan's Bihar Relief Committee, financed entirely by private donations has opened as many as 1000 free feeding centres in Bihar and feeds daily 500,000 persons ! Nothing has been done in Bengal to compare with the work of the B.R.C. although the problem is perhaps more acute now in Bengal.

As rains have started, the ill organised and scanty Test Relief Work projects are being discontinued.

Government has sanctioned agricultural loans for purchase of seeds etc and cattle purchase loans in both districts, which I found both terribly inadequate and worse administered.

PURULIA BANKURA

1. Agricultural loans sanctioned since April 1, 1967. Rs. 1,900,000 — Rs. 2,000,000
2. Cattle Purchase Loans sanctioned since 1.4.67 Rs. 90,000 — Rs. 82,000

Upon investigation I found the agricultural loans amount to from Rs. 20.00 to Rs. 100.00 per head but the distribution is very slow for two reasons: 1. The B. D. Os who are working hard and honestly in most cases are terribly short staffed. The distribution is through their offices. Under each block there are nearly 150 villages looking after 60,000 to 70,000 people. 2. The machinery of loan distribution is both cumbersome and infested with red tape. The procedure must be streamlined and simplified.

The amount of agricultural loan is totally inadequate. The needs of the farmers are at least 10 times greater than the amounts sanctioned,

The less said about the cattle purchase loan is better. The amounts sanctioned are so small and the need so great that it has become a joke.

It will doubtless help if a small delegation of officials go to Daltongunj in Palamau district to study how the energetic young Deputy Commissioner Dr. K. S. Singh has planned and organised his massive relief operations there which has won him the admiration of the whole country.

But the most urgent problem and by far the most serious one is the question of availability of seeds for sowing. Since there was practically no harvest and people had to subsist on whatever little they had, most families have eaten up the seeds and have none for sowing. The need of seeds per acre is 15 Kg for one sowing. In some parts of Bankura I found people who had sowed after the first shower, watched the same burn out as no rain fell afterwards. There might be the need of a second sowing.

The need of Purulia district alone has been estimated at 10,000 tons by the District Relief Committee. Out of this the government has been able to acquire and distribute or sell only 250 tons! The need of Bankura district is of equal proportion. But the district authorities there have not been able to acquire even 200 tons,

The Govt. of West Bengal has now woken up and are prepared to sanction money to the District Magistrates for purchase of seeds. But there are no seeds to be had in Bengal or in the neighbouring states. What was there has been procured by the far more alert officials of the Bihar government. If the West Bengal govt. had started their drive for seed procurement in March or April last, there was some possibility of finding sufficient seeds and in time. Now that the rains have already started in Purulia and Bankura districts, the need for seeds has assumed emergency proportions. IF SEEDS ARE NOT SUPPLIED WITHIN SEVEN DAYS FROM NOW THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF HARVEST IN THESE DISTRICTS EVEN IF THE RAINFALL IS ABOVE AVERAGE. The Government and leading non-official organisation must join in issuing a national appeal to all the states in India and if necessary charter planes to fly the seeds to the affected areas. I must warn vast stretches of fertile land will lie idle in the two districts and farmers will have nothing to do and nothing eat not only this year but in the next as well. Politicians must cease playing politics for at least 15 days and the seed problem must be tackled on a war footing.

Another problem that needs to be tackled with equal urgency is that of health. With the onset of monsoons, the half starved people already suffering from acute malnutrition and lacking resistance to diseases, will be unable to withstand the attack of epidemics which is sure to stalk the land soon.

Most of the thatched houses I found have little straw to protect the inmates from rain and cold. Due to failure of crops neither the farmer had straw to thatch his hut nor the cattle had fodder. Means must be found to afford protection to the people from elements.

Clothes is another problem. Women I found have only one sari—torn and patched at many places—and Children none at all. A drive must be organised at once for old and new clothes for these people.

The problem facing Purulia and Bankura is just as gruesome and horrible as in Palamau or Hazaribag. The only difference being, in Bihar the Government at the prodding of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and their press woke up to their task and planned to meet the challenge as early as October last year. Since nothing was done in Bengal in the way of tackling a grave emergency in a planned way, the severity of the problem has assumed menacing proportion. The situation is so dangerous and the task so big that it is clearly beyond the powers of the state to meet it. The Government must shed its inhibitions and declare the districts as Famine area. True, they will not get any more money than they would otherwise get from the centre if they do declare famine, but we can draw upon the sympathy and assistance of the whole

country and the world, which we can ill afford to lose. The great need for publicising the plight of Bengal can hardly be overemphasised. The child that cries loudest gets the milk. This was dramatically brought to my notice by the head of the Ramakrishna Mission in Purulia, who also believes that the district



should be declared a famine area at once. He had appealed to his counterpart in Bombay to collect funds for Purulia and Bankura. But when the Maharaj in Bombay appealed for funds he got cheques marked for relief in Bihar. When he requested the donors to give something for the famine affected areas in Bengal, he was told they had not come across any news paper reports that there was famine in Bengal.

If the present Bengal government wishes to create a sense of urgency and obtain non-official help from other states of India they must declare Famine in Purulia and Bankura and also in Malda and West Dinajpore. What I saw there was the picture of harrowing famine. For the sake of the dying chil-

dern in the arms of the emaciated mothers whose tears have even dried up from their pleading eyes, for the sake of the proud peasantry who have now been reduced to the status of beggars, the Government must admit facts and declare famine. Otherwise the normal responsibility for not having done all that could be done, will rest heavily on their shoulders.



The sight I was confronted with in the remote village of Durlavpore in Ganga-jalhati Block in Bankura district will rankle in my memory for many years to come. This village is under an Anchal (a group of 8/10 villages taken as a unit for Panchayat election purpose) with a population of 8000. The

first free kitchen in the area was opened in Durlavpore on June 24 by the Sankarcharya of Puri. It will feed 150 per day. When I arrived at the free kitchen at about 1. p.m. I found the whole area thick with people who looked more like ghosts than human. Suddenly a young woman aged far beyond her years tucked at my elbow and pointing to her baby kept repeating in a choked voice 'Save my baby'. The 'baby' was an infant which had been cruelly deformed and shrunk by rickets. Although I was told it was over a year old, it could not have weighed more than 3 pounds and looked more like an old man than a baby. For it had nothing but a wrinkled skin over a bundle of bones. The baby did not look, nor cry. I knew it was alive for it was suckling at its mother's breast. The woman squeezed her nipple to show she had no milk. She wiped her eyes, possibly out of habit. But she had no tears for even tears must have long dried up. I pushed whatever money I found in my pocket. It was too horrible, too diabolical to even watch a human child die little by little and not be able to do anything about it. In anger and shame I perhaps turned away from the scene, but not from the memory which still haunts me like a nightmare.

FIFTY-TWO YEARS BACK

UNDER THE TITLE FAMINE IN BANKURA

The district of Bankura in West Bengal is in the grip of famine. This district contains a population of 11, 38, 670, of which a large proportion consists of aborigines like the Santals and semi-aboriginal castes like the Bauris. It is a poor district and almost entirely dependent on a sufficient and evenly distributed rainfall for its crops when this fails, the necessary result is scarcity or famine. Bankura is thus described in the official District Gazetteer.

"The District is liable to famine owing to its dependence on the rice-crop, and to the absence of a complete system of irrigation works to counteract the effects of a failure of the rains. The normal acreage of the rice-crop is no less than 529,000 acres or 88 per cent, of the normal net cropped area, and winter rice alone occupies 507, 000 acres or 84 per cent. Though a certain amount of artificial irrigation is carried on by means of tanks and of embankments thrown across the line of drainage, the greater part of the rice-crop is dependent entirely upon the rainfall, and this must be not only sufficient, but also well distributed. A deficient, or badly distributed rainfall is specially disastrous to rice for the prospects of the early rice are seriously prejudiced by scanty rainfall at the beginning of the monsoon, while its premature termination is injurious to the winter rice-crops. If there is a failure of both these crops the people have little to subsist on except maize and

inferior millet crops, until harvesting of 'rabi' crops in the latter of March. The 'rabi' crops again are grown on a comparatively small area, occupying only 10 per cent of the normal net cropped area, and in a year of rainfall, they are deficient both in yield and area, owing to want of moisture at the time of sowing. The result is that if the rice crop fails completely, distress inevitably ensues."

Last year the harvests were poor, and this year owing to absence of timely rain there has been no *aus* or early rice-crop and there is little hope for autumn rice crop. The draught again has produced scarcity of water. Dr Prankrishna Acharji, M. A., M. B. Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Prof, Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M. A. of City College, and Babu Satya kumar Banerjee of the Modern Review office, recently visited the district. Their opinion is that the state of things there is already more serious than what it is in the Tippera district in East Bengal. Dr. Acharji estimates that from November about 8 lacks of people will require relief of some kind or other. Already a few deaths from starvation have taken place. Unable to feed their young ones some of the villagers are selling them for a rupee or two. There are some men who have gone without any meal of rice for a month. They are living on *bhootta* (Indian Corn), *kend* (fruit of a kind of ebony tree), *marua* (a kind of millet) and wild grains, herbs and roots of various

sorts. An appeal issued by some leaders of the district says that Many of the people who live by manual labour left the district to seek employment elsewhere but most of them found none and had come back to misery and privation. The stream of these famished people presents an awful spectacle. Their haggard faces, their feeble steps, all depict a condition which language is too weak to describe. Young men, women and children have the look of old people from the effect of sheer starvation. Famine is stalking across the land and is claiming some of them as its victims. The gravity of the situation demands urgently the opening of relief works on a broader basis extending over all the affected parts of the district. As this necessarily means a very large fund at the disposal of a body of hard-working, upright and experienced volunteers we appeal for help in the name of the suffering brethren of this district to those

who can improve the situation either by money or service.

The Ramkrishna Mission, the Students of the local Wesleyan College under their Principal Rev. Mr. Mitchell, the Bankura Relief Committee with Babu Binodbehari Mandal as its president, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the Social service League, and the Bankura Sammilani are making efforts to mitigate the sufferings of the famine stricken people. But the resources of these bodies are so small, and the number of people to be helped is so large that unless the Bengal Government gives relief on an adequately large scale the loss of life will be very great.

Any help that may be sent to the Editor of this Review will be most thankfully accepted and very carefully spent to mitigate distress.

[Ramananda Chatterjee—The Modern Review, Oct., 1915, Pp 443-444]



Indian Periodicals

My observations here will be confined to the role assigned to, and played by, the scientific community of India.

We in India have specific targets for strategic and key industries, such as, refinery capacities, steel production, electronics industries, atomic plants, etc,—in fact, a broad-based programme of industrialization. But we do not seem to have clear goals for our scientific and technological achievements. For example, it may be asked: Will the steel plant after Bokaro be designed and erected by our own men? Then, what happens after Haldia? Will the equipments be fabricated at home? Progress towards India's Self reliant economy will greatly depend on the kind of answer that may be given to these questions,

Naturally, the relevant question arises: Are we prepared to give our scientific brain-power a chance? The mere pace of industrialization is not the only criterion of economic independence; but it depends mainly on how we plan the role of our scientific brain-power. It seems our leaders are afraid of giving our own men a trial. We do not appear to trust them; we do not seem to believe in their capacity. We fear that they would fail, that these would commit mistakes if given independent charges; we treat them as eternal minors. We do not sanction foreign exchange for any pilot plant for experiment, lest it should prove infructuous.

In fact, we ask them to seek collaboration in a production programme with foreigners. But foreign collaborators insist at the very outset that they will have their own design for the plant. Take the case of Nitric-Acid plant of the

Trombay fertilizers: it was designed by the planning and Development Division of F. C. I., but was scrapped because the foreign collaborators would not accept any design other than their own. Secondly, foreign collaborators generally install machineries of their choice on the plea that they can not otherwise give performance guarantee. But this may be a business policy,—a camouflage to perpetuate our continued dependence on them.

The foreign collaborators seem to expect that we, the host country, should be a "mere passive partner leaving design, erection, management, price control, raw material supply, in short, practically every thing in their hands. Their primary interest generally speaking is to continue to secure business contracts from us on their own terms.

We suggest that the way-out lies first, in accepting foreign aid or collaboration on terms that allow enough scope for development and display of initiative among our scientists and technologists. It is not that we do not have first-rate engineers: for instance, our engineers have designed and erected the Nitro-phosphate and Nitro-limestone plants at Roukela which are among the biggest in the world; again, our men have designed the Plutonium extraction plant in the Atomic Energy Establishment without foreign help.

Secondly, we should give up the attitude of belittling the potential and achievements of our fellow nationals and overrate the calibre of the foreign expert. And thus our industrial undertaking must go ahead with a phased programme of building up a corps of competent des-

igners and engineers and of fabricating equipment parts and spars for future expansion.

Thirdly, our engineers, technologists and scientists must have facilities for displaying their independent initiative, which alone can inspire our administrators' confidence and they must be entrusted with positions of responsibilities for starting and managing future plants.

Fourthly, on account of the "lack of the right type of administrative support, we have failed so far to make an effective utilization of the majority of our scientists and technologists. It may, therefore, be recommended that we do take immediate steps to evolve an integrated programme of developing the initiative of our scientific and engineering personnel, and place them in positions of power to take decisions on their own account.

Fifthly, we must evolve a body let us call it Academy of Sciences of India, just like the

Academy of Sciences of China, or the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, or their counterparts in the U. K. and U. S.; And we must ensure free and continuous dialogue—within the laboratories, between National Laboratories and University men, and between the industry and governments—which alone can guarantee scientific progress.

It must be remembered that foreign aid, foreign collaboration, foreign supply of technical know how, etc.—should be used by us, if we may speak figuratively—"as a springboard: not as a sofa" to relax on; we should use aid as a "jumping-off ground"—for take-off into self-reliant growth and not for perpetual use and continued reliance on outsiders.

It all depends: it depends on the extent of faith we have in our indigenous talents and the present and future role we visualise for them and assign to them.

—Thus wrote Sri Karunamoy Mukherji under the title "A Note on 'Towards A Self-Reliant Economy' For India" in *The Visvabharati Quarterly*, Vol. 31 No. 2, 1965-66.



Foreign Periodicals

Under the title **ARABIA DECEPTA: A People Self-Deluded** **TIME** writes:

The West is baffled by this people. The vision of a once great civilization moving into the modern world should be a cause to fire the Arab mind and spirit, a unifying challenge to build national pride and progress. Yet for two decades, Arab leaders have been more interested in mounting suicidal wars against Israel. If the Arabs truly weighed their own self-interest after their latest, disastrous defeat, they would face facts or so a Westerner would reason—accept Israel's extended hand, and join in desert-blooming projects that could lift the whole Middle East to unprecedented heights of peace and prosperity. To begin this process, they would not need suddenly to embrace the Israelis, or grovel to them; they would need only to acknowledge the country's right to exist. But most Arab leaders utterly reject this idea. Even seemingly rational and well-informed Arabs cry that perpetual war against the enemy has only just begun and sincerely argue that "justice" requires the end of Israel as a state.

The world's 10 million Arabs have shown time and again a total inability to swallow their pride—and a total ability to swallow their own hyperbole; The worse their humiliation, the more unbending they seem to become. A refusal to accept unpalatable reality can be a very human trait on which the Arabs have no monopoly, yet the Arabs carry it to dazzling extremes. What ails them? Can they overcome their condition and function successfully in today's world? Or are they really a case of arrested development, doomed for generations to the kind of emotional and political instability that makes the Middle East one of the world's danger zones?

NO CREDIBILITY GAP

The Arabs are suffering from one of history's worst inferiority complexes, caused by the shock of discovering that a glorious past has become irrelevant in a powerless present. The original Arabs were the Semitic tribesmen of the Arabian Peninsula, the passionate nomads and born makers of creeds, whom T. P. Lawrence called "people of primary colors." Today one can hardly define an Arab, the name spans a racial rainbow. "Arabs" may be a squat Lebanese, tall Saudis, white Syrians or grape-black Sudanese. They include dollar-dizzy Kuwaiti, secretive Druzes, Gallicized Algerians and Christian Copts. Only about 10% are nomads, while most live in villages and cities (some very big: Baghdad 1,000,000; Cairo, 4,000,000). Egypt is the Arab "capital" which fielded the largest army against Israel. But Egyptians were not originally Arabs, although they are now so considered. They come of Hamitic stock, a submissive people widely weakened by disease and the Nile climate, who have rarely in history won a war. The Saudis, among the purest Arabs, are also among the best fighters, but did not really fight Israel. Arabs fight bravely enough on their own soil—as the Algerians did against the French or the Jordanians in Palestine. Yet despite all the anti-Israeli passion, few other Arabs are really eager to risk their lives for the Arabs in Palestine. The "Arab nation," which is so often talked about by the leaders, is nothing but "an act of will," says British Arabist Sir Hamilton Gibb. It does not correspond to any visible political entity. Pan-Arabism is at once a Miltiesque dream of things past and a poetic assertion of a unity that does not exist.

Still, the diverse Arab peoples do have much in common. They tend to be both puri-

tan and morbidly erotic. They are emotional—at feasts or in war—to the point of delirium. They carry on ancient forms of politeness and hospitality, which, Princeton Scholar Morroe Berger suggests, help to control the most violent impulses of aggression. Yet they are also patient to the point of crippling fatalism, a trait reflected in the constant phrases, *INSHALLAH* (if God wills it), *MALESH* (it does not matter), and *BUKRA* (tomorrow). Above all, what they have in common is a language. “An Arab is anyone whose mother tongue is Arabic,” says Gamal Abdel Nasser. It is not only the chief bond, but a chief source of trouble. Its whole stress is on rhetoric and resonance, not meaning and content. How poetically an Arab speaks is far more important than what he says. “In Arabic”, asserts one specialist, “the medium squared is the message.”

Forbidden wine by the Prophet, Arabs often grow intoxicated on words. Florid exaggeration is a supreme Arab art. An Arab refugee does not tell the facts, he utters an epic of lament. “Words cannot describe the disaster we have suffered.” An Arab general does not say he will attack with 10 tanks, he is more likely to mention 50,000. Arabs do not want to admit Israelis can shoot, they say enemy guns use a new “homing device”. Damascus radio is not just critical of U. S. policy, it depicts “fat, mad” President Johnson “drinking Arab blood” and warns, “O Johnson, drinking blood will destroy your stomach.”

Sophisticated Arabs often explain that in the Arab world, everyone understands that exaggerated language is not to be taken literally and that the West must not take it literally either. Still, *ELFYZA* (verbalization) decisively shapes Arab thought and action. Arabic tends to act as a compensatory mechanism, producing a world far more attractive than the real one. Such an escape from reality was the recent blatant Nasser-Husseini lie that Anglo-American

planes helped Israel. Arabs believed it because it could have happened. Arab truth is meant to be only approximate or potential. There is no credibility gap among Arabs, so long as a statement, however fantastic, fits in with what they want to hear. “Everyone knows that Jews cannot fight,” Arabs explain. “Therefore somebody else must have fought for them.”

THE RISE OF EMPIRE

Language is also a vital element of the Moslem religion. Mohammed's one miracle was the Koran's language; the fact that this highly literate and eloquent body of precepts suddenly flowed from the mouth of an illiterate merchant in 7th century Mecca. The book of 77,934 words, memorized by millions for 50 generations, embodies much of Judaism and Christianity, which sprang out of the same awe-inspiring desert. Both simpler and more static, Islam postulates a fixed way of life ordained by God and transmitted to man through a series of mortal messengers (prophets), notably Adam, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Until Mohammed, man misinterpreted the message, but the Prophet revealed it correctly. He permitted Moslems four wives (he had about a dozen) and invented a masculine eternity full of nubile virgins, a paradise assured by good works and obedience to simple rules, such as praying to Mecca five times daily. The quickest way to heaven was by dying in a holy war to spread the faith, the only war permitted.

Islam had no priests, only “teachers” and virtually no theology. Crucial to its later stagnation was the fact it had no analogy to Christ's martyrdom, no sense of suffering in the Jewish pattern that might have prepared Moslems for adversity. Islam was an instant success. In the power vacuum left by the disintegration of the last remnants of Roman and Byzantine order, Mohammed's hard-riding followers quickly achieved one of the world's

greatest military conquests, Armed with fast cavalry and such innovations as the stirrup (giving lancers leverage), Arabs swept east to India and west to France, subjugating Persia, Egypt and Spain. Within 100 years, they won an empire bigger than the one the Romans had built up in 600 years, and they commanded the world's trade routes from Canton to Cordova.

No mere destroyers, the fighters under the banners of Islam set up garrisons and developed a high culture. The world owes to them algebra, trigonometry, many chemical compounds, pioneering work in astronomy, medicine and horticulture. Yet missing in Arab science was any true sense of creativity, despite its technical inventions, it regarded knowledge more as a matter of gathering the known than exploring the unknown.

THE FALL OF A CULTURE

The Arabs empire failed because they lacked the skill of political synthesis. In conquered territory, Arab rulers hewed to the Koran and tended to let the conquered govern themselves. Mohammed designated no successor (caliph); his squabbling heirs split Islam into rival sects. For a time, independent Moslem states retained Mohammed's vigor. While Europe slept, great Arab universities flourished in Cordova, Baghdad and Cairo; in Spain, the Arab philosopher Averroes revitalized Aristotle. After the death of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid in 807, the Baghdad caliphate plunged into civil war, in succeeding centuries, marauding Mongols poured into the Arab lands, killing people and wrecking schools. In two centuries, ending in 1291, Arabs fought off eight Christian Crusades. Gradually, the caliphs lost touch with their people, becoming decorative mollusks. Finally the Arabs lost even their economic importance to the world, by sailing around Africa to India in 1498, the Portuguese outflanked Arab ports and customs

stations. After seizing Egypt in 1517, the Ottoman Turks ossified Arab culture, banning Arabic except in courts and mosques, halting poetry, science and education—just as the European Renaissance was in full bloom.

Asleep for three centuries, the Arabs awoke from isolation when Napoleon took Egypt in 1798. At first they were fascinated by Western ideas, from mixed bathing to parliamentary democracy. Western imperialism, symbolized by the Suez Canal, changed the fascination to hostility. Britain "temporarily" occupied Egypt in 1882—and stayed 75 years. By 1914, Britain, France, Italy and Spain owned all of North Africa, manipulating puppet princes, exempting themselves from local law and stifling local initiative. European goods carried little or no duty, native industries were taxed to death. Britain long held spending for Egyptian education to 1 p.c. of the budget, France left Algerians 5 p.c. illiterate. A few collaborators grew rich: a mere .5 p.c. of Egyptians owned 36 p.c. of all arable land; 5 p.c. pocketed 50 p.c. of the national income. As one result, there was no development of a middle class, which might have created viable economies and stable governments.

By 1920, Europeans controlled virtually the whole Arab world—the largely bitter fruit of Arab cooperation with Britain against the Ottoman Turks in World War I. At the time, the growing Zionist movement argued that Palestine was a "land without people for a people without land." In fact it contained 640,000 Arabs. Even so in different circumstances, the Arabs might well have been able to accept a Jewish state in their midst. But against this historical background it was easy for nationalist propaganda to inflame the Arab masses and to make the establishment of Israel seem like the ultimate indignity. In Arab eyes, the West was not only using the Jews as agents to colonize Palestine but to eject its native population. Arabs see Israelis as naked aggressors, the spearhead of a Western attack on their entire culture.

Clearly, the west wrote a recipe for revolution. But the army-backed regimes that have seized power in many Arab countries since 1948 have not harnessed the revolution to constructive ends. They seethed in self-pity and plunged into irrational external misadventures

rather than rational internal development. Admittedly they faced huge obstacles. One of the major inhibitors of Arab progress remains Islam. As a religion, Islam goes on attracting millions of non-Arabs, from Nigeria to Pakistan and the Philippines. It is clear, reassuring, tolerant even animists can profess it without giving up their assorted spooks. Here and there it has been able to change with the times. To almost all Arabs, though Islam is still God's perfect society—and the problem is how to respond to the upsetting fact that Western technological society is evidently a lot more effective. Arnold Toynbee points out that Moslem Turkey solved the dilemma by separating church and state, jettisoning Islamic law in secular matters, adopting Swiss and Italian legal codes, switching from Arab to Latin script and inspiring Turks to enter commerce against Islamic tradition. But unlike the Turks, who still retain much of the brash confidence of Ottoman rulers, Arabs are unable to shed Islam's heavy hand. Arab culture has no positive secular alternative to religion. As Harvard Divinity School's Wilfred Cantwell Smith puts it: "The Arab world has had no Tom paine or Voltaire." Besides, the Judeo-Christian tradition enables man, in the freedom of his will, to contend with nature, even with God. The notion of such creative tension is alien and frightening to Islam.

The Need for Ego

Along with the Moslem religion centuries of foreign occupation have left the mass of Arabs with scant sense of nationhood, cooperation or civic responsibility. The masses today are a political factor, but they are not politically active in the usual sense. Says Nadav Safran, Harvard professor of government: "The relationship can be compared to a circus. The people are the audience and the government is the performer. The audience expresses its approval or disapproval, and the performers respond to the cheering or the booing. But neither feels that the audience enjoy any right to determine what acts should be performed, or in what order or how." The Arab's loyalty is to himself, his family, his tribe. Long isolation has stunted Arab mechanical skills and so have traditional social prejudices. The manual worker is still looked down on: every self-respecting Arab always had some underling to take care of his camel,

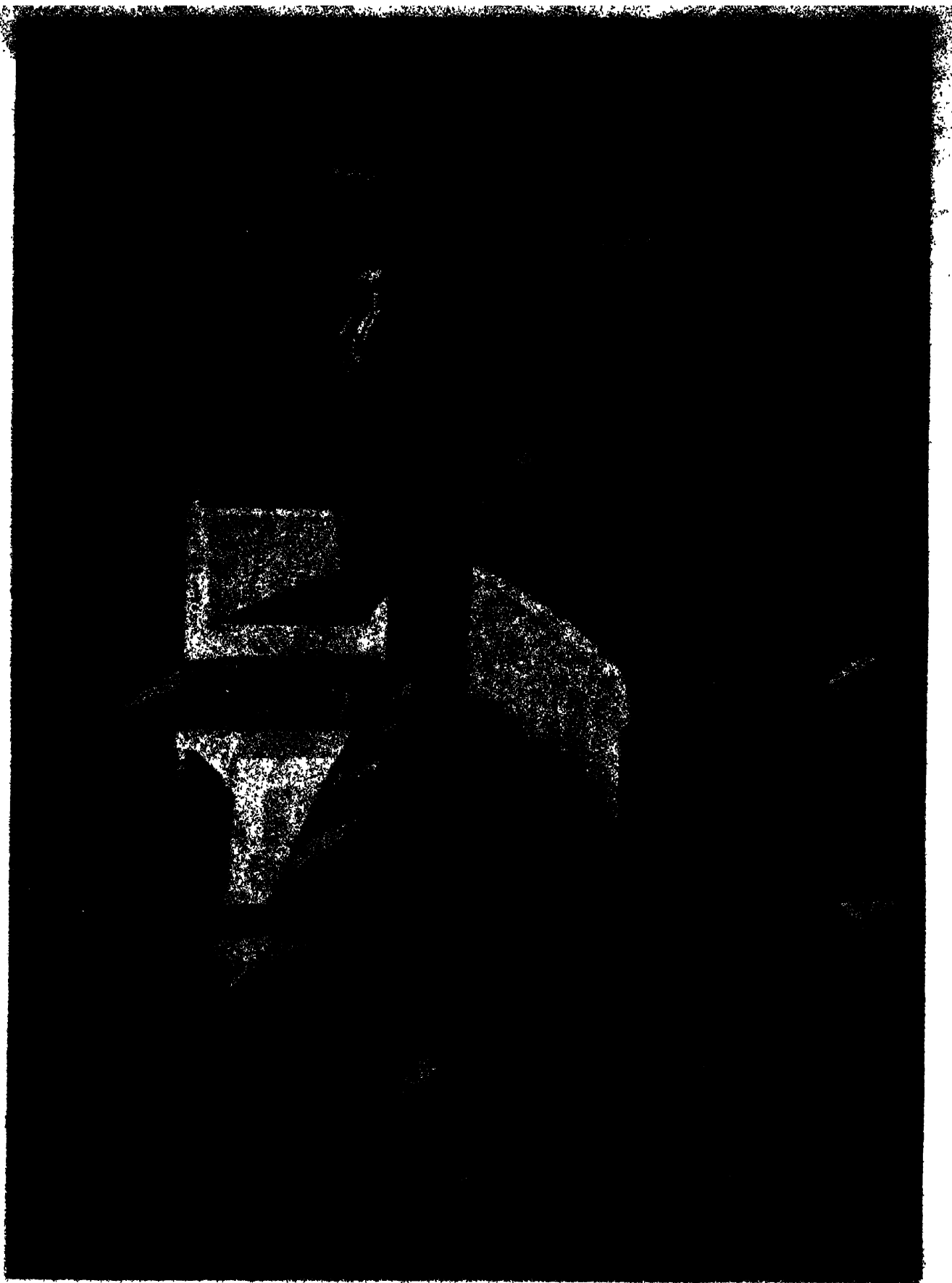
and many Arab mechanics feel that they are lowering themselves by taking care of machines. It is true that Egyptian engineers have done an excellent job running the Suez Canal and the Lebanese have developed some highly mechanized agriculture. Yet these are the exceptions. Basically, the Arab yearns for Western technology, but does not comprehend or want the Western ethos that makes the technology possible.

The tragedy is that the Arabs' humiliation over their failure to catch up has been projected into hatred of dynamic Israel and all the "Western" attitudes it represents. In the Arab case self-contempt has not been a goad to positive achievement, as it sometimes can be, but rather to self-destruction. Today it is often forgotten that Nasser's 1952 revolution began as the most promising event in modern Arab history. Here was a completely secular government devoid of Islamic hobbles, one that stopped barefoot wretches from sleeping in the Cairo streets and moved them into high-rise apartments. Here was a leader who asserted that the Koran could be made compatible with "Arab socialism" who emancipated women, started birth control, planned the Aswan Dam, produced nuclear energy, renounced Egypt's claim to the Sudan, and even sought a Palestine settlement. Yet even Nasser could not resist the temptation of turning from the slow, difficult tasks of true growth toward the easier course - feeding his people's hunger with vision of revenge on Israel. Russia chose to arm the fantasy. In the end, Nasser bluffed and blustered himself into war and defeat and mortgaged his country as a pawn of the Soviet power struggle against the West.

At heart, most of the Arab masses may really be indifferent toward Israel, but they have been so hypnotized by propaganda that they no longer realize this. There is an aching need for one courageous Arab leader to call reality by its name and break the spell of illusion. But it can scarcely happen now. It probably cannot happen until the Arabs begin to feel "equal and different" toward the West, including Israel; until they find sources of pride and confirmation of manhood in causes other than holy war, until they begin to distinguish the difference between word and deed. That day seems remote.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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THE CALL TO PRAYER

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Gaganendranath Tagore

MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST :: 1967

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Way to Prosperity

How do nations grow out of poverty and achieve prosperity? The economic history of prosperous countries should give one some guidance in this field. There are countries where the people are, generally speaking, well housed, well fed, properly clothed, adequately educated and trained for useful work, medically treated whenever required and fully protected from want in old age, in sickness, when earning members of the family die or when there is no gainful employment. In these countries the lowest paid workers can obtain all the amenities of a fair standard of living and there are no ugly signs of poverty or of any criminal and sinful exploitation of the masses by certain sections of the people. There are inequalities but these are inequalities in the degree of happiness that people enjoy. Inequalities in the possession of wealth too; but, nobody is left anywhere to lead a life of misery, starvation, ignorance and utter destitution. No one dies unattended when sick and no one has to beg in old age or when there are no earnings. The people are all happy and reasonably well off, though there are individual differences.

There are other countries where the people are not so well housed, well fed and so well pro-

lected from want and suffering. The people are, however, not all equally badly off. Some have a better time on account of being attached to governmental work. Others are better off for specialised knowledge and training. Many of these countries are socialistic and others permit private enterprise. But whether socialistic or not so, the fact of having a less developed economy reacts on the way of life of the majority of the people. Comparing the factors controlling the economies of different lands, one finds that the basic political principles guiding distribution and consumption of wealth do not affect the way of life of the people so much as the degree of development that a country's economy has attained. That is, where the man-hour rate of production is high due to better and greater use of power and mechanical aids, the workers obtain a higher real wage rate and where work is done in a primitive manner without proper machinery and organisation the wage rates remain low, no matter how elevated the social philosophy of the country is. The most important consideration in the determination of the standard of living of the people of any country, therefore, is the economic progress that the country has achieved. There used to be a period in man's history when people lived and worked like slaves and were granted a pittance for their existence by their political or economic

masters; but those days are no longer there. The workers of all countries can now bargain for just and fair wages and they do, in fact: enjoy a very much better life as workers in many countries where their ancestors lived like bond slaves. The wages prevailing in the eighteen hundred nineties

the industrially advanced countries were counted in six penny bits where the workers would now receive as many pounds. Most of this increase has been possible by the introduction of better machinery and superior organisation. The workers too have been able to secure much better wages and amenities by bargaining than they could have had through revolutions. Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, West Germany, Italy and Switzerland have bypassed Revolutions and reached an economic destination which is far in advance of what the workers of Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and China have reached by marking time in the field of wages and consumption. Society is now organised in a manner in which freedom and the right to better one's position in the community by individual effort is an accepted economic fact. The deterministic iron law of wages no longer exists in the free and industrially advanced countries of the world. If in any land a man is so unfortunate that he can be made to work and live according to the expressed dictates of other people, such a man can be found in a socialist state too.

Politics and economics are inter-related no doubt; but neither can totally control the growth and progress of the other. Quite often political forces condition economic development, while at other times economic currents sweep aside political obstacles. In India since 1917 the political leaders have been playing with the economic life of the nation. The result has been mass unemployment, shortage of consumer goods and creation of indebtedness on a terrifying scale. Economic forces are now likely to take the upper hand and seek newer ways of becoming active and useful.

A tremendous store house of man power remains untutilized and great natural resources lay unused. Proper use of these should remove poverty from India and capital formation should take place automatically and without any interference from the State. The political leaders are no doubt eager to do good to the country in

an authoritarian manner; but they should restrain their impulses and give the natural forces of economics greater freedom to mould the potentialities of the country. Freezing this or unfreezing that will be as useful as Gold Control and Sri Desai and other political overlords should devote their time to make the administration sound and free from corruption. It is notorious that no Department of Government runs properly and in the manner that it should. Railways, Posts, Telegraph and Telephone, Police, Courts, Public Works, Insurance, Medical Services, Education and everything else managed by the State need overhauling. There is plenty to do for all big shots. There is really no need for them to think out newer ways of doing good to the people.

The country can develop along the lines laid down by the accepted processes of economic growth. Had the State not been over eager to dip their fingers in every pie and to act as the dictator of everybody's conduct and the reformer of everybody's morals, the people might have developed their own standards of conduct and morality by now. But a Sunday School Government with the teachers addicted to a long list of vices, made the public the naughty boys of the school. The result is that nobody has any standards of behaviour nor any sense of right or wrong now. The teachers are still there thinking out newer ways of doing good to the nation. It is time they realised their own faults and began to do small things correctly before undertaking difficult tasks. But they do not feel satisfied if they do not have a new inspiration every day. They go to Alaska or to Chile in search of inspiration if they cannot find any at home. Never in the history of mankind have there been so many idealists in one city at the same time doing no good to anyone but talking themselves hoarse by their ceaseless recitals from their self-composed *Hitopadesha*. Why they cannot run their trains on time instead of working out the much stiffer problems of poverty, population and desert control, we do not know. They can also do many other ordinary things like the building of necessary roads, schools and hospitals; but they must do much greater things. There are men who always live in the future with their

plans and schemes. Such men make bad cooks; for they never get your meals ready but spend their time making out the menus for next year's dinners. That is why we must bind our political leaders down to what they must do now and prevent them from regaling us with their fairy tales of what shall happen hereafter.

Landless Cultivators

In India there are large numbers of persons who live by cultivating the soil; but not as owners of the land. They cultivate by some sort of arrangement with the actual owners. The arrangement usually is that the owner and the cultivator share the produce. Or, in other cases, the cultivator is a hired man and gets his wages for the work he does. There are subterfuges and tricks by which the owners deprive the cultivator of his fair share of the produce or a living wage as the case may be. There are also some cases where the cultivator does not give the owner his legitimate share of the crops grown or he avoids doing a fair day's work even if he is paid fair wages. The idea, therefore, that the actual cultivator should own the land and the non-cultivating landowner forced to give up his rights, is one of expropriation for reasons that may or may not be acceptable as economically sound. If the non-cultivating land owner has to yield up his possessions, he should be paid some compensation and the land thereafter should belong to the State and not to any individual. For to-day's cultivator may cease to plough the land tomorrow, and then the trouble about ownership will continue. If all land belongs to the State by proper land acquisition and actual cultivators are made to pay rent to the State for the right to cultivate, things become more rational. But then there may occur some difference between the rent paid and the profits that could be made by cultivation, and business arrangements may again develop between the rent payer and the actual cultivator who will naturally be some new individual every fifteen-twenty years. So that if the State wants only actual cultivators to own the land during the period that such cultivators actually

carry on the work of cultivation, the State will find it a difficult rule to enforce. Some temporary hulloo bulloo on alleged socialistic grounds will not assure that owners and cultivators will always be the same persons. Renting out State owned land to actual cultivators will not be any guarantee of enforcement of this basic principle either. If the State has all its land cultivated by paid men, the costs will mount and production may not be as good as it would be if the land were owned by the cultivators. Those who glibly talk about "Naxalbaris" as a solution for this intricate problem of ownership and actual use of the owned land, machinery or other resources, should realise the true dimensions of the problem. There are many who think that a nation's economy becomes more easily operable when all resources are socialised. In fact a socialistic economy is much more difficult to plan and operate than a system in which no fetish is made of any particular principle of ownership and work. There are some types of work which can be best done on a State ownership basis. There are others which require private ownership and enterprise. A socialised system of cultivating 600 million acres of land by 100 million families is a difficult task. A guarantee of ownership of land by actual cultivators, is just impossible.

Development of Rural India

The development of the villages of India has been neglected by all governments of India since time immemorial. As a result the villages are without proper roads, communications, water supply, conservancy, medical aid and educational facilities, with some exceptions no doubt, but very few. The tremendous man power that India possesses, has been wasted for hundreds of years, because the basic work of rural development has been ignored. Even during the Congress *raj* of nearly twenty years since 1947, the villages have been grossly neglected and inordinate preference has been shown to industrialisation and window dressing for making an impression on foreign nations. Relatively useless departments have been opened to prove our equality, in point of modern

and progressive outlook, with the best of foreign nations. But we forget that half a million primitive villages with their snakes, swamps, isolation and lack of the basic amenities of life provide habitation to more than 70 per cent of our population and these people have a per capita income of six pence a day. Their isolation and undeveloped condition prevented their workers from doing any better. Now as labour power is the most perishable of all valuable resources, we have allowed the productive ability of crores of persons to perish unutilised for the 7,000 odd days of Congress rule. If five crores persons remain idle 7,000 days and if the value of their work power is even rupees two per day, we have lost 70,000 crores worth of valuable man power during this period due to our own negligence. If this man power had been converted to capital in the shape of roads, bridges, canals, reservoirs, buildings and other useful things which help people to produce value, India's annual product might have increased by 7,000 crores per annum.

Let us not waste our time crying over spilt milk. The megalomania and love of appearances of some leaders have landed us in difficulty. Let us get out of it as best as we can. We have similar leaders still among us who travel to the ends of the earth to learn something that is right under their nose. We have other leaders who spend their time creating impressions on unfriendly nations and on immature minds; but these are the normal hazards of having existed under foreign rule for two hundred years. A slave mentality expresses its subconscious urge to remain a self psychologically in different ways. The recital of outlandish slogans and visits to Denmark for learning new ways of growing guavas are just symptoms. If now the people of India press the various governments which are looking after their well-being to concentrate on rural development to the extent of a 100 crore a month scheme for five years, we can easily envisage what may result from such a venture. About 10 million i.e., one crore persons can be engaged in governmental, semi-governmental and private undertakings for rural

development. The work will be road making, digging canals, reservoirs, wells, tanks, flood water conservation, drainage, conservation of human and animal manures through septic tanks and other arrangements, building better houses, tree planting, cattle breeding, fish culture, poultry farming, piggeries; animal husbandry, fruit and vegetable gardening and bringing all possible land into economic use. If the governments spend 2 to 3 rupees a day on these workers directly or indirectly the total annual expenditure will be 600 to 900 crores for 300 days' work. The incidental expenses may be 300 to 600 crores. That is, the gross expenditure on these undertakings will be between 900 to 1,500 crores. Let us say the governments will not be involved beyond Rs. 1,200 crores per annum. If 20,000 villages are improved and properly linked up with developed areas annually the governments can recover about 500 crores annually by sale of building sites on the newly built roads. Shops, yards etc. rented out and betterment taxes should yield more than that amount annually. Rent from new fisheries, charges for water supply and irrigation facilities will also bring in a good revenue. It is quite possible that the realisations from the above described sources and from general taxes caused by betterment of economic conditions will make good all expenses incurred. And it must be remembered that almost the entire work done will have the nature of capital formation. The income yielding capacity of such development is cumulative and its indirect gains are manifold. In five years, this work will directly bring in an increased annual income to the nation of nearly three thousand crores. It is therefore a matter of supreme importance to the nation to go in for this rural development work as early as possible. Our exports will increase much sooner through such development than through any industrial effort. For there is always a demand in all countries for many of the products that will come from an expansion of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and exploitation of other resources. All fruits, nuts and seeds which can yield oil are exportable. All tanning material and medicinal raw materials are also exportable. And improved agri-

culture will make India self-sufficient in food and imports of foodgrains will stop, thus enabling a great saving in foreign exchange. With the development of roads and the villages, pressure of population on the cities will ease up and eventually the great differences in standards of living in the cities and the villages will gradually disappear. This will vastly increase India's economic strength and make the nation strong and efficient.

Language, Religion, Caste, Complexion

The above are some of the factors which create human disunity and mutual hatred. Everybody knows that the world has many languages and quite a few are very highly developed while others are not. There are gradations in development and languages are not static. They grow and develop. Religions too are no longer so deep rooted in the human mind as they used to be in the past. But they are strong enough to create disunity and start civil disturbance. There are, however, other types of faith and fanatical belief which cause dissensions of a more intensive kind. There are politico-economic ideologies which are strong and wide spread. These cause warfare of the crusade and zihad variety and entire nations are enslaved in the name of liberation by the soldiers of these new faiths. Caste can create breaches which are difficult to repair, though the inner strength of the caste system may be waning. Castes still help to form castewise cliques and coteries and that is how the appearances of caste consciousness are maintained. Complexion provides ground for rigid racial differences and this has remained a powerful force in the sphere of human antagonisms in Africa and America. In Asia, Buddhism, Islam; Hinduism and other religions had toned down the rigours of colour consciousness through the centuries and it no longer affects Asiatic society in the manner it does in other continents. Intelligent people should ignore these factors of disunity and try to build up a universal human community.

Employer-Employee Struggle

Since the introduction of representative democratic governments, state owned productive establishments, joint stock companies, co-operative societies and other types of economic institutions owned and operated by different kinds of public and private organisations, the simple classical class struggle has yielded place to employer-employee tussle. The employers now-a-days may not be and usually are not the owners of the capital invested in economic enterprise and the employees have very little contact with the actual owners of capital. The employers, as far as the workers are concerned are the managers, the directors or the managing agents of the industrial-commercial establishments. In the state owned institutions the employers are the ministries or the departments in charge of the particular units. This lack of direct contact between the owners of capital and the workers has become a source of danger to the nation's economy. For the employers, not being the actual owners of capital, do not feel for the safety and profitability of their property in that intimately personal manner as did the owner-employers of the past. Officials follow rules and regulations, costings, schemes and policy in a hard and impersonal way. Industrial disputes do not touch their personal feelings as they did in the past with the owner-employers. The agencies that have been set up by the Chambers of Commerce or the Government to settle disputes also have no direct personal interest in settling the disputes. In some cases these agencies allow disputes to go on and on in the manner of law cases.

In the circumstances industrial peace has slowly become nobody's business and disputes rage everywhere in an uncontrolled manner due to the apathy of Managers, Managing Agents, Boards of Directors, Ministries and Governmental Departments. The numerous unseen owners of capital, who may be the vast number of shareholders or the tax payers, have no hand in the "class struggle". The leaders of the workers also do not particularly desire industrial peace and some of them, try to add fuel to the fire in order to gain some political advantage. The share

holders and the tax payers have no approach to the problems that beset the healthy management of their affairs. So that both the workers and the capital suppliers are prevented by intermediary bodies of officials and leaders from coming to a settlement of their disputes. The general public also suffer by reason of civil disturbances, stoppages of supply of goods and services and loss of income caused by the instability of the market. The necessity therefore arises for driving home the responsibility for this unstable state of affairs to those who hold up settlements of disputes. The Managers, Managing Agents, Directors, officials, Ministries and Labour Leaders must be forced by the general public to come down to brass tacks; discuss all matters *openly* and make proper and just settlements of these endless disputes. The nation cannot afford to spend all its time and energy in facing demonstrations and in getting mixed up with disputes which never end.

Middlemen always look to their own advantage and convenience and do not care very much to safeguard the interests of those who are more fundamentally connected with what middlemen handle. The workers, the suppliers of capital and the consumers suffer when things do not run smoothly. But the middlemen who handle their affairs viz., the Ministries, Departments; Boards of Directors, Managing Agents; etc., etc., do not particularly chase things actively to bring about stability and smooth conditions of work. It is high time the persons whose concern all economic matters are, took a direct interest in handling things.

The Gherao as a Safety Valve

The Gheraos have begun at a time when economic conditions are very unbalanced and people are suffering from lack of food, want of good government, unemployment and difficulty in securing all essential commodities. The conditions in fact, are such as favour breach of peace on a very large scale and one appreciates the patience and love of peace of our long suffering people. That some of them have indulged in Gheraos and

thus given expression to their feelings of frustration and anger, has helped to let off steam without causing explosions; and we should not be over critical of the conduct of the masses. As a matter of fact those who think of strong police action against the workers, as do some top industrial tycoons, make a great mistake. The Gheraos may have been a wrong way to approach industrial settlements, but they have surely been rather a safe way compared to some other possible alternative methods of dealing with persons (private and public) who undertake to organise and operate the economy of the nation but fail miserably to run things smoothly and well.

Nuclear Weapons

Many countries now possess nuclear weapons. Among these countries some are clearly inimical to India and others are none too friendly. There is therefore quite considerable possibility that India will get involved in war with some nuclear power; but there is no certainty that any country possessing nuclear weapons will come to the assistance of India if nuclear weapons were used against her. India therefore is gambling with her independence and making her 51 crore inhabitants run the risk of a hideous death by being foolish over the timely development of nuclear defence. Mr. Morarji Desai thinks India cannot afford to have nuclear weapons. The facts of the case prove that she cannot afford to do without nuclear weapons. A nation which can borrow ten thousand crores in foreign money and fifteen thousand crores in Indian money, surely cannot say that she cannot manufacture nuclear weapons. If we really go deep into the matter we may find that the fear of displeasing America and Russia is at the root of India's avoidance of nuclear weapons. Yet these countries will not guarantee nuclear assistance to India in case India faced any danger of a nuclear attack. Humming and hawing in a diplomatic make believe cannot satisfy India. There must be an unequivocal and unconditional guarantee of instant support from all nuclear powers; or else India should take immediate steps to make and possess sufficient nuclear arms to

deter all intending aggressors from using any such weapon against her.

Nuclear Progress of China

China's dreams of world conquest have induced the Chinese to chose the path of maximizing armaments at the cost of reducing the people's standard of living to the minimum level. The Chinese people to-day have reduced their consumption much below the bare subsistence minimum in order to create a surplus value large enough to pay for the explosion of nuclear devices with which the People's Republic hopes to terrorize the world before actually conquering it. Unfortunately for China and the Chinese the nuclear club has now several members who can afford to explode many more hydrogen bombs in a week than the Chinese can in a year. Moreover all these nuclear powers are basically anti-Chinese though they have differences in other matters of outlook and faith. The Chinese are making enemies much faster than they are making nuclear bombs. Very soon they will have no friends in Asia, Europe, Africa, America or Australia excepting Pakistan. And Pakistan is likely to prove a burden rather than a source of strength if the Chinese ever had to fight her battle for world conquest. However, that may be, we Indians should not take things easy when both the Chinese and the Pakistanis are our declared enemies. We have to make nuclear devices, too, so that the Chinese do not think they can attack us with impunity whenever they felt like it. And our expenses would be much greater to repel a Chinese attack than if we made a few atom bombs

Mao's Thoughts

We would not like to condemn the thoughts of Mao t'se Tung without carefully examining them. We have not seen the little red book and are not likely to see one as the Chinese do not share these valuable thoughts with the rest of the world. But whatever the thoughts may be, there must be no directives in them as to how the Chinese can be popular and friendly with the peoples of the world. For we have seen recently how the Chinese

have misbehaved in various parts of the world (also in Peking) and how almost all countries have retaliated against the disciples of Mao t'se Tung. In Indonesia and Burma the Chinese have been attacked by local people. In Malaya, India and many African States the Chinese have been considered undesirables. The Russians are fellow communists but they do not like the Chinese. The Americans and the British dislike them but also favour them to the extent that they act anti-Russian. There are many other nations which are anti-Chinese on account of China's arrogance and ill mannered ways. We do not think Mao t'se Tung taught the Chinese to be obnoxious to the rest of humanity, but he must have forgotten to think out ways of making the Chinese a lovable people. He should now start thinking speedily and bridge the gaps in his thought, so that the Chinese can learn some manners and be at least reasonably human in their relations with other people. Hydrogen bombs cannot replace the human qualities which make men really superior and fit to rule the world.

Robbery and Liberation

When the Chinese forcibly occupied Tibet, their first organised effort was robbing the Tibetan monasteries of all valuables. Large quantities of gold, silver, gems and other valuables were removed from the Potala Palace and carried away to China. The wealthy Tibetans also lost much property. Houses and lands were taken away to settle Chinese immigrants and even Tibetan women were forced to marry Chinese settlers in Tibet. It was a comprehensive scheme of occupying the territory of another nation and of complete expropriation of the conquered people. Yet the Chinese called it liberation of the Tibetans. We suppose it was *total liberation* for those unfortunate Tibetans who were murdered by the Chinese. Others who lived as the slaves of the Chinese were only partially liberated.

We are having experiments made on a smaller scale in similar acts of depredation in certain far away corners of the country. People are being taught to grab anything they could lay

their hands on provided they swore allegiance to a specially privileged political party. Acting as the guerrillas of an army of "liberation" these robbers would be supported in all acts of pillage loot or forcible occupation of other peoples' property by the Party members who have influence with local as well as foreign governments. One has to give something to recruits, and if one has nothing of any value to give one can at least tell the recruits to reimburse themselves by robbery and plunder.

It would appear to be the plan of the particular people who are thinking of bringing about a fundamental change in the social system, to encourage their followers to use force in order to achieve prosperity. Forced occupation of other peoples' property is the most popular form of profit making that these soldiers of fortune believe in. For such properties are found in far away places where the force of law and order are not extensive. Bank robberies or forcible occupation of multi-storied houses cannot be carried out in isolated areas. Also the lawful owners of small plots of land or hutments are not so powerful or well-armed. They are defenceless, relatively speaking. We do not know whether acquiring property by force is ideologically permissible; but we suppose, if the surplus values obtained by farming unlawfully occupied lands, were handed over to the political parties, ideological requirements could be fulfilled. There is a great shortage of land as well as other forms of capital in India. Not enough to go round definitely. So if a limited number of party men can occupy a large enough area, they could pay for their bare minimum of subsistences as well as for the expenses of the party. The matter of forcible acquisition of other forms of capital can follow: after the party had a large body of men engaged in gainful occupa-

tion. Soldiers who earn their keep as well as pay a tribute to the rulers are the most desirable type of marauders who can set up empires.

Socialistic, Bureaucratic and Totalitarian Systems

Men often mix up various totally contradictory systems when they consider plans for the better management of society. Adam Smith thought that individuals or groups of individuals were not so capable of managing or planning the economy of a nation as were the forces of intelligent and active self-interest of the man who did productive work. Humanity has progressed a great deal since the days of Adam Smith and we can now visualise the workings of a centrally planned economy which will better establish economic balance between demand and supply in various fields than could be achieved by individual choice acting in a totally free manner. But intelligent planning can quite often be replaced by bureaucratic management of the affairs of the nation or by the autocratic will of one man or a group of despots. So that our quarrel would be with the planners rather than with planning. If the planners are either bureaucrats or autocrats they are likely to use procrustean methods which damage the life or the limbs of the economy. If on the other hand the planners are really capable the economy is sure to gain by their planning. The art of planning a nation's economy is entirely different from electing legislators by voting or from voting according to the dictates of the party leaders in the legislatures who select the planners and *who* will therefore decide whether the plans will succeed. Our plans have not succeeded so far. There must therefore be something wrong with the selection of the planners and the way they function.

EXCHANGE CONTROL, IMPORT RESTRICTIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Prof. B. R. SHENOY

Indian Planners, in common with their counterparts in other countries, have taken the stand that exchange control and import restrictions are an essential part of the instrumentation for economic growth. We shall examine here the logical basis for this assumption.

Given the necessary policy measures, designed to provide the most favourable Administrative and Socio-economic background, Economic development is a function of the magnitude of national savings and the most effective investment of these savings. To lay this stress on savings and capital formation is not to under-rate the vital importance of favourable institutional and human factors, including social attitudes. But institutions take time to grow and their growth itself may be conditioned by overall economic development; and the favourable human factors may take much longer to manifest, though economic development may contribute to this, too, through facilitating increased investment of capital in man. Because of the difference in the institutional and human background, a dollar worth of domestic savings and capital formation may yield much more economic growth in, say, a country in Western Europe than in, say, a country in Asia or South America. But in both categories of countries, the pace of development, in the short run as well as in the longer run, would depend on the pace, care and effectiveness of capital formation.

If so, it is difficult to see how exchange control and import restrictions may accelerate economic development. The exports of a country do not represent its savings. They are comparable to the sales of an individual trader. Like the sale proceeds of an individual trader, they represent the working capital of traders engaged in international trade; and are

indistinguishable from the working capital of domestic traders, except that the working capital of exporters gets transferred abroad, being transformed into foreign currencies, while, in the case of domestic traders, their sale proceeds retain the garb of the national currency. This change of clothes does not alter the character of the inner entity which, in both cases, is circulating real capital.

In the case of the domestic trader, the sale proceeds are converted, as rapidly as may be, into fresh purchases, to repeat the sale transactions and, thus, to maximise turnover and income. Even so, those engaged in international trade will attempt to convert export proceeds, as rapidly as may be, into import goods, for sale in the home market; and to use the proceeds to purchase home goods for export. The repeated turn round of the working capital of the export import traders adds to the incomes of these traders and of the national economy. That firms engaging in imports may not be the same as those engaging in exports is a feature of specialisation of economic activity; it does not negate, though it may obscure, the basic truth that what moves across the national frontiers, as import goods and export goods, is but part of the currently existing circulating real capital in the national economy; even as factory buildings and installed machinery and capital equipment are part of the currently existing fixed capital of the national economy.

That export proceeds are not a fresh resource, but only part of the existing circulating real capital of the economy, is evidenced by the national accounting practice which regards the gross national product of a country as the sum of the retained domestic output (Y) and imports (M). Export proceeds are not reckoned as constituting part of the national product, as import

goods include export proceeds, the two—export proceeds and import goods—being but different manifestations of the self-same circulating real capital. It would be double counting to take credit for export proceeds when credit has already been taken for import goods.

Thus, contrary to widespread belief, the foreign exchange "earnings" of a country do not represent fresh resources for capital formation. They constitute part of the already existing capital stock. The dissection and curtailment of the purchases of a trader, operating in a competitive market, cannot add to his income and savings; nor help in the expansion of his business. Analogously, the dissection and restriction of imports do not add to national savings; nor to aggregate capital formation. Indeed, it is more than likely that the restrictions on imports, like restrictions on the purchases of a trader, may detract from the maximization of income and savings, through keeping the volume and turnover of business at below their possible maxima. Even as the curtailment of the purchases of a trader must *ipso facto* cause a curtailment of his sales, any continued restriction of imports necessarily

During approximately the past decade, as a result of the rigorous restrictions of imports, Indian exports have declined, as a percentage of national income from 6.4 per cent in 1955 to 4.0 per cent in 1964.⁽²⁾ *Ipso facto*, domestic capital employed

(1) The Mechanics of this process may be illustrated algebraically. If Y stands for the domestic product less exports, M for imports, C for domestic consumption, I for domestic investment and E for exports, then, $Y + M = C + I + E$, as consumption, investments (including stocks) and exports would exhaust the whole of the domestic product plus imports. Any curtailment in M would cause a corresponding diversion of the money flows from import goods to the potential export goods, so that the reduction of M will lead to a reduction of E .

(2) *India's Balance of Payments, 1913-19 to 1961-62*, Reserve Bank of India; and *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*.

in international trade and the volume of international trade (in real terms) declined, too. Indian exports at 1958 prices fell from Rs. 7,800 million in 1955 to Rs. 612 million in 1964. The hurdles on exports caused a retardation of the turnover of the circulating real capital as well. This correspondingly reduced India's income from international trade.

Nor was this loss of income made good by any compensatory increase in the income from the expanded domestic production and trade. As we have seen elsewhere, the expansion of production for the home market, in replacement of the expansion of production for the overseas markets, may amount to shifts of production from sectors where factor costs of production are lower to sectors where such production costs are higher, with a corresponding debt incidence on G. N. P. Aggregate national income, therefore, would be lower as a result of this artificially induced shifts in production and trade than if these shifts had not been induced.

Nor can dissection and restriction of imports assist in the most effective deployment of the available investment resources, to achieve the most fruitful capital formation. We have seen that maximization of the national product from the given investment resources involves, first, full entrepreneurial freedom over their disposal; and secondly, no less freedom to individuals to invest their savings in accordance with their own schedule of choices and priorities. In the absence of these two freedoms, there is apt to be malinvestment of resources detracting from the maximum possible aggregate national product. As every investment and economic activity generally involves the use of import goods in lesser or larger measure, exchange control and import restrictions militate against the exercise of these freedoms.

Exchange control and import restrictions, then, not only do not add to the available flow of investment resources, nor help in the most productive use of these resources, but may be the reverse, in both respects. Clearly, therefore,

removal of exchange control and import restrictions is a major pre-requisite for speeding up economic growth. We have seen elsewhere that the removal of import restrictions and exchange control are essential in the interest of social justice. Import restrictions and exchange control, through creating vast gaps between landed costs and market prices, shift colossal sums from the masses to people in the upper income groups, such income shifts being of the order of Rs. 500 crores annually.

There is no lasting solution to this problem other than to reduce to zero the values of the import licences. This may happen only if we abolish altogether the system of import licensing. Monopolistic control of export receipts and a dissection and restriction of imports may be good "siege" or "blockade" economics in times of war, when the needs of national defence may call for the mobilisation of all resources—past and current— including circulating real capital, depreciation funds and the currently accruing savings, to subserve the war effort. The shifts in the pattern and direction of production, the capital consumption and the retardation of

economic development, which these operations must necessarily involve, are secondary matters when the stakes involved are of such great moment as defence from external aggression and national survival.

This "siege" economics, which may be appropriate in the context of a war, cannot apply to the needs of developing economies. The needs of accelerating economic growth cannot be conceivably achieved by restricting freedom of disposal over a part of the existing quantum of circulating real capital—the part represented by export proceeds. Abolition of exchange control and of physical restrictions on imports are therefore essential pre-conditions for rapid economic progress though planners in most under-developed countries and their advisers including visiting experts, advocate drastic import restrictions, the axe falling heavily on luxury goods, in particular, and consumer goods, in general. There is great need for the thinking in under-developed countries to grow out of the deceptive fallacy that exchange control and import restrictions constitute among the first essential instrumentation for economic social progress.



JOHNSON LOOKING AT SHAKESPEARE

Prof. SARADINDU HOM CHAUDHURI

"Johnson may not have seen all of the hero (Shakespeare was to him a hero, not a god) whom he was attempting to contemplate. But what he saw he saw clearly, and in describing that much, he at the same time, also revealed to us very clearly his own mind." (Joseph Wood Krutch).

For all his fads, and they were a good many, Johnson brings to bear upon Shakespeare a searching intelligence, a robust commonsense, and large sympathies, all of which combined to shed rare brilliance on his observations on the master-dramatist. He was at once a child of his times and ahead of them. He was at once a captive and a free man, a conformist and a rebel. And in all that he wrote, he had his feet firmly planted in the soil while not altogether disdaining the high sky.

The only great Shakespeare critic before Johnson was Dryden (Johnson excepted) who was perhaps the first to take the great Elizabethan with competent seriousness. It was Dryden who saluted Shakespeare as 'the man who of all Modern and perhaps Ancient Poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul.' It was, again, he who drew the critical attention to the absurdity of slavishly observing the Unities of Time and Place and to the merit and entertaining value of tragic-comedy. It was singularly creditable for Dryden to have achieved that depth of critical insight in the midst of people who could think of nothing higher and more praiseworthy than blindly imitating the ancients.

While Dryden felt Shakespeare's greatness and helped to put him in perspective, he yet just failed to bring himself to write any detailed, sustained criticism. Most of his weighty, oft-quoted utterances were made rather parenthetically. He hardly ever wrote anything on Shakespeare exclusively.

Johnson writes sustained criticism and writes, more than once, exclusively on Shakespeare. He not only helps to put Shakespeare in perspective. By liberally devoting time and attention and energy, by writing general criticism and detailed notes to

put rare beauties in focus and to illumine obscure passages, he brings Shakespeare close to us in a way none else had hitherto done. Perhaps for the first time in the history of English literary criticism does Shakespeare appear as a master mind and master play-wright who needs devoted and scholarly attention; who, more than any other English writer, calls for serious and patient efforts at exploration. Between Dryden and Johnson there are Shakespeare critics, but none of a calibre anywhere approaching that of either master. Johnson is not merely a summation of his predecessors as is commonly maintained. His work is clearly more than a summing up. If he had merely summed up, he could not be said to have established Shakespeare's reputation most decidedly for the first time, for there was not anything like a tremendous lot of incisive criticism to sum up. The truth of the matter is that besides giving memorable expression to the more sensible of the current views, the Doctor made significant exploration on his own; he dived deeper than had been hitherto attempted, found more sense and substance than had been conceded before, and gave memorable expression to his profound judgments in what has come to be known as his granite phrasings. His proposals for printing the *Dramatic works of William Shakespeare* (1756), his *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765) and his *Notes on the Plays* are among Johnson's sure claims to permanence of fame.

It was an age in which the neo-classical spirit reigned supreme. It was an age of reverence for the ancients. There were formulas and critical dicta demanding adherence. Imitation and conformity on the one hand, and commonsense and reason on the other were the go of the day. There was good sense and decorum to be upheld. There were the Unities to be observed. There were the graces of expression to be achieved and the distinction of literary types to be respected. There were the unimpeachable models to be studied and emulated. "Besides the rules of Aristotle as commented upon by the French

exponents of neo-classicism, the Horatian precepts, either in their original or their translated form, were considered as laws for artistic creation The effect of Horace on English poetry and criticism did not reach its acme until the first half of the Eighteenth century. The terseness and elegance of his diction, his unrivalled clearness of statement, and his didactic tendency, appealed strongly to the writers of the Augustan Age, who made correctness and lucidity their aims." Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, the *Rape of the Lock*, the *Satires*, and *Moral Essays*, all exemplify the Horatian ideal of precision. What Pope did in poetry, Addison did in prose; he too tried to emulate the purer style of the Roman Augustans, and to attain that *curiosa felicitas* which has been called the main characteristic of Horace's diction. Among the authors that are quoted in his works or from whom passages are prefixed as mottoes to the papers of the *Tatler*, *Spectator* and other periodicals, Horace takes up a prominent position.

Into such an age was Johnson born and in such a society did he live, move and have his being. It was only natural that he should have imbibed some of the characteristics of the age. In fact he had in him a good deal of the temper of the age, which found rather abundant illustration in his poetry, in his *Lives*, in *Rasselas*, in the *Rambler*, in his celebrated *extempore* discourses, and also, rather naturally, in his Shakespeare criticism. The Doctor is in agreement with the prevalent notions of his age when, for example, referring to *Shakespeare's* diction, he observes: "In narration he affects a disproportionate pomp of diction and a wearisome train of circumlocution, and tells the incident imperfectly in many words, which might have been more plainly delivered in few." Or, when alluding to the end of *King Lear*, he says: "A play in which the wicked prosper, and the virtuous miscarry, may doubtless be good, because it is a just representation of the common events of human life: but since all reasonable beings naturally love justice, I cannot easily be persuaded, that the observance of justice makes a play worse; or, that if other excellencies are equal, the audience will not always rise better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted virtues." It is obvious that Johnson had in

mind the dictum that one of the two aims of poetry was to instruct. Again, when analysing *Macbeth* he observes: "If, in the most solemn discourse, a phrase happens to occur which has been successfully employed in some ludicrous narrative, the gravest auditor finds it difficult to refrain from laughter . . ." and finds serious fault with the word 'dun' in *Macbeth's* speech (come, thick night), he shows himself to be a prisoner of his age, an age obsessed with some pet notions of correctness and decorum and respectability.

Nevertheless Johnson knew on other occasions how to transcend such limitations. In fact, we have set down the above limitations on purpose. For what he says of Shakespeare we may say of him: "We must confess the faults of our favourite to gain credit to our praise of his excellencies." Shakespeare had been praised by others such as Pope, Addison, Gray and Warton, but by none with such vigour and such sureness of critical judgment as by Johnson. What a solemn and sure tribute is implied in the following words:

"The poet, of whose works I have undertaken the revision, may now begin to assume the dignity of an ancient, and claim the privilege of established fame and prescriptive veneration. He has long outlived his century, the term commonly fixed as the test of literary merit." And again, "They (his characters) have past through variations of taste and of manners, and, as they devolved from one generation to another, have received new honours at every new transmission."

Johnson appears to have felt the full weight of Shakespeare's greatness, and also to have sought in his characteristic way to understand the nature of that greatness. From his pages emerges the picture of a Universal poet—a poet who belongs to all ages. His conclusions are invariably backed by a wealth of incisive analysis. His observations are instinct with a rare breadth of understanding of Shakespeare's mind and its workings. Why do the latter's character interest us? Because "they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species."

Indeed, it is remarkable how assiduously Johnson sought to get at the essential greatness of Shakespeare. In more than one way his criticism was particularly original and suggestive so that it could be held to have foreshadowed certain critical trends in the later ages. For example, Johnson's view that "his (Shakespeare's) real power is not shown in the splendour of particular passages, but by the progress of his fable" represents a remarkable insight—an insight not perhaps evidenced before, and fairly anticipating from a distance of well over a hundred years the trend of criticism represented, among others, by Wilson Knight who is chiefly concerned with the total impression derived from a studious exploration of the entire poetic pattern of a play. That Johnson was deeply persuaded that Shakespeare's greatness chiefly lies in his almost unique conception of the whole rather than in the curiosities of isolated expressions, becomes clear from his saying it again: "Parts are not to be examined till the whole has been surveyed; there is a kind of intellectual remoteness necessary for the comprehension of any great work in its full design and its true proportions."

Johnson's criticism has been characterised as judicial criticism. One would prefer the expression—'humanistic criticism'. By judicial criticism is meant that attitude of mind which distributes praise and blame. Well, is not most criticism essentially so? True, the neo-classical writers consciously played the judge. They did assume some of the authoritarian attitude. But appreciation without some judgment is neither here nor there. The critic is obliged to, may he ought to show his likes and dislikes. What about T. S. Eliot then? Does he not exhibit the judicial temper when he declares Hamlet "an artistic failure"? Do not good critics spotlight both the excellences and faults in a work as they conceive them to be? We said we would prefer the expression—humanistic criticism. Johnson never tired of forcing it on to our attention that with Shakespeare man is the centre, the focal point of whatever happens, whatever else there might be. His characters are never either monsters or gods. Set against the nineteenth century attempt at divinisation of the poet and his works, Johnson's statement that "Shakespeare has no heroes; his

scenes are occupied only by men who act and speak as the reader thinks that he should himself have spoken or acted on the same occasion: Even when the agency is supernatural, the dialogue is level with life" would seem truly remarkable—because of the just accent it lays on the naturalness of the plays' setting and content and the sheer humanity of their appeal. The point that should not escape notice is that Johnson, instead of mouthing rules like the average writer of his day, speaks of men and of what looks natural or otherwise. It is life rather than the rule that interests him.

It is this distaste for irrational rules that prompts his defence of Shakespeare against those who would denounce the latter for his rejection of the unities of Time and Place and for his *tragi-comedies*. About the rejection of the Unity of Place he speaks solid sense: "The different actions that complete a story may be in places very remote from each other; and where is the absurdity of allowing that space to represent first Athens, and then Sicily, which was always known to be neither Sicily nor Athens, but a modern theatre?" And about the Unity of Time: "Time is, of all modes of existence, most obsequious to the imagination: a lapse of years is as easily conceived as a passage of hours." His defence of *tragi-comedy* which he knew to be against the theory of literary types is equally defiant and convincing: "That this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticism will be readily allowed; but there is always an appeal from criticism to nature. The end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing. That the mingled drama may convey all the instruction of tragedy or comedy cannot be denied. . . ." All these observations, grounded on sterling common-sense, have an air of finality about them. There would seem to be no higher court of appeal.

Attention is also particularly called for by the singular good sense with which he dismisses Voltaire ('Let him be answered, that Addison speaks the language of poets, and Shakespeare, of men') and places Othello ('the vigorous and vivacious offspring of observation impregnated by genius') over Cato ('a splendid exhibition of artificial and fictitious manners'). Also, his sense of historical relativity ('every man's per-

formances, to be rightly estimated, must be compared with the state of the age in which he lived') deserves notice especially in the context of the school of historical criticism in this century.

May be, on all these points Johnson is not wholly original. Yet the characteristic aplomb and thoroughness with which he initiates discussions and reaches conclusions make his pronouncements nearly look like concrete personal achievements. He did have his limitations, to some of which we have already called attention. Perhaps his prejudices could largely be put down to his age. It may be of interest to wind up our survey with a passage from D. Nichol Smith (*Shakespeare in the Eighteenth century*) :

"Forty years after *Rope*, Johnson brought out his own Preface. By common consent nowadays it is one of the greatest essays on Shakespeare that has ever been written.....

In the kind of notes which alone could be written if all the libraries in the world were burned, and if we had nothing to guide us but our commonsense and what we know of our fellow creatures and of the workings of the head and of the heart, Johnson is supreme. In all those passages where scholarship and historical knowledge fail to give us their aid there is still no more helpful guide than he. Once we know him we may be turned to ask, when baffled by a difficult passage, 'what does Johnson say?'"



THE BUDDHA AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organisation, New York City, U.S.A., enumerated and elaborated an international Code of Human Rights within the last fifteen years. But the principles of Basic Human Rights have been recognised from the earliest times of history. Great thinkers around the 6th century B.C. made notable contributions: among them were Socrates of Greece, Confucius of China and the Buddha in India. Of these, the contributions of the Buddha are remarkable.

The Buddha's message to mankind was for his spiritual and social upliftment. He called on man for cheerful service to others, love for all life and restraint from all irrational desires. His path is both intellectual and spiritual. Its goal can be attained by self discipline, plain living and noble thinking. The Buddha stood for human justice; therefore it is not surprising that the Basic Codes of Human Rights are incorporated in his teachings.

The women in Indian society in the Buddha's times did not receive much recognition. It was the Buddha who raised the status of women. The Buddha foresaw the danger of admitting women to the Sangha, and had not granted Parjapatti's request to be admitted to the order as a bhikkuni. But later, observing the zeal of both Parjapatti and Yashodhara for leading a religious life, he no longer could refuse the request, and assented to have them admitted to the Sangha. When The Venerable Ananda asked the Buddha whether women are competent to lead a bhikkuni's life, he declared them to be competent to be admitted to the Sangha and to attain release from repeated existence or rebirths and to attain sainthood. The equality in social, economic and political life of women with men in Buddhist lands is not at all surprising. Ceylon has produced a woman Prime Minister in these modern times.

The Buddha made no distinction between man and man. No life was insignificant and people not branded as wretched sinners. From a *karuṇic* point of view there is no true equality in the world. He led them all on a path of righteousness. From beggar to king, all received His compassion and love.

The caste was rigidly established in India in Buddha's time. He revolted against this injustice. He welcomed to the Sangha people of low and high castes alike. He admitted into His order Sunita, the outcast. Sati the son of a fisherman, Nanda a cowherdsman. Ambapali a courtesan, and Punna and Punnika who were slave girls, etc.

The story of the ordination of Upali, the barber, is an outstanding example of how the Buddha tried to abolish the caste system. Once six Sakyan princes closely related to the Buddha came to see him out of curiosity but in the end

he followed them to the Buddha and likewise asked for ordination. The ordination was arranged so as to give Upali the place of seniority in the order. The princes, who also became monks, had to pay homage to Upali, who later became the highest authority in monastic discipline.

Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and one of them challenged the Buddha to define a nobleman. It was then that He declared -

'By birth is not one an outcast,
By birth is not one a brahmin.
By deeds is one an outcast,
By deeds is one a brahmin.'

(Sattanipata, Vasalasutta)

The more fascinating example of non-recognition of a person's caste is the case of a girl at a

THE BUDDHA AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

well. Ananda, the favourite disciple of the Buddha, was sent by the Buddha on a mission. He was passing by a well near a village, and, on seeing Prahrti, a girl of a low caste, he asked for water to drink. The girl hesitated, stating: "O nobleman. I am too humble and mean to give you water, as I am of Mitanga caste." And Venerable Ananda replied, "Sister, I ask not for caste but for water." Then the girl's heart leaped joyfully and she gave him a drink.

It is not surprising that there was no caste system in Buddhist India from the 3rd century B.C. (under the influence of the great Emperor Asoka, who ruled India in the 3rd century, B.C.) to about the 10th century A.D. This is even true today of all Buddhist nations from Ceylon to Japan. However, when Brahmanism replaced Buddhism in India from 10th century A.D. onwards, the caste system re-established itself. Thereafter the great Indian civilization declined rapidly.

The Buddha condemned slavery in every shape and form. The Buddha led the anti-slavery movement by laying down a rule for the right manner of earning one's living, and one should not engage in any form of trafficking in human beings. Human beings might be engaged for domestic services or elsewhere, but it was enjoined that they be treated with as much consideration as a member of one's own family, as regards their personal rights, and even to share little treats on special occasions.

Sigalovada Sutta (the layman's Code of Discipline) is a famous sutta of the Buddha. Here he proclaims the duties of parents to their children, those of children to their parents, pupils to teachers, teachers to pupils, wives to their husbands and vice versa. This layman's discourse, which is based on social ethics, was highly commended by the world-famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davis, who was Chairman of the Department of Comparative Religions of the Manchester University.

In the Maha Mangala Sutta, which is highly cherished in all Buddhist lands, there is a comprehensive summary of Buddhist ethics. Here the support of mother and father, wife and children, are greatly stressed.

Here are three of twelve verses that pertain to this essay. The English translation from the Pali is the work of Dr. R. L. Soni of Burma :

With the fools no company keeping,
With the wise ever consorting,
To the worthy homage meeting;
This, the Highest Blessing.

Mother, father aptly serving,
Children, wife duly cherishing,
Life's business coolly attending--
This, the Highest Blessing.

Acts of charity, righteous life,
From all alarms the kings protecting,
Blameless pursuits fully rife—
This, the Highest Blessing.

These verses indicate why problems of the old are not so acute in Buddhist lands, as people took after their parents in their old age. Illicit traffic in women and slavery were abhorred by the public, although no civilization is perfect; but at least influence of Buddhist ethics dominated the life in these Asian lands.

On one occasion Kewadda of Nalanda asked the Buddha why he should not ask his disciples to perform miracles before large crowds at Nalanda, so that they may become followers of the Buddha. The Blessed One's reply was that He believed only in one miracle, the miracle of education. "I would" He said "ask a man to reason this way, to look at it that way so that he may by himself of his own efforts be convinced of the truth of what I tell him."

Therefore in the practice of Buddhism, knowledge and wisdom are stressed. During the reign of Asoka educational institutions sprang up in every temple in the land. Thus every Buddhist temple became a veritable centre of learning, some of which later grew up into world-famous universities, from the second century A.D. onwards at Nalanda, Taxila, Vikramaditya; etc.

The Buddhist civilizations of India, Burma, Ceylon were the first to have university education in the annals of mankind. Admittance was based

on competence and not on wealth, race or creed. Students from Afghanistan to China resided in these centres of learning. The universities flourished up to around the tenth century A.D., and they were totally destroyed by the invading Muslims—Mogul armies from the North—from the 14th century A.D., onwards.

During the 3rd century, B.C., India and Ceylon had hospitals for both men and beasts. These facts are noted in the *Outlines of World History* by H. G. Wells, and by Fa Hsien, the great Chinese scholar and monk who visited India and Ceylon in the 16th century, A.D. Emperor Asoka was the first to establish hospitals in India and he encouraged, in the 3rd century, B.C., the cultivation of medical herbs. No wonder the late H. G. Wells calls Asoka the noblest king in the history of mankind.

There are records in Chinese history that in the days of the greatness of Buddhism under Tang Emperors, Buddhist monks set up hospitals, and the work was so effective that the Emperors gave these hospitals state grants. Chinese records state that when epidemics and the plague struck cities the monks worked among the sick and the smitten. The laity, influenced by this work, were enthusiastic in setting up hospitals and charitable homes. The Japanese pilgrim Emen gives a faithful account of these agencies of mercy and charity.

The Buddha laid the foundation for this movement. Once, it is said, an old Bhikkhu of a surly disposition was afflicted with a loathsome disease, the sight and smell of which was so unpleasant that no one would go near him. It is said that the Buddha came to the Vihara where this sick monk lay, and on hearing his case himself prepared warm water and nursed him. It was on this occasion the Buddha said: "Whoever attends upon the sick, he indeed attends upon me."

Religious freedom is one of the greatest virtues stressed by the Buddha. He preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving kindness and non-violence. He taught man not to despise other religions and not to belittle them.

In his day Asoka practised the golden principle of tolerance. Under his patronage Buddhism flourished in India. As a Buddhist he was tolerant of other religions. One of his edicts says :

"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion and at the same time does service to the religion of other people."

The Buddha sounded the clarion call of human liberty.

He said, "Take ye refuge unto yourself and be ye your own refuge with earnestness and high resolve work out your own deliverance."

The Buddha further declared that one should not even accept His own teaching without investigating it: according to the Kalama Sutta, absolute freedom of thought is advocated in Buddhism.

To summarise, the Buddha for the first time in the history of India or perhaps the whole world, proclaimed equality between man and man and between the sexes (male and female). He stressed security of man in his old age and when sick, besides the right to an education, and the rights of children. The right to work is embodied in the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path, where he enjoins men to select the right (noble and useful) livelihood. Thereby he prohibits the practice of slavery and white slavery, that is to prohibit exploitation of men or women for financial gain.

Further, the Buddha gave men sturdy independence and thereby elevated human liberty, edigious tolerance, free speech. Lastly, according to Maha Parinibbana Sutta, he even preferred the representative form of government over autocratic rule which was common in his day.

The Basic Human Rights, as declared by the Buddha, are as refreshing today as they were in the 6th century B.C. They are incorporated in all declarations of the Human Rights Commission of the United States. In fact, they are the fundamentals on which the United Nations edifice has been built.

THE NEED FOR CHANGING THE PATTERN OF THE EXECUTIVE IN THE CONSTITUTION

Prof. NARESHWAR DAYAL SETHI

When the Constituent Assembly met to draft a new Constitution for free India, there were some members who advocated a presidential type of executive, like that of U.S.A.¹ But ultimately, it was decided to adopt a parliamentary executive, patterned after that of Great Britain and the Dominions. Among the chief reasons² for the choice, perhaps the most significant was the fact that there was a record of experience of working the parliamentary institutions in India as opposed to almost no experience of working the presidential form. It was also felt that in the parliamentary form, a better and more harmonious direction of the legislature by the executive could be achieved. The principle of responsibility, which is a significant feature of the parliamentary system where assessment of responsibility is made daily during the sittings of the Parliament, was preferred to the stability of a fixed tenure of office offered by the presidential system.³

The parliamentary system has now been given a trial for a number of years and the actual working has revealed many points which call for consideration and comment. The much-feared shortcoming of parliamentary system, that is instability, did not show up to any marked degree during the first twenty years of the working of the Constitution but it is showing up now. If it did not show up during the early years it was largely because of two important reasons. Firstly, because there remained at the helm of affairs for about seventeen years, a person of the stature of Pandit Nehru. His association with Mahatma Gandhi and the freedom movement secured him a veneration from a large section of the Indian people which in some ways was similar to the veneration which the American people have for Washington and Jefferson. An important dignitary is reputed to have said about him that he was the only prime minister in the world who

made mistakes and openly confessed them but even then the people adored him. It was natural then that in spite of the controversial nature of his policies and politics, he served as a symbol of stability. But Pandit Nehru is no more.

The second reason was the phenomenal success of the Congress party as a political machine and cohesive agent of great power. As the party to which history had given the enviable role of having wrested independence for the country, the Congress party met with overwhelming success in the first general elections after the adoption of the new constitution. But no organisation can remain intact for ever, and cracks within its organizational framework which started showing in the shape of dissident groups, have widened enough to permit the breaking away of dissatisfied elements for creation of such distinct and independent parties as the Jan Congress. At the polls too, the Congress went on losing popularity gradually, till after the fourth general election, it is no longer the majority party in a number of States.

If there had been any one single alternative political party in the country with popularity and organizational strength sufficient enough to take over the reigns of government, there would have been little fear of disorder and turmoil. But unfortunately the presence of a number of parties like the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Praja Socialist, Communist, Ganatantra Parishad, Ramrajya Parishad, Jan Congress and D.M.K., all having different ideologies and catering for religious, economic and regional interests, proves that the parliamentary ideal of a two-party system is difficult to be realized in the near future. It is true that in the States in which the Congress has not been returned to power, erstwhile opposition parties have combined to form governments, but it has still to be seen whether

with little ideological tie except the face of the common enemy of the Congress and in some cases a quest for power, this unity can endure for long. Weak coalition ministries, bitter scramble for power and unscrupulous bargaining can become even more rampant, all of which may neither improve the legacy of poor administration nor help in the implementation of healthy programmes.

Things are also not likely to be helped by the new pattern of political leadership which is emerging in India.¹ The middle class, English speaking, liberal leadership, which appreciated western ideals and which formed a kind of brain-trust within the Congress and other political parties, is fast giving way to a new type of leadership. Some of these new leaders often belong to what used to be the lower sections of society, are comparatively narrow in outlook, uneducated and uninfluenced by western democratic ideals and values. They depend for their power mostly on sectarian and regional loyalties and influence and during the course of advancing higher in the State or Union capital generate forces and pressures which are not always healthy. Of what else but the result of such pressures are decisions like the one to switch on to the Hindi language for all administrative work in the state of Uttar Pradesh without adequate notice in provision of facilities for the change and the one to hold Union Public Service Examinations in fourteen different languages at the Centre?

The post-independence record or achievements of the parliamentary government in the country is not unmixed either. For the uplifting of the lower masses to higher levels of economic means, the building of gigantic works for ensuring better irrigation and power, promotion of certain industrial schemes to set up an industrial base in the country, programmes like those for electrification of villages and starting of various projects for social betterment are offset by failures on the food front and general scarcity, runaway inflation and soaring prices, unfavourable export-import balance leading to devaluation of the rupee, worst forms of monopolies in the name of socialism, declining standards of public education and

corruption. Not all the evils are solely due to the parliamentary system, but what is felt is that it has a fair share.

It was obviously the functioning of the parliamentary system in England which inspired Bernard Shaw to comment that democracy was a form of government in which while half the people were bent upon doing a thing, the other half were bent upon preventing them. This was only a Shavian exaggeration to prove the point that government by discussion and debate makes action slow and cumbersome. If even then, the parliamentary system has met with success in England, it is because of factors like historical background and moral and political consciousness of the people.

These factors are not operative in India and the thin thread of confidence and delicate balancing for power, which are required of the political high-ups, have been unleashing forces which have a tendency to compromise national interest for the personal or the sectarian. What else but a criticism of the system it is, the remark one often hears, that ministers, whether Congress or non-Congress, have little time, energy or inclination for much serious constructive work because they are too busy in political skirmishes and battles, either to keep themselves and their friends in power or to keep their foes off it?

Dictatorship is often suggested as a panacea for the evils that have engulfed the country, and even a Sarvodaya leader like Javaprakash Narayan has talked of the possibility of a military take-over. But though it can lead to speedy implementation of policies, dictatorship is no unmixed blessing. It leads to authoritarian rule and curtailment of liberty and freedom. It is often forced to maintain its position by feeding the people with false slogans of glory and achievement. Hitler had to pump the German people with propaganda of racial superiority and Ayub has to keep the Kashmir question alive. The tendency to use violent means is another of its shortcomings. And so is the tricky nature of succession.

Much the same can be said of dictatorship of one party. Absolute monarchy, whether elective

or hereditary, also suffers from similar defects, apart from the fact that it is quite outdated and outmoded.

The question arises then, whether a remedy can be sought within the democratic framework. The needs are obvious enough: a stable government, which is strong enough both to implement positive programmes of national reconstruction and also deter anti-national elements, but yet does not suffer from the defects of a full-fledged dictatorship.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the Swiss type of executive, which has a fixed term of office because it does not resign on an adverse vote in the Parliament, was advocated by some members of the Constituent Assembly.⁵ It is true that the Swiss pattern does cater for stability but it degrades the executive to the level of 'worker' rather than 'leader'. The stipulation that one of the seven members of the executive becomes President for a one-year term does not encourage the rise of any one dominant personality. But one great personality holding sway for a certain length of time is important for India because the image of the leader can be an advantage in international affairs in the manner in which the personality of Pandit Nehru was. Besides, only prestige built up through leadership lasting for some years can give a leader stature enough to command sufficient obedience for positive and negative action. For instance, a person lesser than Pandit Nehru may not have succeeded in implementing such controversial measures as the one for States Re-organization or in terring those who opposed the Hindu Code Bill. This is so because in spite of what Dr. K. P. Jayswal has said about the presence of some democracies in certain parts of the country in olden times⁶, the fact remains that whether in the British times or the Moghul, or earlier, it was monarchy and one-man rule which was appreciated and understood most of the time in most areas. Unlike Switzerland, democracy does not have its roots in India's history and even the Indian Constitution has not looked for inspiration to traditional Indian concepts but to western models as existing in Ireland, Canada, England, U.S.A. and other

countries. Because of that reason and because of others like hot climatic conditions, lack of education and economic and social insecurity, the people in general do not always want to stand on their own legs but like to depend instead on an all-important hero who may solve their problems for them.

Instead of the Swiss system then, what can be found suitable is the American Presidential system. The American President holds office for a fixed term, appoints a cabinet of his own choice and combines both theoretical and real powers in his person. As such he is a very powerful executive but yet he is prevented from becoming a full fledged dictator because of the constitutional limitation of the possibility of re-election for only one term, the rules for his impeachment and the operation of the principle of separation of powers.

The Presidential system, with certain modifications, can be adapted easily, without the necessity of framing an entirely new constitution, because the present constitution arms the President with immense powers, only they are rendered nominal because of the role of a popularly elected Prime Minister and his cabinet. And while it is not the purpose of this essay to go into details of what exact constitutional changes would be required, some important points may be considered.

Primarily, the clauses of the constitution which relate to the election and working of the Prime Minister and his council of ministers⁷ will have to be substituted by others which may empower the President to form a cabinet of his own choice. The number of members may be fixed by law, they may be responsible to the President alone and not to the legislature and may hold office during the President's pleasure.⁸ The effect will be that without a parliamentary cabinet, ostensibly to "aid and advise"⁹ but in reality to control, the President would not merely remain a nominal head but emerge as the real head¹⁰, like in the Constitution of U.S.A.

Clauses like those relating to the President's veto power,¹¹ emergency power,² and ordinance making power¹³ will have to be reconsidered in the

light of the change from the parliamentary to the Presidential form, and an adequate degree of the principle of separation of powers and checks and balances instituted. President's power to summon and prorogue the Parliament and dissolve the Lok Sabha¹¹ will have to be taken away so that in keeping with the American example the Parliament may meet on a fixed day. President's re-election¹² will also have to be limited to one term for there is no such clause in the present constitution though it was there in the original draft which was presented to the Constituent Assembly.¹³ If considered correct, President's election can also be made by a direct vote of the people instead of by an electoral college.

In keeping with the assumption of direct power by the President, the state Governors may also be given the power to appoint cabinets of their own choice. Thus, with no advice of popularly elected councils of ministers to control them, the Governors would also emerge with real and not merely nominal powers. But the Constitution gives the power of appointing and dismissing Governors to the President¹⁴, a power which is not possessed by the President of U.S.A. So, in effect the President would get a virtual lease for directly administering not only the affairs of the central government but also those of the States, or to put it differently, the entire country.

It is true that the scheme would go against the federal principle of decentralization of power but even as it is, the federal element in the Indian Constitution has been a subject of criticism. In the words of Prof. Wheare, the Indian State is "a Unitary State with subsidiary federal features rather than a Federal State with subsidiary unitary feature."¹⁵ In any case, the theoretical ideals of federalism are not so sacrosanct that they cannot be sacrificed for achieving greater administrative efficiency.

The obvious advantage arising out of the change would be a strong and stable government, for unlike parliamentary government, it would not be forced to enter into unhealthy compromises merely to remain in office, and thus freed it would be able to take efficient steps for programme implementation. The President would

be free to choose into his cabinet a fixed number of men of exceptional ability and talent from outside the Parliament. For elected representatives of the people do not necessarily make the best administrators, even if they are valuable for voicing the will of the people. This would also free the country from all the poisons generated by ambitious politicians seeking election to Parliament as a stepping stone for office, and from their intrigues inside. A dominant personality would hold sway for a certain length of time, for unless some grave national peril confronts the country, a personality of the stature of Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Bose, Sardar Patel or Pandit Nehru, who commands sufficient respect to take up very radical programmes, may not be thrown up on the political scene in the near future; and constitutional reform can attempt to provide what may be denied by historical chance.

There was some justification for a constitutional President and Constitutional Governors immediately after independence. The prize posts could be used for placating ruling princes and other important individuals to induce them to help in the task of building the new nation. But all the money and effort that go towards maintaining such officers which cater only to ceremoniousness seems quite unjustified now.

The practice of having a constitutional head of the State started in England, where the conservative minded people decided not to do away with their ancient office of the king but to retain it. But there is not always much justification in other countries adopting it. By making no special provision for ceremonial officers, surely the U.S.A. does not suffer by default. So, it is only befitting that the President and Governors should be made to play active roles.

Merely changing the form of government may not solve all the problems of the country for in the ultimate analysis, what matters is not so much the form but the manner in which things are worked. It is said that a government is a mirror of the people's ways and that the people get the government that they deserve. But even then, if a presidential form of government

is being advocated it is because it is likely to have a healthy effect on national performance.

1. B. N. Rau referred to this fact in his address to the Indian Council of World Affairs on Aug. 10, 1949.

2. Speeches of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, p. 985, XI, p. 836 and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *Ibid.*, 967-968, 974 K. M. Munshi 984.

3. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, Pp. 33-34.

4. Changing Pattern of Political Leadership in India, by Duncan B. Forrester in "The Review of Politics", Volume 28, July, 1966.

5. Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union, by A. N. Khosla, Part 2, p. 18.

6. Hindu Polity.

7. Article 74 and 75.

8. According to Article 75(2) of the Constitution, ministers hold office during the President's pleasure even now, but in a parliamentary system, except in unusual circumstances, their tenure depends in reality not on the pleasure of the nominal head but on the confidence of the legislature.

9. Article 74.

10. The exact constitutional relationship between the President and the cabinet in the Indian Constitution has been a subject of differences of opinion among constitutional pundits. But the spirit of the constitution, as interpreted by the framers of the Constitution like Dr. Ambedkar (Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, p. 32), Pandit Nehru (Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, p. 734) and Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer, (*The Hindu*, Jan. 22, 1950) is certainly parliamentary. The first two Presidents, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan have acted as constitutional presidents. But even then scholars like Professor Alen Gledhill (*The Republic of India*, 1951. Pp. 107-108) have argued that in spite of the presence of a popularly elected council of ministers, the President can emerge as a virtual dictator if he so chooses.

11. Article 111.

12. Articles 352, 356, 360.

13. Article 123.

14. Article 85.

15. Article 57.

16. Article 46 of the Draft Constitution.

17. Article 155 and Article 156.

18. K. C. Wheare, 'India: New Constitution Analysed' (1950) 5 D.L.R., 25-26 (Jour.) Federal Government. 1951, p. 28.



DIVINITY OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN KING

Prof. BHAWANI SINGH

Political thought is replete with instances of concepts creating an impact, far more powerful and intense than the one created by the exaggerated and edifying tales of the miracles and marvels of modern science. The divine idea in politics and, particularly, in statecraft is one such concept whose one salient, though by no means a very sound aspect, is divine kingship. Never in the realm of political thought, a concept has been so universally accepted and so thoroughly condemned by posterity as the concept of divine kingship, for though its universality was fully accepted, its ideology was never completely subscribed to.¹ Yet the concept is both hisioric as well as historical.

Though fundamentally false, historically wrong and ethically absurd, it is one of the most pristine if not precious legacies of our hoary antiquity. It created a stir that could not be subsided, it caused a bewilderment that was simply legendary. The spell it produced could not be equalled much less exceeded by any other dogma, save that of the Social Contract. No other concept was so reedily accepted and with such rare unanimity by the civilizations of the Orient and the Occident as this; and practically every country of the world came under the seductive influence of royal divinity. No wonder India also came under its universal sway and spell. An effort however, was made, though not

consciously it seems, to minimise its evil effects by diluting divinity with public responsibility and moral accountability of the sovereign to the people. The doctrine's originality was hailed but its validity was seriously questioned and its ideology was even condemned. Some of our prominent writers have in fact warned us against any excessive search for this concept in ancient Indian political literature because, to borrow a wise observation from U. N. Ghosal, "The theories of the Divine Creation and affinity of the temporal ruler, occupy an important, though not a fundamental place in Ancient Indian Political thought."² This necessitates a careful probe into the history of divine kingship in India, which presupposes a political pathology of the past. In the pages that follow we shall endeavour to trace its origin and the extent to which it was accepted. Also we shall attempt a comparison with the western theory of Divine Kingship.

Controversy confronts us at the very inception of our discussion. Even an initial probe into the history of this concept would bring us face to face with critics, some of whom do not deny its pristinity or popularity, but are fairly sceptical about its existence in the Vedic period.³ Dr. Altekar cryptically remarks: "It is interesting to note that the Doctrine of Divinity of the King, which became so popular in India in the first millennium of the Christian era, was unknown

to the Vedic period." King Purukutsa has been referred to as Ardhadeve or Semi divine in Rigveda⁴ while Atharvaveda⁵ describes king Parikshit as a god among men (*yo deo-martyan adhi*) But these passages, it is argued, were written more with the motive of writing a panegyric on a ruler rather than to vindicate his divinity. They were prompted by a desire to extol and eulogize an existing ruler and do not in any way reflect upon his divinity or humanity. Dr. A. S. Altekar holds, "These passages however do not prove the acceptance of the divinity of King by the age." King Purukutsa was called semi-divine, probably because his widowed mother got him as a special favour of the gods Indra and Varuna. Parikshit is called a god among men in a hymn, which is out to panegyricise him. As no other king is ever so described in the Vedic literature, we may take it that theory of king's divinity, was yet confined to the imagination of a few grateful courtiers."⁶ Other writers are equally sceptical about the prevalence of this doctrine and speak more or less with complete candour about, "the complete absence of the concept of divine personality of the king"⁷ in the Vedic period. U. N. Ghosal,⁸ however, is not dismayed by the evidence of these writers and is prepared to adduce a mass of evidence in support of the prevalence of this doctrine in the Vedic era.⁹ He however admits that the much-belaboured dogma of divine kingship carried some limitations with it,¹⁰ the chief among them being our belief in a rich and diversified pantheon, owing to which this concept could not assume the rigidity and inflexibility of an essentially monotheistic system. In any case it cannot be gainsaid that

in the Brahmanical period, the theory came into its full bloom and ceased to be confined to some isolated references only. Time was also propitious for its full flowering and fruition. The preponderance of religious thought in Brahmanical lore and legends, created of necessity an exceedingly favourable atmosphere for this theory. Victories on the battle fields were attributed to the favour of god Indra. Gods Agni, Savitar and Brihaspati were believed to enter the person of the king when he was being consecrated at the time of coronation. It is even said that the coronation ablution was consequential to the direct command of God Savitar. Even some of the then current sacrifices like the Asvamedha and Vajapeya were intended to establish the emperor's parity with God. Some of the writers sought to explain the inherent divinity of this institution in cause of political obligation. The obedience of masses, it is contended was due primarily to his being the veritable symbol of Prajapati, the chief of gods. Moreover the priest's claim to self divinity warranted the recognition of a parallel divinity. The Brahman called himself Bhudevata or the god of the earth and for this reason was not disposed to deny the king's divinity, who used to uphold the privileges of the former. The former's tall claim to divinity was not sustainable in the absence of such a recognition.

The impact of Greek conquest in the North provided further impetus to this tendency. Inspired by the example of the Seleucid ruler of West Asia, the Indo-Greek kings Antimachus and Agathocles called themselves the othropos or son of God, while

another Indo-Greek king Euthydemus was posthumously called theos i. e. God.

The Kushans owing to Parthian and Chinese influence called themselves sons of God or Devaputra. Numismatic paintings of the Kushan period have shown their kings, having a nimbus around their neck and descending from clouds surrounded by flames. This is the direct importation into Indian soil of the doctrine of the king's divinity, found current in the Hellenised West Asia.

Some of the *smritis* and *Puranas* have claimed divinity for their kings. The *Manu smritis* say that the king's body is composed by the Creator by taking particles from the bodies of the divine guardians of the eight quarters. The king therefore has a multi-divine personality which transcends all other beings in Majesty. Fortune favours him, victory resides in his prowess and death in his anger. According to the *Visnu purana* and the *Bhagavata*, a number of deities reside in the person of the king. The Buddhist canonical work *sucarnaprabhasa sutra* voices the same sentiments about the king's divinity by stating that he comes out of the particles of thirty-three gods.¹¹ *Bhagavatā* goes to the extent of saying that Vena the first king had actually some marks of Vishnu on different limbs of his body.

The convention of regarding the king as divine became general if not universal and even the Buddhists, ironically enough, came under its spell and began to regard the king as Sammutideva i. e. God by convention or public opinion. The Sanscrit play-wrights have used the word Deva or God to address the king. The mediæval dynasties began to

trace their origin to some superhuman ancestors such as the Rama, Laxmana or Brahma in order to emphasise their legendary, though latent divinity.

All this should not create the belief that all *Smritis* and *Puranas* accepted this doctrine in its entirety. Only a few of them subscribed to this view and none accepted it as gospel truth. A majority of *Smritis* and *Puranas* content themselves by drawing a functional resemblance between the king on the one hand and multipledeities on the other hand. They did not accept the king as divine incarnate but observed that he performed functions that were similar to those performed by gods. Thus the *Mahabharat*, *Narada Smriti*, *Matsya Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, *Agni Purana*, *Padma Purana* *Brihadbuddharma Purana* and *Sukranitisara* have variously pointed out that the king performed the functions of multiple-deities by taking whose particles and portions, he was created. Manu compares his function with those of the various deities that compose him. Like Indra who showers rain he showers benefits, like Sun extracting water with his rays he collects taxes. He resembles god Fire because he burns the culprits and criminals as well as the wicked vassals by his power, the Wind God because he sees every thing through his spies, the god Ya-ma because he controls people and brings them to subjection, god Varuna because he punishes the wrong-doers, god Moon because he gladdens the heart of the people like the full moon gladdening the sea, and god Kubera because

he showers wealth on the deserving. Manu's description does not end here. The king is further held to be synonymous with the Time-Spirit and Age-Cycle. He is the Kali-Age when he sleeps, Dvapara-Age when he rises from sleep, Treta-Age when he exerts himself and Krita-Age when he moves. He uses various other metaphors to designate the omnipotence and omniscience of the king.

Mahabharat narrates two stories to explain the origin of kingship. In one case Manu, the son of Sun and in the other Virijas an asexual son of the Grand Sire Brahma, were created kings. Both of them had the seal of divinity fixed on their person.

The later Buddhist Canonical works, we have seen earlier conceded divinity to the royal occupant of the throne and accepted the king as being composed of the particles of thirtythree gods and hence was considered fully equipped for their sonship. The Ramayana also accepted the king's divinity but the Panchtantra made kingship dependent upon the personal merit of the holder. A lion is neither annointed nor appointed by the beasts and yet he is their king owing to his strength. The same is true of the king whose personal merit alone counted for his gubernatorial status. Puranas do not add anything new to the earlier Smriti thought. A remarkable development is seen in Aryadeva's Chatussataka wherein the king has been called a "mere slave of the multitudes" (Ganadasa). But this theory was not developed further to justify resistance to

an earthly ruler. It merely contains a moralist's stern repudiation of the king's audacious and arrogant claim to pre-eminence.

The Jainas have classified divinity into five categories and kingship has been placed in the second one. The Golden Age of classical Sanskrit literature hardly mentions it but Visakhadatta's famous play Mudrarakshasa refers to the king as being the image of Vishnu. Kamandaka in Nitisara puts the king in the category of various deities and recommends offerings and salutation to him. The great Smriti commentator Medhatithi accepts this concept without any important modification. The Imperial Guptas further revived it. The later Puranas notably the Matsya Purana and the Brihaddharma Purana accept the divine creation of the earthly ruler by the Self-Existent One i.e. Brahma who created the king's body by taking lordship from Indra, prowess from Fire, cruelty from Yama, good fortune from Moon, riches from Kubera and goodness from Janardana. Gods, it is said, wander on earth in the form of the king, who thus becomes visible embodiment of divinity and in this way the spiritual propinquity of the king to God, is converted into a tangible reality. Sukranitisara the last great work on the technical science of polity also accepts the king as the equivalent of gods and this institutional equivalence is shown by dwelling upon their functional resemblance. Elsewhere he is referred to by the same authority as the second image of Lord Vishnu.

In what follows next we shall trace the

origin of this doctrine in Europe and there after attempt to explain the resemblances and differences between the two. In Europe Alexander the Great was deified in his life time in 324 B.C. The Roman Emperors were similarly though not singularly deified, in that the practice of building temples in their honour was being followed in China, Egypt, Syria, Babylone and parts of India also. While in the old-Testaments, God is shown as selecting, appointing and even slaying the kings in the New Testaments, Apostle Paul conceived political authority as being divinely ordained and exhorted the followers of God to give the same unflinching loyalty and obedience to it as is given to God Himself. Apostle Paul's utterance was faithfully echoed by St. Ambrose and St. Isidore. It was Gregory the Great, who introduced a new element in this theory—the concept of Divine Rights of kings which forbade all resistance to king as being blasphemous. Resistance to king was akin and equal to, resisting God Himself. These three writers held a great sway over the writers of the ninth century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries temporal power was considered as being derived from God Almighty for the maintenance of justice, although a few writers like Gregory of Catino still held firmly to the doctrine of divine rights of kings. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed nothing radically new but in the sixteenth century the theory of divine rights assumed real importance. Its four tenets have been ably summarised by J.N. Faggis^{1 2} as below :-

1. Monarchy is a divinely ordained institution.

2. Hereditary right is indefeasible.

3. Kings are accountable to God alone.

4. Now-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God.

Another writer F.Kern^{1 3} explains the triple elements of this theory viz. the principle of monarchy, the principle of Legitimism and the principle of Absolutism. The first principle involves the recognition of the notion of exclusive righteousness of monarchical form of Government while the second principle pleads for the acceptance of the monarch's right to govern. This right, it is further contended is both inalienable and independent of human agency and is devolved from heredity i.e. the principle of legitimism and divine consecration, which emphasises the sacral character of kingship. The principle of absolutism makes monarch unlimited, absolute and irresponsible.

The Indian theory did not subscribe to any one of these principles in the extre form. While the principle of divinity was accepted, it was neither taken as infallible nor absolute, much less exclusive. Similarly the king's right to govern was partly due to his divine creation and partly on account of the agreement among the subjects to be governed by him. Mahabharata narrates the story of a society that flourished without the king of law. It was both ideal as well as idyllic, but as time went on, people fell from rectitude and a virulent anarchy set in. The earthly paradise was converted into a veritable hell. The gods became alarmed and went in a deputation to Brahmdeva, the chief God to pray for remedy and relief. Brahmdeva thought over the matter and came to the conclusion that human society could survive only when a code of law

was framed and enforced through the instrumentality of a king. He therefore created an a-sexual son named Virijas, appointed him king and the people agreed to obey him. This account of Mahabharata negates the second and third principles of legitimism and absolutism respectively. With a complete candour, it states that the king owed his position to divine and human agencies both and that the code of law limited his powers. The European acceptance of this doctrine in defence of royal tyranny was clearly not subscribed to by the Indians who had advocated regicide as well as tyrannicide both. Robert Filmer's unequivocal defence of royal divinity in Patriarch, was never accepted in India. It is true that the conception of divinely ordained monarchy follows as a logical apex of the argument given in the old Vedas and Smritis which speak of the divine origin of the Kshatriya order and more particularly of kingship. But James I's Law of Free Monarchy was never adhered to in India. The king's accountability to God alone is completely alien to Indian thought. Brahmdeva's law-code limited his powers and the gradual operation of inexorable law of Karma would compel him to keep true to his obligations. Only one ancient thinker Narada had maintained that the person of even a wicked king was inviolable but this view did not cut much ice and remained an isolated utterance of an unpractical eccentric. The wicked king Vena claimed exemption from punishment on the ground of his supposed divinity but the angry sages killed him when he advanced this impious plea. As a matter of fact, in India the impress of divinity was meant only for good and pious kings,

while the impious and wicked kings were outright condemned as demonic. The plea of Gregory the Great that even bad kings were divine and responsible only to God was considered as reprehensible as the Blackstonian assertion of king's infallibility. It is true that Sukranitisara counsels passive submission to the will of an evil ruler and the Jaina work, Nitivakyamitram also advocates the same, but absolute non resistance to an evil ruler was unheard of in India. Even Sukra advocated passive resistance to the king in the shape of desertion to the enemy camp and counsels depositions of a king who is an evil incarnate. On the other hand Bhishma had earlier proposed a more drastic remedy ranging from abandonment to actual assassination of a wicked king. He should be either abandoned like a split-boat at sea or killed with impunity like a mad dog afflicted by rabies. A non-protecting king is likened to a bull that is unable to bear burden or a cow that does not yield milk and a woman who is barren. Such a king is more dead than alive and Bhishma advocated support to a non kshatriya saviour even, in times of distress, rather than submitting before such a king, under the illusion that he is divine and infallible. Hence Bishop Bossuet's brazen-faced assertion that even open impiety on the part of the ruler would not exempt subjects from obedience to him and the Calvinic exhortation to offer respectful submission to unworthy kings was now accepted in India. The contention of J. N. Figgk¹⁴ is "the right acquired by birth cannot be forfeited through any acts of usurpation, of however long conti-

nuance, by any incapacity in the heir or by any act of deposition," is absolutely without parallel in India. It is true that the Manava Dharma Sastra had urged people not to despise the king who was not only a man but also a deity in human form. However we should not forget that this was done with the manifest intention of supporting the insecure throne of Pushyamitra, the Brahman king. Indian thinkers on the Science of Polity did not take kindly to such a suggestion and were out to debase and debunk this self-styled sanctity of the divine impostures. While attributing superhuman excellence and majesty to the king they did not preach servile submission to an arrogant and inefficient king who being the occupant of the gubernatorial seat in the state was exposed to greater temptation than ordinary human beings and was liable to fall a prey to his triple enemies Kama (Passion), Krodh (Anger) and Lobh (Greed). Hence cold scorn is poured on this self-assumed divinity and it is interesting to note that some of the kings were even averse to the idea of airing up their so-called divinity in public. Ashoka of course called himself the "Beloved of Gods" but the kings of later generations were content to call themselves Kshemraja (Lord of bounty) and Dharmaraja (Lord of justice). The Sungas and the Sanavahana rulers as well as Kharavela the greatest ruler of the Cheta dynasty of Kalinga would accept neither the divinity of the individual nor of the institution and discarded the notion of even an associated divinity. They did not claim any celestial support to puff up their vanity or in the alternative, to prop up their tottering thrones. They considered them-

selves to have been appointed as well as anointed by human beings. The pretense of divine support was thrown into the lumber-room of discarded antiquities along side other venerable fallacies. We are therefore tempted to concur with Dr. Jayawal who very pertinently remarked "Divine theory of kingly origin and kingly right could have found soil in Hindu India if there had been no live interest and constitutional jealousy in the people to check such pernicious claims and notions. The Hindu theory of kingship was not permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autocracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the Creator was not possible for Hindu kings as the race never allowed the craft of the Priest to be united in the office of the Ruler."¹⁵

A deeper probe into the history of royal divinity would unfold six different currents of thought relating to the significance and nature of divine kingship in ancient India. First of all the Yagus-Samhitas and Brahmanas dwell at length on the significance of royal consecration ceremonies and therein refer to the divinity of the sacrificer. The king is sometimes associated and at other times identified with the gods in the description of Vedic consecration ceremonies. He is created by Prajapati, the Creator and is endowed with His attributes.

In the second aspect of the doctrine, we are required to forge a link between Vedic and later Smritic theories of Manu and Bhisma. It is provided in Rigveda and later works that the king is divine irrespective of his association with the sacrificial rituals.

The Smrities' belief in the king's divine creation and his resulting divinity is amply borne out by Manu's thesis that the king was formed out of the particles of the Regents of the eight quarters, while Bhishma considered him to be the quintessence of gods and hence indistinguishable from them.

The third is the cult of ancestor-worship. We learn from Bhasa's play *Pratimantaka* that members of the royal family started erecting the images of their deceased male ancestors in temples and even constructed memorial temples to commemorate them. Some of the Indian writers like U. N. Ghosal had referred to the practice of constructing such memorial temples among the kings of South India in the tenth century and the period following it. My own observation is that the practice by no means was confined to South India alone and was current in North India also. During the course of my survey of ancient monuments of Upper India I was agreeably surprised to see such memorial temples. In the former princely state of Bikaner, in the present state of Rajasthan, a small village of Charwas alone had eleven such temples containing the images of the deceased Thakurs (the Baronnial Chiefs) of that place and a memorial temple even contained the image of a deceased female of the feudal family. This is the application of the Vedic domestic cult which consists of making offerings to the deceased ancestors and constructing memorial temples in their honour so as to establish their parity with gods.

The fourth phase was owing to the impact of Hellenised West Asia. The Indo-Greek kings brought with them the crude notions of

the King's divinity two centuries before Christ and their example was scrupulously followed by the Sakas, Parthians and the Kushans who considered themselves the sons of God.

The fifth stage is arrived at in the fourth and the following centuries beginning with the early Puranas, wherein we come across some of the most systematic and scientific accounts of this period. Here we find the royal ancestry being traced to Manu Vaivasvata, (son of the Sun) and his daughter Ila, wedded to Buddha (son of Moon) and that gave rise to two parallel lines of kings, the Solar and Lunar, which are still rife among the Rajput houses of North and West India. These Rajput houses still claim descent from these twin deities.

The sixth and the last phase was due to Sivite as well as Vaishnava theologians of the Bhakti school which permitted the installation of the images of devotees even in the temples of deities or in separate temples. In this transitional period from the ancient to the mediaeval ages, the royal houses of South and West India began to commemorate their kings in this fashion.

It now remains to draw a comparison between the concept of divine kingship as it was understood in India and elsewhere. The Indian concept of royal divinity was neither exclusive, nor extraordinary. It embodied the familiar features of the doctrine as it was propounded elsewhere and there was hardly a country where it was not preached. In Egypt, the Pharaoh was "God incarnate who did not even require to be deified, a god who descended among men to maintain truth and divine order,"¹⁶ observed H. G.

Quaritch Wales and averred "Pharaoh was Horus, the son of Sun-God Re, when he was alive and after death became Osiris."

In Mesopotamia, the king was regarded as not essentially different from man and was thought to be mortal made to carry superhuman charge. He was however all the time under the supervision, if not the surveillance of the gods above and was liable to be removed and replaced by them. He was supposed to interpret gods' will to the people being their (gods) representative as to represent his people's wish to his masters. In course of time he succeeded in adding "the divine determinative to his name as to appear as a manifestation of the deity or as himself the god. Nevertheless his title 'the son' of god was not to be taken so rigidly as in Egypt. It was to be taken figuratively and not literally. After death the king would cease to be his older self—a human mortal but an entirely independent entity, to act as a *via media* between God and people, and more particularly between the king and God. Hence the offerings made to the statues of the deceased kings were not meant for the spirit of the dead as was the case in ancient Egypt but were intended to go to "an independent entity, a true mediator between god and the king."¹⁷

In China the king was the delegate of the deity and the servant of the people but the cult of ancestor-worship strengthened his hands and made him the supreme manifestation of the deity and his empire became the 'Celestial Empire.' In ancient Babylonia and Assyria, the kings were considered the vice-regents of the deity while their Greek counterpart was believed to have descended from

divine ancestors. The Greek king was said to be Zeus-born and Zeus-nurtured. In Rome the kings were deified after their death and temples were built in their honour. Likewise in Islam also he was considered as a 'Canonical necessity.'

In the light of these myriad shapes and forms that king's divinity acquired, we can say that divine kingship as conceived by the Indian writers, particularly that of the Vedas and Smrities, is different from the rest both in content and quality. It represents a fresh new approach, distinguishable from the rest of its types in kind as well as degree both. To borrow a wise observation from U. N. Ghosal "The king is not a God-incarnate, or the son of God in the rigid Egyptian sense of the term, nor does he enjoy as in Mesopotamia and China, the double role of interpreting the will of gods to the people and representing the people to their gods. Above all the Indian king is conceived to be subject to limitations for which few if any analogies can be found in parallel examples."¹⁸ These limitations alluded to above in Ghosal's verdict are embodied in the Vedas as well as in the Smrities.

The Vedas echoed the prevailing belief in the predominance of an ancient omnipotent law which limited the temporal power of the king, while the Vedic doctrine of spiritual power being the source of temporal power further put the latter on a plane of marked inferiority to the former. Apart from this, we have the testimony of Yajus-Samhitas and Brahmana literature, wherein anybody irrespective of his personal position and social status, could be elevated to a divine sta-

tus through sacrifices. This knocks at the bottom of the theory which considered divinity as an exclusive preserve of the king or reserved it for the people of royal families alone. By the doctrine of sacrifice, any sacrificer, no matter where he stood in the social scale, could attain divine status and would thus claim parity with the so-called divine king. Besides we have the Smrities of Manu and his successors, which also speak with striking candour, about the essentially limited nature of kingship, even though it had a divine prefix attached to it. The Smriti law limited the authority of the king and carried a clear stipulation that the king's failure to protect his subject's property and to fulfil his other obligations would make him criminally liable for his grave omission and prescribed penalty and punishment both for such a derelict and a delinquent king. Thus neither the Vedic nor the Smriti king enjoyed unlimited authority and his divinity did not exempt him from his obligations and duties towards his people. Neither could he exonerate himself from blame and punishment for committing acts of criminality. Divinity offered him neither a cloak to cover his criminality, nor a clue to absolutism. It was a purely a simple conventional divinity which did not make him inherently divine or absolutely sacrosanct. It was divinity by courtesy, not even by proxy as when he was permitted to construct memorial temples containing the images of his deceased ancestors, he could never establish their parity with gods and they were considered inferior to them. As a matter of fact, such constructions were more ritualistic than religious. It was simply a concession to human ego. The deification was actual not

effectual. The sacral character of monarchy had a good deal of serenity and solemnity about it which was due to an august office but it lacked the much alluded to sanctity and divinity of the supernatural and the superhuman. It was more of a social sanctification without much theological significance. It is true that the kings began to trace their dynasties' origin and antiquity, their ancestry and heredity to Sun and Moon as per Puranic practice but this had no object other than elevating the royal house in the social scale. The king never became the religious nucleus in the social spectrum and that continued to be the priest's privilege. A cult of king-worship is known more on account of its absence rather than its disappearance, in the vast body of India's ritualistic literature.

In summing up, we can evolve the following points of comparison which shall vividly indicate the basic natural and functional differences between the Oriental and the Occidental approaches to divine kingship :

(1). The divinity of the Indian king was more associated than actual, belonging more to a post than a person. The divine idea as it occurred in the political literature of India, was confined only to a functional resemblance between the king and God. It did not harp on any factual occurrence or actual incarnation. Pharaohs did not exist here although the country had its own quota of Pharaons and arch-pretenders.

(2) It is interesting to note that unlike in the West, the spell caused by this doctrine, did not last very long here and some of the kings of the later period, had completely cast

off their celestial suffixes and symbols, prefixes and pretensions and began to adopt the more mundane and secular title of Maharaja (The Great King), Vadharaja (Lord of Bounty), Kshemaraja (Lord of Security) and Dharmaraja (Lord of Justice).

(3). Unlike James I of England, no serious thinking monarch in India ever propounded a theory of divine kingship and the Divine Rights of the kings. We have seen earlier, how the angry sages killed the wicked king Vana, when the latter advanced the impious and untenable plea of inviolability of his person on account of his divinity. As a matter of fact the fiction of divinity was accepted more because it conveyed a philosophical truth, rather than owing to any sense of political realism or spiritual urge contained therein.

(4) The theory was preached at both the places owing to different purposes. In Europe, it originated in strife. A regular war of nerves was going on between the king and the Pope on account of their rival claims to state supremacy and the latter used it as a prop to consolidate, and a means to consecrate his tottering throne with a divine fill-up and boasting. In India, mythology more than merits created it. There was no conflict between Sacerdotium (Sacerdotalism) and Imperium and hence there was the absence of some ulterior motive to grab power.

(5) The European theory of divine kingship was the brain-child of greedy monarchs and their court-minions, while in India, curiously enough, the theory in most parts was proposed and preached by the priestly class, who on account of their self-assumed

divinity were equally favourably disposed to recognise the parallel divinity of their temporal counter-parts.

We may finish this meandering discourse by making a comparative statement on the respective fortunes of the theory of king's divinity in India and Europe. The history of this theory in India and Europe has been already traced. It now remains to note a few additional facts, incidental thereto and not touched hitherto. This would further indicate the limited appeal and effects of this doctrine. We have already indicated the progress and wide currency it had in Egypt, Hellas and the Roman Empire. It only needs to be added here that the high prestige of Byzantium led to the transfer of the Emperor cult to the Latin world, although in a much simpler form. First, the Merovingian and afterwards the Carolingian rulers who revived the monarchical designation of sacer, sacratus, divus, sanctus or sanctissimus. The Church opposed it and with that began the conflict between the Imperium and Sacerdotium but Frederick Barbarossa revived the imperial titles of ancient Rome to emphasise his independence in relation to the Church. The empire henceforth came to be designated as sacrum and sanctissimum. "The Emperor once again acquired Numen, which imparted oracular powers. The Imperial palace, the court, the fisc, the law which the emperor promulgated, the writs issued in his name, all were sacer. The respublica became diva and the sacra maiestas Imperii meant not only that deceased emperors were celebrated as divi or as divine memoriae but also that the living monarch bore once more the title of perennitas nostra."²⁰ This led to the transformation of the Germanic

monarchies into absolutism based upon Divine Rights."²¹

The history of this doctrine in India, we have seen earlier. It had a fairly chequered and a halting career in India. We have also seen how limited an effect it had on things then, that virtually it meant divinity in name and individuality in essence, and in this context a reference to the Vedic and Smriti doctrines has already been made and need not be repeated here anymore. Only a few additional facts that escaped our attention earlier, merit some treatment here to explain once again the limited influence and sway of this doctrine. Yajñavalkya, ranking next to Manu in importance, eminence and erudition is completely silent on it, while Medhatithi shows a significant tendency to explain away the doctrine. The Jaina story of Patriarch Rishabha the first king, lends but little weight to this thesis, while the later Buddhist and Jaina canonical texts run counter to this doctrine. *Sivarnaprabhāsa Sūtra* and *Nītivakyamītram*, the two Buddhist and Jaina works respectively, seriously undermined the divine status of the king, owing to their different theories of cosmic evolution, which throw a flood of light on the intrinsically human nature of kingship. Panini is completely silent on it. A passing reference is found in Valmiki's *Ramayana* and poet Vishakhadatta's drama *Mudrarākṣhaśa*, while the Tamil writers who are so deeply well acquainted with the *Artha-Sāstra-Smṛiti* literature, have completely ignored this theory. Bana in his prose-romance *Kadambari*, mentions this theory only for visiting it with a severe censure. Kautilya of course mentions it but with the ulterior motive of winning the loyalty of disaffected sub-

jects to the king. Sukranītisara makes an attempt to interpret it in the light of the then current theory of political authority based on the king's past merits and virtues. Paucity of historical material along with the general apathy of literateurs signifies the limited import of this theory in the sub-continent. Barring Ashoka, his grandson and some of the Gupta emperors,²² as also king Hershavardhana of Thanēsvara, no other emperor claimed a divine status for himself, while a good number of them went to the extent of discarding even the implied divinity of the kingly office. In history therefore this theory is confined to a few isolated references only and is no where seriously speculated upon. This insignificance is on account of its fabricated history, false hypothesis, ill-fed logic and trumped-up tradition. No less important is the absence of sharp conflict between the spiritual and temporal heads of the state to merit manipulation by the greedy monarchs. The theory therefore remained relegated to relative insignificance and despite all its ado and hoo-doo elsewhere, in India it remained only a political platitude, if not a paradox and while it raged storms and squalls in other lands, India remained free from its puerile and pernicious influence and accepted it only for what it was worth—an extraneous divinity with only an inverted individuality and kingship remained in essence a human institution with only a divine denomination which seldom carried conviction and was largely only conventional.

1. "Only an unsophisticated or theologically blinded mind could believe that rulers actually were invested with divine qualities; only a jesuitical mind could find in such a

belief an infallible rationale of political absolutism". MAXEY'S "Political Philosophies" Page 184.

2. "A History of Indian Political ideas" page 540.

3. "State and Government in ancient India" page 59.

4. (IV. 12.8-9)

5. 1. (XX. 127. 7)

6. "State and Government in ancient India" page 59.

7. "Evolution of Ancient Indian Law," Tagore Law Lectures, page 37-8 by Dr. N. C. Sengupta.

8. "A History of Indian Political Ideas" page 35-36.

9. Ibid chapter two.

10. Ibid.: The author has given six limitations. Interested reader will find a wealth of material, presented with rare objectivity in this book.

11. "Suvarnprabhasa Sutra" which literally means The Sutra of Splendour of Gold, is a Buddhist work of the Mahayana School. By accepting the king as being composed of the particles of thirty-three gods it is apparently contradicting the earlier Buddhist Scriptures which only reluctantly placed the king

in the class of inferior divinity. In fact it is an attempt to acclimatise the earlier text to the new environment created by Brahmanical Renaissance.

12. "The Divine Right of Kings"-2nd Edition-Page 5-6.

13. "Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages"—Oxford 1948, Page-5.

14. 'The Divine Rights of Kings, Page 5.

15. "Hindu Polity" Page 237.

16. "Mountain of God" by H. G. Quaritch Wales, Page 19.

17. H. Frankfort—"Kingship and Gods," quoted by Quaritch Wales, Page 21 6.

18. I. H. Quereshi in The Administration of Sultanate of Delhi.

19. "A History of Indian Political Ideas", Page 544.

20. F. Kern, quoted in U. N, Ghosal's "A history of Indian Political Ideas", Page 546.

21. Ibid.

22. Samudragupta is described in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription as a "god dwelling on earth; being mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind".—"The Classical Age", Page 15, by Majumdar and Pusalkar.

THE MADRAS MUTINY

Dr. S. R. BAKSHI

On the arrival of Lord Minto, although danger from the native soldiery was over on account of the ruthless suppression of the Vellore Mutiny, the European element in the Madras army was far from satisfied. A state of excited feelings and bitter antagonism, caused by a series of regulations, unpalatable to them, prevailed among the officials. This created an ill-will and strife between the civil and military authorities. It was not altogether a new development. Even in the past, the East India Company's Government had received serious jolts by the sedition of European officers twice in the course of less than half a century. The white mutiny of 1765 was overcome by the zeal and firmness of Lord Clive. The flames of the Mutiny of 1796-97, fostered by the feebleness of Sir John Shore, were extinguished by Lord Wellesley's mandate.

During the period under review, discontent in the European section of the Madras Army was not without some pertinently valid causes. After the second Maratha War, the directions from the Court of Directors for economy in military expenditure and the consequent pressure of the Government of Bengal upon the subordinate Presidencies for effecting retrenchments and the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army Sir John Cradock's plans for reducing the military expenditure of the Madras army,

deprived the European military officers of their several emoluments.

Besides, the differences in the military allowances between the Madras and Bengal services had long been a subject of discontent. The assignment of commands to officers of His Majesty's Regiments in place of East India Company's officers also caused frequent murmurs and grumblings among the latter. Moreover, the bitter personal feelings of Sir Hay Macdowall, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army who was refused a seat in the Governor's Council and was replaced by a civilian officer added insult to injury and made him also a party to it.

Among the most unsavoury measures were the abolition of the Baggage Allowance, formerly granted to officers in command of Divisions and Stations; removal of full batta drawn by Officers commanding small ports and garrisons and the abolition of the Tent Contract system on June 7, 1807. The last one heightened the discontent to its climax. This was an arrangement by which the British military officers, commanding native corps, received permanent monthly allowance both in Cantonments and in the field in times of peace and war; and in lieu thereof, they provided men under them with suitable camp equipage, whenever required. This system was inherently vicious and was,

herefore, open to serious objections. There was hardly any doubt about the reasonableness of its abolition, as it was a definite measure of economy. Colonel Munro, the Quarter-master-General of the Madras army who had the overall charge of the department of camp equipage, was asked to investigate into the complaints against the Tent Contract and submit his report on it. He reported that the officers in command of the corps, concerned with the Tent Contract, consulted their own interest at the expense of the public service and drew the tent allowance without keeping up the requisite establishment.

The report of Colonel Munro was strongly resented by the British army officers of the Madras Presidency. In disgust, twentyfour officers, commanding the corps, addressed a letter to the Governor in which they charged Colonel Munro with "conduct unbecoming of British Officers and a gentleman; and questioned the validity of his views on the matter. The Governor referred these accusations against Colonel Munro to the Judge-advocate-General for his expert legal opinion. To this, he replied that a Commander-in-chief of the army was within his rights to call for the advice and opinion of any officer under his command even on the subjects under him and that officers were bound to give his best opinion on them. Thereupon, the Governor snubbed the army officers for their accusations against Colonel Munro, and decided to work out the suggestions given him.

Dissatisfied with the reaction of the Governor, the British officers sent a Memorial to the Directors of the East India Company

apprizing them of their case. Among their grievances, they mentioned the reductions made in their emoluments by the abolition of the Baggage Allowance and the removal of the full batta and the partiality shown in selecting officers for general commands. The Court of Directors rejected the Memorial stating that its transmission was objectionable and improper as it was not sent through proper channel,

General Macdowall, who was already dissatisfied owing to the loss of his seat in the Council, considered the remarks of the Court of Directors about him as derogatory to his dignity and authority. He took up the case of the army officers, openly espoused their cause, and became the champion of their rights. On January 20, 1809, he placed Colonel Munro under arrest on the charge of casting imputations on the character of the army in the official report drawn by him.

Finding himself thus disgraced, Colonel Munro, at first, appealed to the Commander-in-Chief on January 29, 1809 requesting him to communicate the news of his arrest to the Governor.⁶ General Macdowall did not consider it and asked him to appeal to the succeeding Commander-in-Chief, General Gowdie.

He refused to forward his application to the Governor and stated that the latter could not interfere in such military matters.⁷ On this refusal, Colonel Munro appealed to the Governor under whose authority he had acted and by whom the measures, he had recommended, had been approved and adopted. On this, the Governor of Madras asked the Commander-in-Chief to release Colonel Munro but he did not comply with his re-

quest.⁸ This attitude of General Macdowall was viewed seriously by the Governor and he was ordered to release Colonel Munro which he obeyed reluctantly.⁹

The interference of the Civil Government in military matters and the legal opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General in its favour, annoyed General Macdowall. He felt insulted and resolved to quit his office as a protest.¹⁰ But a day prior to his departure he issued a General Order on January 28, 1809 and directed Major Boles, the Deputy Adjutant General of the Madras army, to circulate it.¹¹ In it was stated that his precipitate departure from Madras prevented him from bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect and disobedience to him and for contempt of military authority he had shown by obeying an order of the Civil Government in defiance of that of the military authority. He, therefore, expressed strong disapprobation of Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings and reprimanded him in General Order.¹²

The Governor and his Council took a very serious view of this expression of dissatisfaction and disgust by General Macdowall. Therefore, by General Order issued by the Government on January 31, 1809, appointment of General Macdowall as the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency was annulled on the plea of his 'violent and inflammatory' proceedings on a number of occasions and Major Boles was suspended from service.¹³

The action against Macdowall and Major Boles heightened the discontent already

existing amongst British military officers in the Presidency. They addressed a Memorial to Lord Minto in which they enumerated their grievances and protested against the high-handedness of the Governor of Madras in dealing with General Macdowall and Major Boles. They demanded the removal of the Governor to reduce the tension in the army; the grant of a seat to the Commander-in-Chief in the Government Council and the re-definition of the relation between the military and civil authorities. The Governor General did not reply to the Memorial, but made mention of it in his communication with the Government of Madras in which he defended the Governor's action, took a serious view of the whole agitation in the army and stated that the grant of a seat to the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency Armies lay within the purview of the Court of Directors.

When Sir George Barlow came to know of the growing acts of indiscipline amongst army officers, he issued another General Order on May 1, 1809, in which he praised the distinguished zeal, discipline and obedience shown by the military establishment of his Presidency in the past and censured the intemperate acts of the late Commander-in-Chief, General Macdowall. Strongly condemning the army officers responsible for sending addresses to Major Boles, encouraging him in his action and affording him pecuniary inducement, he ordered the suspension of four officers of rank and removal of an equal number from their command and staff appointments. The most notable among them were Colonel St. Leger, Colonel

Chalmers and Colonel Cuppage who had performed distinguished services in Travancore. The drastic action of the Governor without giving an opportunity to the accused to defend their conduct ignited the accumulated discontent in the European section of the Madras army.

The first open expression of mutinous conduct was shown by the larger and most united division of the European army stationed in Hyderabad. On June 15, 1809, they transmitted a representation to the Government at Fort St. George with 186 signatures in which they expressed their resolve of the whole army to uphold unitedly the cause of the victims of injustice and visualized the impending danger of conflict between the civil and military authorities, if the General Order of the 1st May was not rescinded and their genuine grievances were not redressed.¹⁵ They also inserted in their representation a warning that in the event of their representation going unheard, the scenes of Vellore might be reacted with increased effect.

The European Regiment at Masulipatam mutinied on June 25, 1809 and Major Storey, the leader of the revolt, put the Commandant, Colonel Innes, under arrest for not sharing views with the rebel officers and himself assumed its command.

The British detachment at Jaulna seized the public treasury and interrupted the official correspondence.

Four days after, the orders issued to three Travancore Battalions and a Seringapatam detachment to march to Bangalore were also disobeyed. At Quilon, the situation became much worse. The mutinous officers entered

into a conspiracy to effect the murder of Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident, and the Pro-Government section of the European officers of that station. But the Resident and the Commanding Officer, Colonel Hall, peremptorily suppressed the conspiracy without loss of life and punished the conspirators. The British troops in Mysore were excited. They resisted the Government's orders, prepared an inflammatory Address and marched towards Madras in a state of open rebellion. But here the timely action of the Commanding Officer, loyal to the Government, frustrated the plan.

In this alarming situation, an attempt was made to ensure the loyalty of the Indian officers and soldiers. For this purpose, the loyal European Commanding Officers of the Indian Corps were directed to assemble the Indian officers and explain to them and through them, to the sepoys that the discontent of the European officers was mainly personal and the Government had no intention to curtail the privileges they enjoyed, but was rather anxious to improve them. This appeal to the Indian officers and men produced the desired result. Lord Minto considered this measure as a wise decision. He decided to proceed to Madras to restore the mutinous white army to its sense of discipline by his personal influence. But encouraging news from Madras delayed his departure for some time.

The firm decision of Sir George Barlow not to bend before the storm and to face the situation squarely with the aid of loyal European officers and the entire strong body of Indian officers and soldiers, made the leaders of the white mutiny at Hyderabad realise the gravity of the situation and introduced moderation in their attitude in full consciousness of their

defiant conduct. On mature consideration, their temper and resolve underwent a change. They put their signatures on the required pledge or Declaration of Obedience and entreated their brethren through a circular elsewhere to do likewise under the changed circumstances stated therein. The Jaulna and Masulipatam Divisions also signed the pledge. In Travancore, Malabar, Canara and Bangalore, all the Divisions professed their attachment and loyalty.¹⁶ The change in the attitude of the army officers arrested the dangerous progress of the white mutiny.

In this favourable atmosphere, Lord Minto left for Madras on August 12, 1809. On his arrival, he found that tranquility had already been restored and that the officers engaged in fomenting the late commotions were prepared to receive the decision from him. On the 25th of the same month, a General Order announced to the army the Governor-General's reprobation of their past conduct, and his resolution to inflict such punishment as might be commensurate with the offences committed. This determination was expressed in language designed and calculated to assuage all irritated feelings. A few only of the offenders were selected; such as officers in command of stations; Commandants of Corps and individuals conspicuous for violent and forward behaviour. For the two first, Courts martial were ordered; to the others, the alternative was offered of investigation before the same tribunal or dismissal from the service.

Shortly after the promulgation of this order, the trials of three Lieutenant Colonels three Majors and fifteen Captains commenced.

Lieutenant Colonel John Bell, the Commandant of the garrison of Seringapatam, was charged with joining in, and with heading, the mutiny of the troops. The defence set up was, that he had taken the command only to prevent excesses; that he had signed the test without hesitation, and that the garrison finally surrendered the fort peacefully. This did not satisfy the Court-martial. He was pronounced guilty and sentenced to be cashiered. Lieutenant Colonel Doveton was charged with having moved his detachment from Jaulna with a mutinous and seditious design against the Government of Fort St. George. The defence was the same. He was suspended from the service pending a reference to the pleasure of the court of Directors. Major Storey was charged with holding the command at Masulipatam after the arrest of Colonel Innes. He was sentenced to be cashiered. Of the second category of officers, Lieutenant Colonel Munro and Major Kenny, stood a trial and were cashiered, the rest accepted the alternative of dismissal. However, as a special case, all the officers of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force were pardoned in consideration of the example they had set by a 'welcome change in their attitude.' To the rest of the rank and file who had shown indiscipline under the influence of the discontented officers, a 'general and unqualified' amnesty was granted.

Thus ended the serious conflict between the civil and military authorities which had taken an ugly turn, threatened a rupture between the two and endangered British position in the Madras Presidency. By its happy ending, the constitutional issue between the two

authorities was resolved in favour of the former whose supremacy was tacitly accepted by the Army.

1. Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, May 3, 1811, P. 95.
2. Countess of Minto, *Lord Minto in India* ; p. 206.
3. Judge-Advocate General to Adjutant General of Army. For Deptt. Secret Cons February 20, 1809. Cons. 66.
4. Memorial of Army Officers to Court of Directors ; January 9, 1809. For Deptt. Secret. Cons. February 20, 1809, Cons. 76.
5. Parliamentary Papers ; House of Commons, September 10, 1810, p. 20.
6. Ibid. pp. 56-61. 4. C-in-C to Munro; January 21, 1809. For Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20, 1809, Cons. : 62.
7. C-in-C to Munro January 23, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20, 1809. Cons. 63.
8. Chief Secretary, Fort St. George to C-In C. January 27, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20, 1809. Cons. 75.
9. C-in-C to Chief Secretary, January 27 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20 1809. Cons. 74.
10. C in C to Barlow, January 27, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20, 1809. Cons. 54,
11. Major Boles to Court of Directors, February 23, 1809. For. Misc. Vol. 77.
12. General Order of General Macdowall, January 28, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 20, 1809, Cons. 80.
13. General Order of Chief Secretary, Madras, January 31, 1809. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. February 29, Cons. 81.
14. Memorial of the Madras Army Officers dated Nil. For. Deptt. Secret Cons. May 27, 1809. Cons. 16.
15. Parl. Papers, House of Commons, September 10, 1810, 82.
16. Pol. letter to Court of Directors ; September 2, 1809.



INLAND WATERWAYS IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

K. N. RAMANUJAM

In recent days "Steel Plant" has been in the headlines in India. In the South every State demands a steel plant. Andhra wants to get it by agitation, strikes etc. Mysore demands one and Madras is trying its best to establish a steel plant at Salem. Though the present demand for the steel plant is mainly political, its economic importance is also significant and vital. Indeed any country which aspires to industrial advancement has first to lay the foundations truly by steel and its industrial development is indicated broadly by the amount of steel it consumes. The steel is useful to bore, to clip, clean, or contain, to drill, to file, fasten, grip, join, to pinch, prod, puncture, pare, polish and to rend or revet. Even in the Atomic or nuclear age steel continues to be an important 'basis' for all industrial advancement. In India's developing economy, therefore, great importance attaches to the Plans for steel production in order to lay emphasis on heavy industries.

STEEL PLANTS AND OUR BACKWARDNESS :

In 1950 the production of steel in India was 1.1 million tons of ingots. There were only three steel plants, the Tata Iron & Steel Company (TISCO) at Jamshedpur, the Indian Iron and Steel Company (IISCO) at Burnpur and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati. There was no appreciable increase in steel production by the end of the first Plan since the production of 1955-56 amount-

ed only to 1.7 million tons. The second Plan capacity target was 6 million tons. The newly started German plant at Rourkela, Soviet Plant at Bhilai and British plant at Durgapur increased the production capacity and the target of 6 million tons was achieved by 1960-61. The planned target of production of finished steel and pig iron by 1965-66 is of the order of 7.43 and 1.41 million tons respectively. With this view the production capacity of Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur steel plants is being stepped up and a new steel plant is to be set up at Bokaro. The Fourth Plan target aims at 18 million tons of ingot steel and 4 million tons of pig iron and is scheduled to be achieved by 1970-71.

The per capita consumption of steel in India is 35 lbs, as compared to 1200 lbs. in the U.S.A., 600 lbs. in the U.K. and 450 lbs. in Australia. The production capacity of steel at present is about 8.4 million tons per year whereas in the U.S.A. it is 106.2 million tons, in the U.S.S.R. 52.5 million tons, in the U.K. 20.1 million tons, in Germany 21.3 million tons and in France 10.7 million tons. Even small countries such as Luxemburg and the Saar each produces 3 million tons a year and Japan produces more than 5 million tons.

PROBLEMS BEFORE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY:

The main problems that are facing the iron and steel industry are finance, labour troubles,

oscillating government policy, heavy taxation, inadequate supply of metallurgical coal, rationalisation and modernisation and transport requirements. An attempt is made here to study the last problem, that too in respect of inland water transport. It is very difficult to study the transport problem in general and the role of inland waterways in particular in respect of iron and steel industry because the impact of the problem is concentrated in a limited area to non-availability of materials in adequate quantities in other regions.

THE IRON AND STEEL BELT :

Recently the National Council of Applied Economic Research has conducted a survey of the transportation requirements of the Iron and steel belt which comprises parts of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in which the country's steel plants are situated and accounts for almost the whole of its present steel production. It is the region in which there is concentration of the minerals which form the basic raw materials for the manufacture of iron and steel viz. iron ore, coal, limestone, manganese ore and dolomite. Generally five tons of raw materials are required for the production of one ton of steel. So from the point of view of production costs and transportation economy, this region has several weighty and favourable factors for the location of steel plants here. Though other areas may offer some facilities for location of steel plants, such as Goa, Vishakapatnam and Salem, they have not all the mineral resources and other facilities in the same measure. This iron and steel belt accounts for 37,373 million tons of coal (80% of all-India reserves), 4500 million tons of iron ore (80%

of Indian reserves), 458 million tons of dolomite. The region also contains the whole coking coal reserves of the country.

The transport systems which operate within this region are the railways, road transport and inland water transport. Sea transport operates in an indirect way i. e. it provides an alternative means of transport via Calcutta for traffic from and to the Belt to and from regions in Southern and Western India lying outside the Belt. Though the railways and road transport contribute considerable traffic capacity to this Belt, the role of inland waterways is significant in terms of cheap cost, less maintenance and conservancy costs, co-ordination of transport and improvement of some ports like Calcutta and Paradiep.

INLAND WATERWAYS IN THE STEEL BELT :

The principal navigable inland waterways in or near the iron and steel Belt are the Ganga, the Mahanadi, the Orissa canal and the Durgapur canal. The following table assesses the length of navigable waterways both in the Belt and in India.

Region	Navigable steamers (Milage)	Naviagable large country(mileage) boats (mileage)	Total
Bihar	427	288	715
Madhya Pradesh	—	—	—
Orissa	25	262	287
West Bengal	465	312	777
Iron and Steel Belt	917	862	1,779
All-India	1,557	3,587	5,177

(Source : Estimates Committee, 1956-57
Sixty First Report)

The Study Group of transport requirements of the iron and steel Belt has assessed the inland water transport systems, which bear on the transport problems of the Belts as follows:

(a) the service over the Ganga in Bihar and in parts of Uttar Pradesh.

(b) the Delta canal system of the Mahanadi leading to the port of Paradeep; and
(c) the Durgapur canal.

TRAGIC DOWNFALL:

The early part of the last century was the hey-day for the Inland water transport in India. The introduction of steam propulsion vessels gave a great fillip to inland water ways and assisted in the substantial growth of some industries like the indigo and saltpetre industries in Bihar, the jute industry in Bengal and the tea industry in Assam. But inland water transport fell on evil days. The introduction of railways and use of water from rivers and canals for irrigation purposes, and the British government's attitude accounts for this downfall.

PROGRESS SINCE INDEPENDENCE:

After independence the Government felt the need to improve inland water transport as an auxiliary of railways and roadways to carry bulk cargoes such as textiles, coal, iron-ore, petroleum and raw materials at the cheapest cost. Government also was of opinion that each type of transport should have a planned and co-ordinated transport net work throughout the country. So the government of India invited foreign naviga-

tion experts like Mr. Otto Popper, Mr. Surie and Mr. Van-dergord to advise on problems pertaining to inland navigation. In 1952 the Central Government in collaboration with the State governments of U. P., Bihar, West Bengal, and Assam constituted the Ganga-Brahmaputra Water Transport Board. Its objective was to develop navigation in the inter State rivers in north-east India and to experiment with shallow-draft craft in the Ganga and the Ghagra rivers.

An Inland water transport Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Gokhale was appointed in February 1957 to institute an inquiry on an all-India basis. The Committee submitted its report in 1959. Its recommendations are in respect of the revival and development of inland water transport in the country. The Committee recommended that high priority should be given for maintenance and development of inland waterways.

NAVIGATION ON THE GANGA

The river Ganga flows through both U. P. and Bihar. It is navigable from Patna downstream throughout the year with a minimum draft in the dry season ranging between 4 and 5 feet.

The Joint Steamer Companies have for many years operated a river service connecting Bihar with Assam and Calcutta via the Ganga and Brahmaputra rivers. They have operated about 1000 vessels of various types and sizes over about 5000 miles of waterways. It is interesting to note that in 1957 the average total monthly traffic by river from Bihar to Assam was approximately equal to 145 metre gauge rail wagons at 15 tons per wagon and from Calcutta to

Bihar 100 broad-gauge rail wagons at 22 tons per wagon.

Boats carry sugar, rice and grains from Bihar to Assam, averaging about 50,000 to 60,000 maunds per month. These boats on the way back load jute, timber, and other products in Assam for discharge at Calcutta. Then the manufactured products are carried up river from Calcutta to Bihar. In addition to the rivers, there are some 210 miles of canals open for navigation in Bihar. There are also 3700 small cargo boats, only 30 of which carry a small number of passengers. During 1955-56 these inland waterways carried 32,000 tons of cargo valued at Rs. 38 lakh. Since these canals and rivers are valuable supplements to the land transport, river-borne traffic is possible in Bihar. Imports and exports to and from Bihar in respect of all commodities are considerably carried on. Exports of iron and steel from Bihar through these inland waterways in 1955-56 were 1,13,81,454 maunds and imports were 11,68,849 maunds.

The Ganga Brahmaputra Water Transport Board at present operates (a) a country boat towing service between Chapra and Burhaj (94 miles) and (b) a weekly service between Patna and Buxar (93 miles) and (c) between Patna and Rajmahal (203 miles) with pusher tugs and steel barges. The Farakka Barrage Project is now being carried on for the preservation and maintenance of the Calcutta port and the navigability of Bhagirathi-Hooghly rivers. It will comprise of a barrage across the Bhagirathi and a feeder canal. This project will be completed by the end of the

Fourth Plan period. On completion no doubt, it will bring into existence a new link between Calcutta Port and the hinterland in Bihar and U. P. It is also expected that on its completion it will revive the old time Calcutta-Patna service.

PROBLEMS OF THE GANGA SYSTEM

One of the chief difficulties on the Ganga is that goods have to be transhipped from big vessels to smaller ones because of the shallowness of the upper Ganga during most of the year. This is a costly and cumbersome procedure. Another difficult problem confronting the development of water transport on the Ganga system is bank erosion.

Further, the course of the river is more circuitous than the direct rail route. These defects can be overcome by dredging and conservancy and maintenance measures.

INLAND WATERWAYS IN U. P.

In U. P. the river Ganga and its tributaries are the main source for navigation. The Yamuna is navigable for 40 miles, above its confluence with the Ganga at Allahabad. The other rivers in the State such as the Ghagra, Sone, Gandak and Kosi are also navigable for smaller distances. Steamers used to ply as far as Auodhya some 40 years back and a daily service was operating upto Burhaj. Another steamer service used to run from Patna to Burhaj till the termination of steamer services by the Joint Steamer Companies in 1958. The passenger and goods traffic were of equal importance and the latter included general merchandise, jute, food-grains, wine, beer, manufactured

iron, acids and salt. The steamers could carry 300 to 600 passengers and 25 to 75 tons of cargo. Apart from this river traffic, there is also canal traffic through the Ganga's canals and Yamuna canals.

Now a supplementary road-cum river route is being experimented upon for the transportation of coal from the Karanpura coal field to U. P. The coal is to be carried by lorries from the collieries to a river-head in Bihar where it would be carried by river transport to Allahabad for further despatch to destinations by road. But this route is not economical due to the lengths and cost of road haul upto the river head. As per the Locur Committee report the total Ganga river route mile amounts to 1113 miles for navigation. This route mileage includes (a) the Ganges Main service i.e. from Patna to Calcutta, 919 miles ; (b) Ganges feeder service i.e. from Patna to Buxar, 93 miles and (c) Gogra Feeder service i.e. from Patna to Burhuj, 131 miles.

INLAND WATERWAYS OF ORISSA

The Mahanadi is navigable during the rains from Sambalpur to Cuttack for 203 miles by country boats of 1.06 metres draft and 8 tons capacity. Small boats of 0.15 metre draft and 3 tons capacity operate during the dry season. Steamers ply on the river from Bandh, Barambs, Dasapalla, Kendrapara and Narasingpur to Cuttack and they carry bamboos, bidi leaves, limestone, food-grains, cement, agricultural implements and sugar. The existing tonnage of river traffic in up and down directions is estimated at 25,000 tons. In Mahanadi there is also raft traffic in bamboos and timber. This raft tra-

ffic from the hinterland is mainly concentrated in the Cuttack area. The boats are also anchored near the railway dockyard where there is regular interchange of commodities by raft traffic between the boats and wagons. Below Cuttack, navigation is carried on in the delta canal system. A regulated discharge of about 8000 cusecs of water from the Hirakud dam will help in improving navigation. The other canals in the State such as the Kendrapara, the Taldanda and the high level canals connect Cuttack with the Paradeep port and serve the needs of both navigation and irrigation. So the development of the Delta canal system of the Mahanadi leading to the Port of Paradeep follows as a corollary to the decision to develop Paradeep as a major Port. This canal system will not only open up the hinterland for the Port but also carry the minerals in large quantities. Hence the usefulness of the canal system is sure and certain in respect of the iron and steel industry. The Orissa coast canal connects Cuttack with Calcutta. It starts from Geonkhali on the Hoogly and it is called as the "Hijli Tidal Canal" between the Hooghly and the Rasulpur rivers. It handled 46,975 tons of cargo during the year 1955-56.

WATERWAYS IN WEST BENGAL

The main source for navigation in West Bengal is the tributaries of Ganga and Brahmaputra. The river Hoogly is a very important waterway in West Bengal. On its left bank the Port of Calcutta is situated and it serves as the natural outlet of India's coal, jute, tea, iron ore and other products of the of the States like U. P., Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The hinterland of the Port will be

further industrialised with the location of the steel plants at Burnpur and Jamshedpur and newly set up steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur and Bokaro. In West Bengal navigation is possible through the canals such as the Midnapore canal, the D. V. C. canal, the Hiji tidal canal, Calcutta Eastern canal and Durgapur canal.

The D. V. C. navigation canal is the first navigation-cum irrigation canal that has been constructed by the D. V. C. The length of the canal is 85 miles with 22 locks to negotiate the falls. It takes off from the headworks at Durgapur and joins the Hoogly 32 miles upstream from Calcutta. This canal is expected to provide cheap means of transport to the mining and industrial areas in its vicinity. About 25 per cent of the exportable commodities are carried by canal.

Among these waterways, the only useful waterway to the iron and steel Belt is the Durgapur canal. Though it has been principally designed to assist irrigation, now it has been developed as a navigation canal and is proposed to operate coal barges on the canal to meet the demand for coal at Calcutta. This canal may prove economical for the supply of coal to the jute mills and engineering factories on the waterside in the Calcutta area and for the movement of coal for bunkering. However the question of putting this canal to navigational use has now been taken up seriously and it is expected that the scheme may operate by the end of this year. The long-term transport potential of this route can be estimated only when it functions and when its relative costs and other features are known.

Recently the West Bengal Government has considered the improvement of the Hiji tidal canal connecting Calcutta with the southern part of Midnapur district as well as parts of Orissa. So this canal will be re-excavated and the lock gates and sluices will undergo special repairs. If the Orissa Government likewise improves the coastal canal on its side it would help the movement of traffic between the two states.

POTENTIALITIES OF WATERWAYS

From the above assessment of inland waterways in the iron and steel Belt, one can come to the conclusion that the potentialities of inland waterways are great provided that these waterways are developed with care. At present the Mahanadi canal system leading to Paradeep Port alone has a substantial potential for the carriage of export ore. Navigation on the Ganga (both in Bihar and U.P. is not bright. It depends upon the future development of the waterways of these States. If these waterways are improved with the utmost care, no doubt, the present uneconomical operation may be converted to more economic use. When the Durgapur canal starts functioning, the cost and other characteristics will be favourable and its great potential will be known only in the long term operation. So if the Government improves the potentialities of the inland waterways of the iron and steel Belt, there will be an annual transportation of iron and coal etc. to the extent of 3 million tons or more per year. This capacity is likely to be improved by proper maintenance of inland waterways of the region.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Though the share of inland waterways in the region in respect of transportation of iron ore is insignificant when compared with that of railways and road transport of the region, the future will be bright if the concerned authorities consider the following suggestions and recommendations sympathetically. First, the Plan provision should be considerably higher than in the past in the development of inland waterways transport facilities in the steel Belt. During the Second Plan only Rs. 10 lakhs were allocated for this purpose. The Third Plan allocation also was only 73 lakhs in the light of the recommendations of the I. W. T. Committee (1959). The Fourth Plan allocation should be higher, the Central Government and the State Governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa should try to allocate a larger sum in this respect.

Secondly, either the Central Government or the concerned State Governments of the steel Belt should try to revive the suspended Gangetic service between Calcutta and Patna.

Thirdly, by improving the Mahanadi Delta canal and Durgapur canal the Port of Calcutta and Paradeep Port should receive a larger quantity of iron ore to our exports to other countries.

Fourthly, the jute mills and other engineering factories on the waterfront in the Calcutta area should be persuaded to accept coal through the Durgapur canal.

Lastly, the Government should accept the finding of Prof. Lebedinsky, the U. N. Consultant provided to the National Council of Applied Economic Research for the study

of transport requirements of the iron and steel Belt.

According to Prof. Lebedinsky, the improvement of the navigability of the rivers such as the Ganga and the Hoogly in the steel Belt would help to effect annual movement of 2 to 3 million tons of coal, iron ore and other commodities by water. For the dredging work of these waterways at least 30 dredger pumps will be required. So Government must arrange to set these dredger pumps for the maintenance of the water ways. Necessary arrangements should be made for an adequate river fleet and the port equipment for loaded ships because loaded ships can sail on rivers with a depth of 1 to 1.5 metres (crafts with loading capacity of 200 to 300 tons) to distances of about 350 kms. on the Ganga, Hoogly and Gandak. So also the improvement of the depth of the river bed will guarantee safe navigation of vessels during the period of high water. To improve the traffic of the D. V. C. canal, it is necessary to carry out arrangements for mechanised transshipment operations from rail to sea barges. Mechanisation can be achieved by use of the simplest conveyors at transshipment points and construction of small capacity bunkers (about 600 tons) for use as temporary store houses. No unloading should take place, if at a given time, there are no barges and no vacant capacity in the bunkers. The operation of barges and railways should be based on unified and co-ordinated schedules in order to avoid idle wagons. If our Government carry out these findings, suggestions and recommendations, inland water transport will find its right place in the steel belt transport

set up and the present transport bottleneck will be relieved to a certain extent.

INLAND WATERWAYS AS A WATER SOURCE

For a steel plant water source is as essential as the availability of iron ore, coal, electric power, manganese and minerals. It may be proved from the fact that almost all the steel plants have been set-up near or on the bank of rivers. For example, the Tata Iron and Steel Co. at Jamshedpur has been situated very near the rivers Subarnarekha and Khorkkai. To get water supply in the dry season there is dam across the Khorkkai. Similarly the Indian Iron and Steel Co. at Kulti and Iron and Steel factory at Badravati have been set up on the banks of the rivers Barakkar and Badravati respectively. Bhilai iron and steel plant gets water by a canal from Tandula water tank. Rourkela plant has been set up very near the confluence of rivers Sang and Koyal with a new name Brahmani and Durgapur plant is very close to the river Damodar. Hence apart from transport potentialities inland water ways should also be considered as important water sources.

EXPORT TO JAPAN :

Apart from all what is said so far the future pressure for transport capacity will be very high due to our export programme. The present production of 9 million tons of steel ingots will be stepped to 17 million tons in 1970. The estimated demand for iron ore from various steel plants will go up to 30 million tons in 1970 from the present demand of 16 million tons. Japan is keenly interested in our iron ore and it is our chief importer. European countries also are our other

importers. Japan gets 2 million tons of iron ore as against our total export of 4 million tons. The total export requirement will go up to 25 million tons if it would be 11 million tons by 1965-66. As per agreement between the Government of India and Japan we should export 3 million tons from the Kiriburu area and additional 4 million tons from Bailadila area. The growth of iron ore production in the belt in the decade 1960-70 will go up to 38 million tons or an increase of about 475%. The heaviest increases are in Orissa and in M. P. Now the level of mechanisation is very low. The railways are not able to load the iron ore quickly due to supply of different types of wagons for loading and due to the length and condition of sidings at the mines which are inadequate for the operation of high capacity railway wagons. Now there is almost no unloading into buckets at the loading points and the time required for loading the wagons is more than 6 hours each. So it is imperative that in order to export the increased iron ore, the transport requirement will be increased to the extent of the rise in iron ore or steel production. In the years to come the port of Calcutta and Paradeep Port will receive large numbers of specially built Japanese ships to carry our iron ores. So there will be a rush to carry the iron ores to these Ports. Then the role of inland water ways will be more economical due to its cheap cost to carry bulk commodities. In fine the share, of inland waterways as the cheapest mode of transport and as a water source for the iron and steel industry of our country will be more significant than what it is to-day.

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Races in the United States

Although Abraham Lincoln involved the then comparatively young United States of American in a violent and long-drawn out civil war in his determined effort to emancipate the Negro from the bonds of slavery and even risked his own leadership of the community in the process, slavery, all but in name, had never been effectively eliminated from the American Society. Abraham Lincoln, although he succeeded in ultimately gaining his objective of securing legal emancipation of the Negro from the bondage of slavery, the fact that the anti-emancipationists were ultimately able to violently cut short his career as one of the most outstanding Presidents of the American Federal Republic by assassinating him in a Washington Theatre Hall, proved the determination of the dominant whites of the U.S.A. to keep the Negro suppressed and deprived of elementary human rights.

In course of time, of course, the violence inherent in the day to day relations between the Whites and the Negroes more or less died out, it was more because the Negro was not strong enough to claim and wrest his human rights and was reconciled to accept the position of an inferior citizenship in the country's polity and social organization. The benevolence and sincere efforts of some notable White Americans no doubt did a great deal towards making the lot of the poor and oppressed Negro somewhat tolerable, but the latter always remained segregated and suppressed and was never conceded his basic human rights in American Society.

It was during and after the end of the Second World War that the American Negro began to gradually awaken to a positive awareness of the sub-human conditions to which the coloured

racers in American society were perpetually condemned. The role assumed in the comity of nations by some outstanding Negroes—mention may be made in this connection of the contributions of Ralph Bunche to the cause of world peace— and its acceptance and recognition by the United Nations, stimulated this awareness and began to rouse the desire and the claim for integration of the Negro in the American society as a whole. This was a claim which could not be repudiated if the United States had to maintain her lead in world politics and it was presumably, this vital need rather than any positive acceptance of the rights of the Negro, that eventually led to legislation and administrative measures being adopted for de-segregating the Negro children from their isolated educational institutions. A great deal of violence and increased oppression of the Negro by the Whites, especially in some Southern States, resulted and although a measure of success is claimed to have been eventually achieved in most areas in desegregating Negro schools not without violent clashes even between some State Administrations and the Federal Government, a great deal still remains to be done to make the measure generally acceptable and more effective on the American community as a whole in the South. There are still some areas of residual violence on this question which keeps smouldering on and which periodically bursts out in destructive outbreaks.

The prejudice against the Negro has not been as violent or as obstreperous in the urban North as it has been in the agricultural South. But in both social status and in economic standards, the Negro has always remained condemned to a comparatively sub-human existence which has been, in any case, far behind and far below that of his white compatriot. In housing amenities he has

virtually remained segregated in the North also and has generally been condemned to over-crowded and unhygienic slum existence. When the late President John F. Kennedy initiated his civil rights legislation with a view to conceding to the Negro a status of fair economic and social equality with his White compatriots in the American Union as a whole, a new area of hitherto inarticulate white opinion began to make itself heard in opposition. This latter proved to be more sinister perhaps because it was insidious rather than open and active and because it claimed to be more solicitous of the Negro's own welfare rather than being a champion of white supremacy. It was claimed by this school of white opinion in the U.S.A. that the natural social and economic forces were already achieving a gradual measure of real integration of the American Negro into the American society and it was only a question of time before he would be bound to be conceded complete political, economic and social equality alongside of his White compatriot. Civil rights legislations would only create newer prejudices and a belligerent psycho-social climate against the Negro and, seeing that he remains economically very largely dependent upon the Whites for employment and progress, such legislations could only have a retrogressive effect upon this natural process of integration and the forces of social progress.

But the new awareness of both his rights and strength that has, in fact, been growing up among the Negroes, very naturally refused to be enticed by such soft-soaping solicitousness on his behalf and recognized it for what it really was,—that the reactionary forces were on the rampage under a disguise of apparent benevolence to hold up the process of racial integration of the American community. Proposals for large appropriations for slum clearance or rat elimination to make conditions in Negro slums less intolerable than they have been, were wholly unable to contain the violent reaction that was bound to generate in the community, especially among its younger and more demanding generations who are naturally less inclined to patiently wait on

upon the gradualness of progress. The impatience of this younger generation of Negroes has been finding periodic expression in violent outbursts of rioting, large-scale arson, looting and killings.

Thus, in 1965 violent rioting broke out in the Watts ghetto of Los Angeles which, in six days of uncontrolled fury, accounted for 35 dead and some 900 injured. Next year violence broke out in the Cleveland ghettos of Hough, and accounted for a large area of destruction by rioting and arson. In both cases, the apparent provocation would seem to have been out of all proportion to the size of the outbreak: in the 1965 Los Angeles riots the only provocation seemed to have been the arrest of a young high school drop-out for alleged drunken driving; the 1966 Cleveland outbreak was reported to have stemmed from the refusal by a white bartender to serve iced water to a Negro customer. But far more violent and more destructive than any of the previous instances of similar rioting was what broke out in Newark, N.J., in mid-July last. The direct cause of this outbreak is traced to the arrest of a reportedly quiet and well behaved young Negro Cab driver, John Smith. According to the report of a U.S. Newsmagazine, Smith was driving his cab through the winding brick-paved streets of Newark just after dusk one evening. Ahead of him, moving at a maddeningly slow pace was a prowler, on the look-out for traffic violators, drunks and the angry brawls that often mar a summer's night in a Negro neighbourhood. In the stifling heat Smith became impatient and imprudent. Alternately braking and accelerating, flicking his headlights on and off, Smith tailgated the police car and finally, after a quarter mile of tailgating, tried to swing past the police. They cut him off, there was a short scuffle and Smith was trundled into the squad car.

It might have ended there like any of a thousand police-blotter items. But Smith's arrival at the station house was seen by scores of Negro residents of the red brick Hayes Homes housing development across the street and by other cab drivers as well. Out over the cabbies' radio band went the rumour that white cops had killed a Negro

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driver. Within minutes cabs and crowds were converging on the grey stone headquarters of the Fourth Precinct in the heart of Newark's overwhelmingly Negro central ward. By midnight the first rocks and bottles were clattering against the station house walls; by next morning the tinkle of glass was counterpointed by cries of "beat drums, not heads". Out charged a phalanx of police to break up the crowds. After three hours calm returned, but not for long. Along the ghetto grapevine the word was passed: "you ain't seen nothing yet!" By that evening New Jersey's largest city (population 405,000) was caught up in the fiercest race riots since Watts.

The riots went on unabated for four nights running, snipers' bullets spanged off sidewalks, night sticks crunched on skulls, looters made off with entire inventories of scores of stores. New Jersey's Governor Richard Hughes proclaimed Newark a city in "open rebellion", declared a state of emergency and called out the National Guard. The toll in human suffering mounted hourly: before the week was out more than 21 people were dead, more than 1,00 were injured and 1,600 were arrested: property damage was assessed at several million dollars. This, and similar other incidents over the past three years, and especially since the last July outbreak in Newark makes terrifying reading. In most cases the immediate cause of the riots seemed to be so trivial that the violence would seem to be completely out of proportion to the immediate provocation. What seems to me even more terrifying is that the mood for violence is apparently spreading far and wide over the whole of the United States, from Harlem (New York) to Heugh, Chicago to Cincinnati, Boston to Buffalo, Watts to Waukegan.

What is all this due to is the question which seems to have set most American Whites of different and differing political schools thinking. While some of them believe that the Negro was being pampered by being offered equal political and social status with the whites for which, anyway, he is not yet fully equipped, there are others who feel that it is this very denial to the Negro of his basic human rights in the American Society

in this age of world brotherhood under the auspices and aegis of the United Nations, which has been inducing the Negro to behave irresponsibly and with violence. There is, for instance, the new anti-riot bill which would make it criminally cognizable for any Negro to cross state borders; of the author of this legislation Republican Representative William Cramer, Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was reported to have said with withering scorn: "He and his colleagues have great wrestlings with their souls and wordy parliamentary debates in considering, trimming, altering or rejecting a civil rights bill, but they have no trouble lining out punishment for alleged rioting. When they refuse to enact legislation such as the Civil Rights Bill of 1967, they are creating the atmosphere in which outbreaks of violence can occur." Roy Wilkins went on to add that "too many people want to make the Negro behave, but they do not want to give him justice." In the same vein Republican Senator Edward Brooke held that ghetto violence can be traced to the failure at all levels of Government to respond to the aspirations of moderates. "More and more Negroes" Brook said "have come to believe that progress is possible only through militant action, that moderation had failed to accomplish enough to satisfy the objectives of the civil rights movement. *Black Power*" he insisted, was "a response to *white irresponsibility*."

It is not easy to provide ready-made answers to the racial problems that would seem to be facing the American Society to-day. The racial violence of to-day is, clearly, the cumulative result of decades, even centuries of apathy and of taking the Negro for granted by the American whites. Even those who do not subscribe to the Southern prejudice of regarding the Negro as essentially inferior in social, cultural and political potentials to the whites, have seldom done anything positive or acted to integrate the Negro into his society and has thus helped, in large measure, to breed the seeds which have now sprouted into this poison of fury and violence. According to one American writer "they (the Great Society Programmes) ha

awakened the Negro to what is available in America's opulent society and has whetted his appetite for more." Charles Silberman in his celebrated book *Crisis In Black And White* notes: "The Negro's impatience, bitterness and anger are likely to increase the closer they come to full equality." In his desire for "more he is with the rest of the world crowd, but when he realises that he has a terribly long way to go before he will have even a part of what most whites have—in jobs, homes, schooling,—he has easily become very highly combustible. And when he finds that each instalment of violence leads to a further instalment of concessions for the community by the whites, it almost becomes a direct invitation to further violence. Harvard sociologist Thomas Pettigrew is reported to have stated in sheer despair, "If you go in immediately and do everything you haven't done for 50 years, you are rewarding the riots. If you do nothing, you are inviting another riot."

Newark Mayor Hugh Adonizio had reportedly deplored the "absence of Negro leadership." There appears to be a great deal of truth in this accusation. This would, however, seem also to bear out the truth of the counter-allegation that white leadership in America ament the violently developing Black Power problem which is an inescapable consequence of the deplorable white-black relationship on the continent, despite what has been flamboyantly claimed as the dawn of the civil rights are, has been equally poor and apathetic in imaginative leadership. If that were not so, the continuing prejudice against the Negro at all levels of white society and administration, must be conceded to be one of the principal reasons for the present mood of violence and fury, could have been wiped out from the American Society long long ago. America has too long continued to sow the wind; now she cannot escape the responsibility of reaping the whirl-wind!

The Frankenstein of Urbanization

After independence and during the last fifteen years of development planning, our leaders, eco-

nomists, industrialists and the administration generally, have over the past twenty years deliberately encouraged a trend of increasing urbanization of the Indian people. The excuse: this would help to relieve the unconscionable burden upon our still primitive agrarian economy and stimulate both the pace and the area of industrialization. For better or for worse, the trend appears to have now definitely set in and every one wants to leave his field and the plough for the concrete buildings and tar-paved streets of urban areas with their neon-signs, cinema houses, the public transport system and, of course, also with their hideous and stinky slums thrown in for good measure. Whatever also this new trend might have achieved, it has certainly not relieved the traditional burden on our *insufficient* agriculture, nor has it enabled a faster pace to be induced into the process of industrialization, in spite of concentration of new investments upon this sector of the national economy to the deprivation of other sectors. What it has most undeniably appears to have achieved, however, is to acquire new and, seemingly wholly intractable problems: over-crowding, lack of adequate sanitation, unhygienic living—in a word slums of the most horrific description—and all the anti-social consequences that inevitably follow thereupon.

Apparently our leaders at the political level and their sycophants and yes-men who, in the mass, constitute the Government of India's super-Cabinet—the Planning Commission—are a band of imitative faddists to whom the lure of urban opulence appears to be far more glamorous and attractive than the quiet basic values upon which the structure of *progress* essentially depends.

It will not merely be interesting but may even prove a little instructive to have a look at how urbanization is being looked upon in the present day U.S.A. whom we would so much like to imitate and emulate. An American national weekly whose circulation runs into many millions presents the matter in the following few but telling words:

Once a land of farms, fields, forests and neat white towns, the U.S. to-day is a nation of

metropolitan areas. Last year the Census Bureau listed 224 of them containing 70 per cent of the U.S. population.

A metropolitan area is defined as a "center city" each with a population of at least 50,000 plus that of its adjacent suburbs. The nation's metropolitan areas house 140 million Americans (total population of the U.S.A. 180 million) in less than a tenth of the country's acreage.

Through some cultural lag, Americans continue to speak of "the cities" in accents implying that they are something different and special. But the cities to-day *are America* and the "problems of the cities" are pretty much synonymous with the problems of America. To be sure, there are vast physical and psychic differences between Manhattan and some of the leafy streets of its sister borough of Queens, and between Queens and Scarsdale, and between Scarsdale and Levittown and between all of them and Duluth, Minn. But they are all "urban" and they must all contend with traffic jams, parking, pollution, shortage of hospitals, parks, police and even water, usually with inadequate schools and spreading slums, and always with taxes and America's weird tangle of municipal jurisdictions.

...Yet in a summer of racial wrath that has already shaken dozens of American cities, the problems of urban life seem all but insuperable.

"All the things we've tried to help the cities with aren't working very well" says Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labour and currently the most controversial of urban-affairs analysts. The question, in fact reflects... the central domestic issue, one thing that is increasingly engaging the nation's intellectual community.

The story almost reads like that of any large city in India to-day. With a continuous and continuing trend of migration from rural to urban areas—towards the larger cities for preference—urbanization in India to-day has been multiplying problems that beset them in like proportion. The widening slum areas increasingly make them

susceptible to a kind of sensitiveness which engenders violence and anti-social activities on a proportionately increasing scale. With more than 67 per cent of the gross national product arising out of the non-urban agrarian sector, the present trends of urbanization in India have been visibly responsible for creating a multitude of problems of an insuperable magnitude. Unemployment, the nation's single biggest scourge and its most paralyzing problem increasingly concentrates in and around the urban areas and make them highly combustible social tinder. Slums are an equally insuperable problem. Slum clearance in large cities would absorb all the proceeds of development and far more to cope with, and since there is never enough to be deployed to the purpose, slums have been widening at far too rapid a pace and have been concentrating all kinds of anti-social elements in their socially and physically unhygienic environments that have been retarding all efforts to cope with them.

The description could be multiplied almost ad infinitum. All this would seem to indicate the need for fresh thinking on the over-all problems of development. If the trends of urbanization could be arrested—not an easy job to deal with under any circumstances—and needs of economic development and social progress reconciled with semi-urban (as distinguished from suburban) industrialization complementary (but not supplemental) to the nation's agricultural activity, most of the problems that beset life in the widening urban cities of India to-day might have been avoided in proportion although it might be impossible to eliminate them from our city life as it stands to-day.

If the metropolitan urban cities of the United States of America to-day are responsible for most of the present day national problems of the country, there are also compensations which are wholly beyond India's reach at the present stage of her economic development. With only 6 to 7 per cent of the adult American population engaged in agricultural occupations, American has a comfortable surplus agriculture which accounts for about 10 per cent of the gross national pro-

duct; 90 per cent of the gross national product in the U.S.A. today flow from urban industries, which account for employment to very nearly 89 per cent of the population: the residue comprising an average 1 per cent of the population indexes the national average of unemployment in the continent. In India, on the other hand, agricultural occupations account for approximately 67 per cent of the gross national product and provide employment, directly and indirectly, both fully and partly, to about 70 per cent of the population. urban industries, services etc. account for about 33 per cent of the national product, but offer employment to only about 11 per cent of the population. The potentials are both obvious and terrifying!

In addition urban trends have been burdening the more productive agricultural sector with a measure of deprivations which is not merely unjust but is also wholly unjustifiable. Most of the nation's resources have to be pooled to contend with the fast increasing magnitudes of urban problems leaving little or nothing for investment in necessary social overheads in the rural sector. Sketchy and inadequate schooling, little or no sanitation, lack of essential roads and transport, complete absence of institutional measures for modernization of techniques etc., are some of the lacks from which the rural sector is made to chronically suffer and which contribute in large measure to the disincentive that agricultural activity suffers from.

Truly, the pace and the trends of urbanization through which the country appears to have been increasingly passing during the last two decades, could be likened to a Frankenstein which we appear to have deliberately and thoughtlessly reared and nurtured and which may end by destroying its own creator. It is time to think afresh and devise ways and means to extricate the nation from the toils of its fearful consequences before it is wholly bogged in its own meshes.

China and her Neighbours

Most Asian countries hailed the liberation of the Chinese mainland from the reactionary re-

gime of the U.S. sponsored and supported Chiang-kai-Shek administration and the establishment of the Maoist Chinese Peoples' Government as the precursor of a strong and resurgent Asia. In course of time the area of this new sense of Asian solidarity was sought to include the newly emancipated African nations and the Bandung Conference of 1955 talked openly about wider Afro-Asian solidarity. That most Asian and African countries, except China and these smaller nations under the immediate influence of Communist China, did not subscribe to the Communist faith did not seem to prejudice the hopes for Afro-Asian solidarity including People's China, because China committed herself to peaceful co-existence with her neighbours at the Conference despite ideological differences with most of them.

Unfortunately this proved to be an uneasy affiliation as was soon to be proved. Ideological infiltrators in most Asian countries—perhaps, the most obstreperous among them over-ran Indonesia under the Soekarno-Subandrio administration—started trouble soon enough and the territorial designs of the Chinese Peoples' regime could not be hidden for long. Tibet was over-run and brought under Chinese occupation. That India under Nehru afforded some measure of political sanction to this act of brigandage by formally conceding the claims of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet did not, however, protect the former for very long from increasing Chinese pressures on her former Indo-Tibetan and now Sino-Indian northern frontiers. And, in spite of India being an original signatory to the Bandung Treaty on peaceful co-existence, the Chinese actually led an invasion of Indian territory after having surreptitiously grabbed some 12,000 sq. miles of Indian territory on her north-western frontiers. Hostilities between China and India have never since been resolved and although a sort of an undeclared truce prevails, it is periodically marred by fresh incursions and raids into Indian territory and by shooting across the border upon Indian posts.

Most Asian countries who did not wish to assume a role of being a satellite of China soon

began to fret under so-called Chinese friendship. Indonesia was soon disillusioned and violently threw out her Chinese-affiliated rulers. This was a signal for restoration of her old and cordial relations with most Asian neighbours including India with many of whom she had quarrelled earlier under Chinese enticements. In fact, most Asian nations who were not satellites of the Maoist regime were becoming increasingly fed up with Chinese truculence and presumption and they were not exactly sorry when the so-called Great Proletarian Revolution erupted inside that country last year. Even if it did not mean a downright show-down between the Maoists and the so-called revisionists in the party presidium, it was at least hoped that this would keep Peking so precoccupied at home that it would have little time or energy left over to continue to be nasty to other nations. This, indeed, came to happen—but only for a short while—too short a while. Already Peking has been on the rampage again with her own especial brand of nastiness to other peoples and had, by last month-end, quarrelled with many of her Asian friends. While Russia remained the principal target of Peking's belligerent nastiness, it has also been quarrelling with quite a few of the smaller Asian nations. Hongkong has, of course, always been a sensitive spot as the last remnant of British colonialism and has been and is being continuously harried. From recent pronouncements of noted British leaders, it appears doubtful as to how long Britain would be able to retain her hold on this Crown colony. But Burma has been an especial friend of Peking. Perhaps, this show of friendship stemmed more from small Burma's fear that sheer weight of size and numbers would otherwise engulf her individual and distinctive existence. It was, according to many who claim to know the *raison d'être* of the anti-Indian policies of General Ne Win's Revolutionary Government of Burma, more to please China rather than any grudge against Indian domiciles of Burma who had known no other home for generations together and who had done so much to develop the country's economy, that so much pressure was built up against all residents of Burma of Indian origin, including a large number who had long ago embraced Burmese citizenship, to compel them to fly the country. The Maoist Chinese residents and the Sino-Burman began to become so overbearing that they even went to the extent of including a great volume of Maoist think in Sino-Burmese school curricula which no self-respecting Government could allow. When Ne Win stopped this, the Chinese students went berserk on the streets of Rangoon and set off a serious anti-Chinese explosion. Peking accused Rangoon of acting under pressure from "White imperialism" and came out in open support of the more militant among the two Burmese Communist Parties. Japan has been singularly free from Communist disturbances and its Communist parties maintained their independence by recalling their Peking representatives when Red Guards misbehaved with them. Outer Mongolia has, for all practical purposes, broken off diplomatic relations with China after Red Guards attacked her embassy in Peking in protest against a mutual aid pact between Ulan Bator and Moscow. Nepal has long been a little cold to India in her eagerness to come closer to Peking. The Chinese went on presuming too much upon this eagerness to please her and recently the limit appeared to have been reached and the peoples' patience overflowed into not too violent but unmistakable anti-Chinese demonstrations; Peking promptly accused Nepal of conspiring with imperialists. India has, of course, been the traditional target of Chinese misbehaviour. Recently two Indian diplomats were abused, assaulted and expelled on a trumped up charge of espionage and in violation of all the recognized rules of protocol. Indian mobs have not been taking all this lying down this time and has retaliated by beating up Chinese diplomatic employees in New Delhi.

Sinologists seem to believe that these are symptoms which are indicative of unsureness on China's part. Chinese are believed to have been having trouble with its North Vietnamese allies. This is indexed by the fact that coinciding with the arrival in Peking of an economic delegation

from Hanoi, the Chinese official newspaper *Jen-min Jih Pao* called on North Vietnam to choose between Peking and Moscow. "It is imperative to oppose the counter-revolutionary line of the Soviet revisionist ruling group" it is reported to have editorially insisted; "there is no middle road in the struggle between the two lines."

While this increasing obstreperousness of Red China to other nationals—in violation of all rules of decent hospitality attacks on supposedly missions based in Peking of other supposedly friendly nations have been all too frequent and violent—causes both discomfort and disappointment to those who still hope to find a seat for Red China in the counsels of the United Nations—India notably, still being one of them—it is, perhaps, better in the long run that the Chinese should be exposed to their friends and supporters abroad in their true colours. This may help disillusionment to those who continue to nurse the belief that the Chinese are a cultured and self-respecting people.

The Arab-Israeli War and Kuwait

The Arab-Israeli conflict appears to have been indefinitely shored up in a stalemate just as it had during the immediately preceding eighteen year following the 1919 armistice. With this difference, however, that on the present occasion the Israelis have hold of some 26,000 sq. miles of Arab territory. Israeli spoils of the six-days shooting war. It may, however, be argued that the whole of the territory comprising the State of Israel, even before the current war, was originally Arab property and should have remained so but for Britain's perfidy in abusing the terms of her Palestine mandate to set up Israel, in power there. Original Jewish inhabitants of Palestine comprised a base 100,000 against a million Arabs and neither logically nor even politically the Jew had any conceivable claim upon the territory to enable the European—and especially British Zionists—to set up in State-making. It

was Britain, by virtue of her mandate, who not merely enabled but even encouraged the Jews to set up in State in Palestine, presumably with a view to placating the influential British Zionists.

Be that as it may, in the current series of disputes, British, as also American support has all through been on the side of Israel as against the Arabs. It is possible—in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary—that the Arab accusation of direct Anglo-American participation in Israel's war against them was exaggerated, even deliberately trumped up. But that Britain and the U.S.A. have been upholding Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory even after the cease-fire in the U.N. Security Council, is without question. This, obviously, has been provoked by the Arab's closure of the Gulf of Aqaba and the strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping which may be claimed to have been an unjustified attack upon Israel's right of "eminent passage" over these waters.

It is, obviously again, this Anglo-American support to Israel's cause that has been blocking all efforts at satisfactory settlements of the Arab-Israeli dispute by such neutral nation as Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. One of the principal bones of contention has notoriously been the question of Israel's recognition by the Arabs. President Tito suggested that in exchange for Israel's withdrawal from some 26,000 sq. miles of Arab territory occupied during the June war, the great powers or the U.N. would guarantee Israel's prewar borders and included the proposal that while Egypt would retain her sovereignty over the strait of Tiran, Israel would be allowed free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and that Israeli shipping would be allowed passage through the Suez under the flag of a third nation or that of the United Nations. This, according to President Tito and the Soviet leaders would constitute at least *de facto* if not quite *de jure* recognition of Israel by the Arabs. But neither the Jews nor the Arabs, it seems, are prepared

to be sold on this peculiar brand of peace-making. While Israel is not going to be satisfied at anything short of explicit recognition by the Arabs, the latter are not prepared to consider such an offer at any price. Both Britain and America, no doubt as an essential ingredient of securing permanent Arab-Israeli accord in the Middle East, support the Israeli cause.

But how this is going to affect Britain's relations with Kuwait is a question which may not be easy to answer. In the game of Arab-Israeli power politics, the Arab world does not appear to hold many trump cards. But one very valuable card it does seem to possess is the support of the fabulously oil-rich Kuwait. According to a Jordanian politician, so long as Kuwait belongs to the Arab side, it need not despair. The Arabs have received some 686 million dollars from Kuwait, partly in loans and partly in outright gifts. Kuwait also offered to the Arab cause against Israel a war chest of 70 million dollars. The Kuwait Government have, reportedly, some 2.8 billion dollars banked in London. Besides Kuwait supplies as much as 23 per cent of Britain's oil-needs. If Kuwait pulled out its credits from London, the pound sterling would be undoubtedly left gasping in the present State of Britain's balance of payments difficulties. From Britain's point of view Kuwait is unquestionably the most important among Arab countries which could not be provoked with impunity. British dependence upon Kuwait is somewhat offset by Kuwait's dependence upon the former, for her oil operations are almost wholly geared to British and American purchases.

Kuwait's pro-Western affiliations have been of long standing. But the Arab-Israeli war appears to have put a heavy strain upon this long standing relation. The Arab's crushing defeat at the hands of Israel and Anglo-American refusal to line up against Israel is reported to have caused deep resentment in Kuwait not merely among the man in the street, but also in sophisticated circles. One eminent Kuwaiti was reported to have observed that if the Zionist descended upon rich but

small Kuwait, it would be foolish to continue to depend upon London or Washington. It would be necessary to find new friends elsewhere.

The obvious choice is Gamel Abdel Nasser. The younger section of Kuwaiti nationalists openly support a breach with London and advocate striking back at Israel under Nasser's leadership "even if it may hurt" them. They would prefer to turn Communist, even Red China, so long as the humiliation of the war can be avenged. Even the more conservative merchants appear to share this sentiment and the President of the Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce is reported to have declared that Kuwait would rather go primitive again rather than continue to do business with the Anglo-Saxons.

Things have not yet come to a point of criticality. There is no doubt that even at the sacrifice of some 12 million dollars a month Kuwait has been participating in the general embargo upon oil shipments to Britain and the U.S.A., but diplomatic exchanges have not yet been broken and the question of boycotting Western goods has "yet to be decided." Likewise, the public declaration that Kuwait would repatriate her reserves in London is yet left at this verbal threat and the demand by other Arab countries for nationalization of the Kuwait Oil Co., jointly owned by British and American interests have, so far, been ignored.

For the time being the question of Anglo-Kuwaiti relations avert the Arab-Israeli issue appears to have been left at a stage of vague indecision and it is possible that responsible Kuwaiti leaders are trying somehow to reconcile its economic relations with the West with its political commitment to the Arabs. But how long this may continue is wholly unpredictable. If the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be satisfactorily settled by negotiated agreement—and chances towards such a consummation seem to be wholly remote—it is almost inevitable that the present stalemate—it can hardly be called even a truce—will even-

ually and in a fresh outbreak of hostilities and on the fence as at present. It is almost equally
it is not impossible that after their recently learned certain that in that event it may feel it much safer
lesson, the Arabs will be better prepared to face to follow Nasser rather than continue to nurse its
the concentrated fury of the smaller but better British affiliation. After all, that is Kuwait's only
equipped and more effective Israeli war potential insurance policy. And if it comes to pass, Britain
and even to fight back. In such an event Kuwait may find herself in the deep waters of a sea of
may no longer find it possible to continue to sit trouble.



MAJORITIES CAN DO NO WRONG

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

In the past people used to be told, "The King can do no wrong". Which meant that might was always right. But later on when the people proved their might by forcing kings to accept democratic forms of government or to abdicate, it became an accepted thing that majorities had to be obeyed. "Majority must be granted" became a parallel of "the king can do no wrong" axiom. Critics of governments however continued to argue and sometimes even prove that majorities could and did do wrong and quite often had to be defied, challenged and deposed, just as kings were in the past. The majorities quite often do act wrongly and there can and should be constant analysis of the moral, economic and political value of the actions of the majorities wherever they form governments.

Majorities, while they remain in power, always arrogate to themselves unerring wisdom invincible power and unparalleled ability to administer the affairs of the country they rule. Basing their outlook and policy upon such obviously wrong assumptions, majorities sometimes act in a manner which an increasingly articulate public opinion views with disfavour and eventually attempts to counter by suitable action. The majorities, if they continue to stick to their unpopular policy, slowly begin to lose strength until they no longer remain in a majority. It is therefore necessary for majorities to indulge in some self-criticism and to pay attention to criticisms by the intelligent public. The majorities, of course, try to prove to the public by propaganda that they have a monopoly of patriotism and only they can do any good to society, but nobody really believes them. The more so when they engage over much in partisan acts of favouritism and in fads and fancies of a kind which does good to only a limited and selected section of the people at the cost of other sections. Society consists of various sections and no section can or should agree to be the victims of State action. Formerly the rich and the nobility were preferred by the kings; but good kings saw to it that these upper few did not persecute nor economically oppress other sections of society. Bad kings did not do this and often suffered ignominy as a result of their lack of wisdom.

In modern times majority governments do not always strictly follow the moral rules of social equality, justice and fair play. They do not also try to assess correctly what each section of society can demand from the rest and what they cannot. They become so fond of playing to the gallery that they try always to be in favour with the most visible and audible elements of the population. Processions, meetings and noisy demonstrations attract the attention of majority governments much more than the opinions of specially selected or universally recognised wise men. Very capable men are often treated in an objectionable manner by governments in order to appease vociferous and violent crowds. The government should be able to separate interested parties from impartial observers of facts and they should show more respect to impartial persons than to interested hooligans. By paying attention to hooligans governments encourage violence. Some majority governments may think that a certain religious creed must be upheld even at a sacrifice of all other considerations which may ultimately do much more good to the people than the religious creed can ever do. The logicity and scientific merit of popular beliefs can also be weighed and a proper comparison made of the relative excellence of various preferences. Like religious creeds the merits of political or economic ideology can also be subjected to cold analysis and judgment. When it

comes to progressive development of the economy of a country or the advancement of knowledge, improvement of international position and the attainment of greater refinement in culture, the fanatical acceptance of dogma of any kind whatsoever cannot be recommended. Freedom of thought is an essential part of all round liberty and freedom. Fanatical acceptance of creeds or dogma stand in the way of liberty of the mind and progress in civilisation. Much can be said in favour of a liberal system of socialism and there is plenty to condemn in authoritarian and monopolistic capitalism. But a socialistic gesture by the government which does not extend to any length to include within it full employment for all persons of working age, social security, mass education and basic medical aid: cannot be called socialism in any sense of the term. Capitalism can be controlled and made to behave through legislation and, thus, put to a social usefulness of some sort. Fake socialism, on the other hand, can only be an excuse for hooligans and revolution-mongers to create disorder or to hand the country over to its foreign enemies. It may be that by creating disorder the stock markets can be sent down to the lowest level and, thus the nationalisation of industries, banks etc. can be made possible at a low price. But disorder will also affect the revenues of the country and the borrowing power of government, and the funds for the nationalisation of economic institutions will not be available to Government at any price. Disorder can help to bring about a revolution and a revolution will always mean endless suffering for the entire population. Millions of people will die, thousands of crores worth of property will be destroyed and there will always be the risk of foreign

invasions and the ultimate victory of forces which will not represent the will of the majority of the nationals of the country. Any government which is authoritarian without being fully a creation of the will of the majority of the people of the country, will be a tyrannical form of government. Such governments cannot last and the imposition of such governments upon the people will call for more revolutions. In the circumstances, democratic forms of government over which neither capitalists nor peasants or workers can have any unjust, unfair or illogical control will be the best form of government. No person or persons in a politically moral set-up should be permitted to exploit or take advantage of the educational, financial, social or relational weaknesses of others for a gainful purpose. Amassing wealth should have its limits both in size and in controlling power over the economic destiny of other nationals. Collecting large numbers of followers too must not be allowed to be made into an instrument of exploitation of fellow nationals. Political parties should not be permitted to degenerate into cliques and coteries having any exploitative purpose, such as securing jobs, contracts, licences, permits, loans or other advantages. There should be political, economic and cultural censors selected out of highly qualified, experienced and reliable persons, who should check upon all developments within the nation which may sooner or later rebound on the nation's welfare and progress. The censors should be organised to do their work singly as well as in committees. There should be no camoullage or protective facades for sinful or criminal developments. These must be detected and destroyed before they assume any nationally dangerous proportions.

FUNDAMENTALS OF LITERATURE

Dr. S. K. NANDI

In the context under discourse, we mean by literature, all forms of conceivable literature ranging from lyric poetry to drama and novel.¹ In so far as all these forms share a common generic character, they come under the purview of the observations to follow. Literature throws up some very intriguing problems which have been taken up at different periods of history by men of different types of training and temperament. Their discipline being different, they have reacted differently to those fundamental problems and they are relevant for a student of the history of aesthetics and art. For a student of semantics and analytic philosophy they are not of much consequence. That is why we have abjured the historical method and taken recourse to analysis.

Herein, we propose to examine some of the problems connected with literary works. They will be examined under the following two heads :

- (a) What impact do the ideas of a work of literature make on its readers ? The question arises in the context of some aspects of intellectual criticism involving the question of the external efficacy of art presupposing the division of aesthetic and intellectual judgements.
- (b) Are form and content in art organically related? And hence the nature of organic unity in art has got to be examined carefully.

As for the problems involved in (a) we take the words 'reader' and 'critic' as interchangeable (as has been done by some modern critics like James P. Dougherty) and in the discussion to follow they may be so treated. Is the reader influenced by the substance of the poem and is he overwhelmed by its technique? If he is overwhelmed by the technique, the mission of poetry is thereby fulfilled. Are the content or the ideas as bodied forth by the lines of the poem not taken

seriously. This problem very recently reared its head up during the Second World War and centred round the 'Pisan Cantos' of Ezra Pound being adjudged as the best work to be awarded the Bollingen Prize. At that time the poet was under indictment of treason for his pro-fascist or anti-semitic broadcasts from Italy. No reader or critic even doubted the aesthetic excellence of 'The Pisan Cantos' but what they were worried about was the efficacy of the ideas as conveyed in those excellent aesthetic forms. Of course, here we are not concerned with the question of aesthetic insincerity (as there was none on the part of Ezra Pound) but herein the problem involved is not the poem which Pound wrote but the poem which the reader had experienced. This reference to the experience of the reader leads to a new and different problem—the problem of viewing the artist's world from the reader's individual point of view. We know that an individual personality stands out as a definite Gestaltqualitat. It is something which emerges as a result of the combination of the various characteristics that are too well known to need any repetition. It is equally true that personality is something which affects the functioning of all the phenomena—the nervous system, emotions, intelligence, memory, learning, motivation, etc. Personality is often described as the sum total of all these, as they function in an individual. Yet as a result of a synthesis of all these, certain new qualities emerge which described one's personality more adequately. Further, personality can also be considered as the inner tempo, a dynamic and integrating nucleus which determines and directs the functioning of all the phenomena such as emotions, intelligence, memory, learning etc. This personality, in a way, determines the aesthetic experience of the reader. His experience in the matter may naturally anticipate a separation of Canto's rhythm and diction, their effective use of a living colloquial language from their vicious and ugly emotions.

It was Pound's considered opinion as would be evident from his own writing.

"In each age one or two men of genius find something and express it. It may be in only a line or in two lines or in some quality or a cadence; and thereafter two dozens or two hundred or two or more thousand flowers repeat and dilute and modify. . . . Needless to say (their critical) presentation would be entirely independent of consideration as to whether the given passages tended to make the students a better republican, monarchist, monist, dualist rotarian or other sectarian." Really speaking, this is not a non-assertion theory. Pound and his tribe think that the business of the reader is to assess not the ideas but verbal technique. Absolute formalism in art, if accepted could make such statements acceptable. We have noted that the tendency in recent criticism has been to overlook a work's statements or presuppositions in the spheres of philosophy, ethics, religion, politics, etc. If art is considered to be completely divorced from all contexts, intellectual and volitional, such a tendency could be justified by logic-chopping and casuistry of the extreme type. In our view such a divorce is untenable and a critic in his truest function—that of explicator and evaluator is the servant of the literary work. What he does must be governed by the 'entirety of the work.'² An analysis of the work of art would reveal this unified character of the work of art. A work of art in the proper sense of that phrase is not an artifact but a creature of the artist's imagination, of his total imaginative experience. We know of different levels of experience—two of them being the psychical level and the conscious level. Each such level presupposes the one below it, not in the sense that the lower is left behind when the higher is reached but in the sense that the lower is related to the higher somewhat as a new material is related to something made out of it by imposing upon it a new form. The higher thus contains the lower within itself as its own matter, the special principles of the higher being, as it were, a form according to which the matter is now organised. By this reorganisation the lower

is modified in certain ways. For example, the transition from the psychical level to the conscious entails the conversion of impressions which are the elements of which psychical experience consists, into ideas or (which is the same thing) of sensuous experience into imaginative experience. What converts impressions into ideas or sensation into imagination is the activity of awareness of consciousness. If this is so, there can be no ideas without impressions, from every idea is an impression which the work of consciousness converts into an idea. The impression from which a given idea is, as Hume puts it, 'derived' is not a past impression degraded by mere passage of time into an idea; it is a present impression elevated into an idea by the work of consciousness. Wherever there is an idea or imaginative experience, there are also the following elements: (1) An impression or sensuous experience corresponding with it; (2) an act of consciousness converting that impression into an idea. So we may say that every imaginative experience is a sensuous experience raised to the imaginative level by an act of consciousness. Or every imaginative experience is a sensuous experience together with consciousness of the same. The aesthetic experience is wholly and entirely imaginative; it contains no elements that are not imaginative and the only power which can generate it is the power of the experient's consciousness. But it is not generated out of nothing. Being an imaginative experience, it presupposes a corresponding sensuous experience; where to say that it presupposes this does not mean that it arises subsequently to this, but that it is generated by the act which converts this into it. The sensuous experience need not exist by itself first. It may come into being under the very eyes, so to speak, of consciousness, so that it no sooner comes into being than it is transmuted into imagination. Nevertheless there is always a distinction between what transmutes (consciousness), what is transmuted (sensation) and what is transmuted into (imagination). So the critic is not free to overlook the ideas as conveyed by the work. But the question remains as to how best

we could deal with these ideas? A theory of non-assertion has been frequently advanced in this context meaning thereby that ideas in the literature are not presented in such a way as to raise the question of their validity. But we must bear in mind that the raw material of literature is language and the essence of language is grammatical predication, the explicit and implicit linking of one thing with another. The relationship of grammatical predication to logical predication, to what aestheticians call 'statement' or 'assertion'—is a delicate one and the criticism of literature—*is* a delicate one and the criticism of literature becomes involved with problems for which the criticism of more directly sensory art mediums offers no exact and convincing analogies. Of course, no one would like to make us believe that literature puts forward 'report sentences'. They convey 'reflective sentences' as well and if the work wants to argue, then the reader must be willing to argue. And while arguing the reader feels that he has lost his case, the poet or the writer triumphs. If the reader has a feeling of triumph over the writer, that feeling must be justified. The reader must thoroughly probe into the technique of the work, the materials presented therein, the literary theories and all other allied contexts relevant for a proper appraisal of the aesthetic form (Following Yvor Winters). We could here formulate five clear steps in the critical process:³

- (1) to state the relevant historical and biographical material;
- (2) to analyse the writer's relevant literary theories as embodied in the literary work;
- (3) to make a rational criticism of the paraphrasable content;
- (4) to make a rational criticism of feeling, style, language and technique;
- (5) to make a final act of judgement "a judgement of the poet's judgement of his materials. An appraisal and evaluation of the poet's understanding of the situation he deals with are called for."

It is plain that the first two steps are ancillary, though in a given poem they may be indispens-

able. Three and four are concerned with (what Arnold Isenberg calls) 'understanding'—grasping the form and structure of a work imparted by the internal coherence of its ideas and language. Within this structure, paraphrasable content (ideas) and feeling, style, language and technique (language) are not so clearly distinguishable as Winter seems to suggest. Rather they have a relation of formal coherence of elements as *is* found in a musical composition. Winter's fifth step refers to external validity as distinguished from the internal validity of ideas as a principle of form.

Dougherty⁴ prefers to call 'aesthetic' the kind of criticism which stops with this 'understanding'. He does not deny that ideas are present in the work but holds that they are present only as a larger unit of form and that only within the context of the work within the art—world—may they be judged. We may, in this context, take the view as intellectual which seeks to pit the artist's vision against the reader's own and pass a judgment on the artist and his view as expressed in the art-work. This judgement may be philosophical, moral or just informative. We really agree with Dougherty when he holds that the aesthetic judgement must come first and it is clearly 'distinguishable'. An art-work failing aesthetically can hardly claim any excellence on the strength of its 'ideas'. Benedetto Croce was very much emphatic on this point when he wrote: "It is nonsense, a nonsense common enough in aesthetic writers, to classify works of art by the external criterion of their subject. This would be to ignore the question at issue, which is an aesthetic one: indeed the subject-matter is mere matter just so far as it still lacks form and distinctness; it only emerges from vagueness when it is given form which is a quality conferred on it by one of the activities of the spirit."⁵ But we do not share his over-all emphasis on form and prefer to observe that the subject-matter (a content) is given a significant form by the activity of the human understanding. So if ideas are crippled and lame, the art work suffers on that score. If ideas look stale and ancient, the art work fails to elicit the approbation it deserves. An instance in

point is the great Bengalee novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. In a wonderful art form he presented his ideas and they were very much appreciated in India because the ideas and ideals as bodied forth in the characters of his novels were considered revolutionary and epoch-making. Chatterjee's 'Characters' revolted against the outmoded Hindu social customs, such as prohibition of widow marriage and other forms of social injustices. But his ideas were not much appreciated intellectually in the west and those ideas looked stale and uninspiring to the western readers as those reforms and revolts were matters of seventeenth century revolution in the western hemisphere. So a good art-form failed to impress the western readers aesthetically as the ideas were nothing new, novel or revolutionary with them. The reader did not judge the art work in the context of the artist and the art work itself. 'Understanding' of the artist and his work of ideas were subjected to a fateful subservience to the ideas of the reader and thus a biased aesthetic judgement was the outcome. Apparently the disapprobation was due to the disharmony intellectual in nature. The emotive meaning of Chatterjee's works to an Indian reader was completely different from that cognised by a western reader because they had completely different intellectual background, born of different training and temperament. This is how and why a whole generation of Indians took fancy for this novelist for creating delicate emotional situations in which they could easily participate. The Westerners had no such participation, the emotional context of Chatterjee's art-works looked to be ancient and a sort of an anachronism in the modern context (for the Westerners). But one may argue that the aesthetic judgement was primary in importance. As a literary critic our first task was to look for internal harmonies and to point out inconsistencies in the world of the work. But too stop there and to leave the intellectual aspect of my reaction in the vague state of a warm human feeling or a slight sense of dissatisfaction in simple mental laziness. To stop half way and to cry a halt to the whole process without reaching the end of the natural mental process is arbitrary and can be described

as 'motivated'. The art experience, it should be remembered, persists and the fact is that it is largely the attitudes and the paraphrasable content. And these attitudes and paraphrasable content become a part of my total human experience. So we should note that while the aesthetic and the intellectual judgements may be distinguished, in practice they cannot be separated always. The absorption of the reader in the art world is contingent upon harmonies both within the work and in relation to his own personal beliefs and experience. On the one hand, the critic determined to make only the aesthetic judgement, limiting his attention to the elements of verbal and thematic form, may find that the prominence afforded to form in a given work renders his approach unjust, inadequate and perhaps even ludicrous. Moreover, this may be taken into account in this regard that a false emotional response to or the emotive content of the art work is largely dependent upon a proper intellectual appraisal of the art-work. It is common knowledge that an object whether it evokes admiration or sympathy should be known intellectually and its nature (in its cognitive aspect) would greatly determine and limit our emotional response and this in turn determine the emotive content of the art-work. The ideas involved in and suggested by an art-work should be read or understood in their proper perspective and such a comprehensive appraisal will lead to an adequate aesthetic response'. Moreover we may take into account the observation that emotive content does hardly signify the entire entity. If the value-world concerning beauty has got to be saved from utter subjectivity (without having any reference whatsoever to the object, we call beautiful), we can not go by the emotive meaning only. It is, therefore, no doubt emotion-oriented but it must have necessary reference to our intellectual understanding of the art-situation. On the other hand, the critic who confronts a work merely to extract its ideas is not a literary critic at all but he may be a philosopher or a sociologist or an economist or a historian. The aesthetic critic in extending his analysis to the totality of the work may find that to assess its statement, characterisation, plot or

point of view, he must pass from an aesthetic judgement to an intellectual judgement and weigh the writer's experience against his own. Thus intellectual criticism of art seems inevitable and some aspects of this intellectual criticism involve the question of the external efficacy of art. In determining the impact that an art work makes on its readers, if we take note of aesthetic criticism alone, the results will be nil. The external efficacy will be placed at naught as the reader will not be permitted to tilt any way as that is not simply permissible under the terms of reference. The halfway house that aesthetic criticism seeks to build up is unrealistic and does not conform to the actual psychological processes involved in such aesthetic appreciation. The intellectual element must be seen in its proper perspective for the aesthetic reaction is the reaction of the whole man as psycho-physical complex. While reading a piece of good literature, say Bankim-chandra's 'Anandamath'. (Yvor Winter's) all those five principles discussed above would require a thorough intellectual assessment of the work; without intellectual criticism the real worth of the novel and the tremendous external effect it had on its readers will not be appreciated. Of course, it would be equally wrong to read literature simply on an intellectual level alone—for its ideas only or worse, for its maxims and truisms. The aesthetic understanding of a work must always be primary (in a very limited sense). But the reader consciously or unconsciously has some sort of a harmony or disharmony between the poet's world view and its own. He is to decide whether the poet or the reader is in error. In cases of agreement, the reader has got to ascertain how far the intellectual agreement influenced his aesthetic appreciation. Many works of literature do not demand any intellectual analysis because their subject or their treatment, for one reason or another, creates no intellectual disharmony in the mind of the reader. Again, we have seen there are some which for their intellectual disharmony did not get the approbation which they otherwise deserved. Thus, it may be said in the face of these contrary evidences that most literary works depend ex-

plicitly or implicitly upon some value system which we may or may not share. This, in a way, only explains the apparent anomalies in our art-appreciation. That is how catholics are more apt than marxists to grasp the aesthetic coherence of Dante, and that is why liberal nationalists more readily accepted 'Anandamath' as a piece of good literature than any of the communalists. But in both cases, in the case of the liberal nationalists or in that of the rank communalist, the external efficacy of art is undeniable as the whole function of the reader as critic includes both an aesthetic and an intellectual appraisal of the literary work. We do admit that the amount of attention required by each of these will vary with the work under discussion. We may note here the warm appreciation of W. B. Yeats of Tagore's *Gitanjali* and his subsequent denunciation of Tagore's later translations. There has been discovered apparent contradiction in the attitude of Yeats and certain historical and psychological factors were made responsible for this metamorphosis on the part of Yeats. Our reading of the situation suggests that the intellectual understanding of the thematic content of *Gitanjali* by Yeats was more complete and closer to that of Tagore and it was actually very poor in Tagore's subsequent works (in translation). That is why Yeats reacted so violently and made certain uncharitable remarks commonly resented by the Indian critics, who better understood the thematic content of these works than Yeats. We should not suspect Yeats of partiality or indifference. He was suffering from a lack of proper understanding and that is why his response to the subsequent works of Tagore was poorer. He was quite sincere in his own way and aesthetic sincerity does not conform to the moral consistency.

The problems involved in (b) as posed earlier are taken up in the following lines. The very fact in practice the aesthetic and intellectual judgements are not separated though they are often distinguished leads us to the tendency to formulate the ideas of organic unity in a work of art. In a recent review of the position, a

modern critic⁵ quotes Harold Osborne observing as follows :

"When the theory of organic unity claims that any subtraction or addition would diminish the value of the work (of art) as a whole, changing also the character of all the contained parts, it does not involve the consequence that every part is equally important when by importance we mean prominence or impact.

This statement involves these distinct principles which may be stated as follows : (1) Subtraction or addition would diminish the value of the work of art as a whole. (2) Subtraction or addition changes the character of all the contained parts of the work of art. (3) Every part of the work of art is not equally important when importance means prominence or impact.

We start with (2) for in our opinion, it involves the central theme of the entire problem. This view that subtraction or addition changes the character of all the contained parts of the work of art has its origins in the 'Poetics', in the statement that the unity of plot consists of "incidents so closely connected that the transposal or withdrawal of any one of them will disjoin and dislocate the whole". Here although Aristotle has been referring only to a plot but this plot was considered by him to be the soul of tragedy.⁶ The insistence that any addition or subtraction dislocates the whole brings us to principle (1). The first two principles as stated above are inter-related and they point to the fact that the work of art fulfils the maximum unity, the unity consisting of internal relations. The question of external relations cannot be considered in this context because it will involve regression of infinitum. The specific nature of this internal relation, we may try to define, in terms of Samavaya, so commonly used in ancient Indian philosophical texts. It will aptly apply to the type of relation that obtains in-between the divergent aspects of an art-work vis-a-vis the totally or the synthetic work. We would refer to Prasastapada and Kanada, two celebrated names in ancient Indian Philosophy. Following Prasastapada, the ancient Indian commentator, we could explain this relation of part and whole, as obtaining

between a part or aspect of a work of art and the work of art as a whole. Prasastapada, while explaining this concept of 'Samavaya' brings non-causal relations under it and hence instead of following Kanada, we take to the Prasastapada line of thinking and consider the relation obtaining between a part or aspect of a work of art to the whole as that of 'Samavaya' or inherence. Members related by 'Samavaya' are inseparably connected. Two things in the relation of 'Samavaya' cannot be separated without at least one of them being destroyed, as Samavaya is real coherence. This relation of Samavaya is not perceptible but only inferrible from the inseparable connection of things. We may bear in mind that the notion of inherence is the result of intellectual discrimination though an objective existence is granted to it. It has its origin in abstraction and has no existence apart from substances. If maximum unity in the work has been attained through this relation of 'Samavaya', then any change will either dislocate the unity and thereby diminish the value of the work or it will bring about a complete change in the identity of the work by changing all of the contained parts and thereby form a new unity possessing a different character with different value. Thus subtraction or addition changes the character of the artistic whole as it changes the relation *inter se* of the contained parts or aspects and consequently a different art-object emerges, with a totally different significance and meaning. Again when we say that subtraction or addition changes the character of all the contained parts of the work of art we mean thereby that any such change would mean a change in the larger context which constitutes the terms of reference for the aesthetic evaluation. In this changed context the parts assume new dimensions of meaning and significance. This idea of 'Samavaya' or relation of inherence gives some undefined significance to 'form' and 'content'; they derive their mutual meaning with reference to the other and as such they could be hardly distinguished in their ill-defined boundaries. Here we would be faced with semantic difficulties if we try to dogmatically ascertain therein individual

meaning as the meaning and significance in each case is determined with reference to the other. In a given context the 'content' is largely dependent on the form for the total effect it creates and vice versa. This idea of 'Samavaya' may connote and include the idea of organic unity so forcefully advocated by Plato, in his noted work Phaedrus:

"Every discourse ought to be a living creature, having a body of its own and a head and feet; there should be a middle beginning and end, adopted to one another and to the whole."

Aristotle's most stringent criterion of unity followed in the wake of Platonic observation in point. While we characterise this unity in art as 'organic' we do not distinguish unlike Aristotle, between essential and non-essential features. This distinction is a legacy of the utility-bias of the Greek thinkers and it has nothing to do with aesthetic appreciation. The reader as a student of grammar or rhetoric might analyse a literary piece into its essential and non-essential aspects or factor but so far as aesthetic appreciation of a particular work of art is concerned, every factor or aspect was equally important as the others. They combine in a particular way and in a given context. Thus they provide with 'Unique individuality' which is likely to be lost at the slightest change even in some minor detail. This aesthetic unity in a work of art is peculiarly its own and it could be safely defined as the 'perfect unity' under the given conditions, technically known as 'context'. We do not share the view of Catherine Lord¹ quoted earlier when she refuses to accept this unity as 'perfect unity'. We profitably recall an episode wherein Avanindranath, the artist, asked his disciple Nandalal² to give a few bright touches to his famous work 'Umar Tapasya' (Penance of Uma) while Nandalal was working on this famous piece. Avanindranath left Nandalal for the night while Nandalal sat for the whole night in front of his finished work to suitably accommodate his master's suggestions. Next morning Avanindranath hurried back to ask Nandalal not to disturb the unity of the picture even by the slightest touch of bright colours, which would tilt the unity of the picture and harm its aesthetic excellence. So we consider this

unity (as in a painting so in literature) as absolutely inviolable and any change in any of its constituents of the work of art would disturb this unity and change the total character of the work of art.

This perfect unity (in that particular context) is there not only in a short and compact sonnet but also in a long winding drama or novel. Again we revert to analogy to make our point clear. As a single stone slab removed from the sphinx-structure tilts the balance and leads to the ultimate demolition of the great art-gestalt, so a line or even a word removed from a novel removes the early pattern of unity. That is why perhaps the artists resent changes in their art-works even though they might seem very minor to the critic or to the layman. The total image of this 'perfect unity' is responsive to the little possible change that may be effected in the total structure. Moreover, we think that this unity in art comprises all these generic (or specific qualities) of a species of art, such as poetry or drama and literature irrespective of their generic and specific characteristics. So far we hold that the unity in Drama is not different from the unity in poetry or from that of a novel. The sensitivity of an artist reacts sharply to any suggested change in his work and he resists it. For, to him, the unity in his work of art is not the unity of a confederation but that obtained in a well-knit system where any change in any one of the constituents would disturb the total unity of the whole. This unity is unalterable and if altered the old unity gives place to a new type of unity. Thus subsequent changes by a creative literature in his work create different values, they being marked by such symbols as x, x_1, x_2 etc. To some they might look as improvements but to others they might look as retrograde steps. At any rate, all such changes change the character of old aesthetic unity and seek to substitute it by a new type. Of course, unity could be effected in many ways when the constituents are different. By effecting a little change in the language or technique or in some other aspect, we change the constituents and as such a new unity emerges. Ernst Cassirer stressed this point while discussing

'teleological structure' of a work of art. If any alteration or change is effected in the structure, this 'teleological structure, change and suffers. We may profitably quote Cassirer¹⁰ in point:

"In every act of speech and in every artistic creation we find a definite teleological structure. An actor in a drama really 'acts' his part. Each individual utterance is a part of a coherent structural whole. The accent and rhythm of his words, the modulation of his voice, the expressions of his face and the postures of his body all tend to the same end—to the embodiment of human character. All this is not simply "expression": it is also representation and interpretation. Not even a lyric poem is wholly devoid of this general tendency of art. The lyric poet is not just a man who indulges in displays of feeling. To be swayed by emotion alone is sentimentality, not art. An artist who is absorbed not in the contemplation and creation of forms but rather in his own pleasure or in his enjoyment of the "joy or grief" becomes a sentimentalist. Hence we can hardly ascribe to lyric art a more subjective character than to all the other forms of art. For it contains the same sort of embodiment and the same process of objectification." Then Cassirer quotes Mallarmé who wrote: "Poetry is not written with ideas, it is written with words." Thus Cassirer comments¹¹: "It is written with images, sounds or rhythms which, just as in the case of dramatic poetry and dramatic representation, coalesce into an individual whole. In every great lyrical poem we find this concrete and indivisible unity."

Following this trend we may observe that a good piece of literature can never be translated in different language or transliterated in a different medium. That is why it has been contended that even a word in a Tagore or Shakespearean composition cannot be changed without affecting the total effect of the work as a whole. That is why the problem in art-appreciation, viz., 'How can one's own experience appear to belong to some body

else?' The obvious answer from our view point would be that no reader could possibly imitate and graft in his imagination what the author wrote or said. He creates his own world as suggested by the author. There is no identity between the two but only a close proximity.

1. Dr. Brojendranath Seal in his unpublished 'Autobiography' tells us that literature comprised poetry, imaginative prose, poetic prose, literary prose, prose literature, drama (drama of plot, drama of character, drama of ideas), artificial, imperfect and mixed types in prose or verse and lastly prose. So he takes the term 'literature' as a blanket term and for the purpose of this essay we accept this meaning.

2. In the Aristotelian sense. It was made clear by him when he differentiated between poetry and history. What a drama gives us, Aristotle asserts, is a single action, which is a complete whole in itself, with all the organic unity of a living creature: whereas the historian has to deal not with one action but with one period and all that happened therein to one or more persons, however disconnected the several events may have been.

3. Monroe Beardsley, *Aesthetics* (New York), 1958, p. 22.

4. James P. Dougherty in his paper entitled 'Aesthetic and intellectual analyses of literature' in the spring 1961 issue of the *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, U.S.A.

5. See his book entitled 'My Philosophy', p. 143.

5. Catherine Lord: Organic Unity Reconsidered, (*Journal of Aesthetics and Art-criticism*, Vol. XXII, No. 3).

6. Samuel, H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts*, with a critical text and translation of the *Poetic*. Fourth edition.

7. See her article 'Organic Unity Reconsidered'. The journal of aesthetics and art criticism, Vol XXII, No. 3

8. Avanindranath Tagore, the father of Modern Indian Art Movement.

9. Reference is to Acharya Nandalal Bose, the doyen of Modern Indian School of Painting.

10. *An Essay on Man*, p. 112.

11. *An Essay on Man*, Pp. 142-43.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

A LITTLE INDIA BEYOND THE SEAS

Sri Doojen Napal, a research worker in the University of Cardiff, writing in the *Argun Path* of July, 1967, gives a picture of Mauritius which would be interesting. Mr. Napal has been a teacher of and writer on Mauritian history, was at one time actively associated with Mauritian politics and has been an author of distinction on subjects of Indo-Mauritian literary and cultural history and affinities:

It was Gopal Krishna Gokhale, one of the early leaders of the Indian National Congress, who gave this apt and romantic appellation to Mauritius, the tiny island, barely 716 sq. miles in area, situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean, some five hundred miles from the east coast of Madagascar. At the time that he made this statement, already more than fifty per cent of the population of Mauritius were either Indian immigrants or their descendants. To day more than three-quarters of the Mauritian population are of Indian origin.

Mauritius is also called "sugar bowl island", as sugar constitutes the total of her exports. Her dependence on sugar crops, often at the mercy of tropical cyclones, is absolute.

The nineteenth century French historian and statesman, Augustin Thiers, eulogistically spoke of Mauritius as the Athens of the Indian

Ocean. In fact she has produced and continues to produce writers and artists who have been foremost among those who have upheld French culture, language and literature overseas. The editor of one of the most popular dailies of Mauritius almost won the most coveted French literary prize, *Le Prix Goncourt*, for his novel, *Un Temps pour Mourir* (Andre Masson, Calmann Levy, 1962). Robert Edward Hart, acknowledged prince among poets of the Indian Ocean past and present, could count among his friends and admirers writers of such international stature as Henri de Regnier and Joseph Bedier. Many are the Mauritian writers whose works have been published by reputable French firms.

When the French took possession of Mauritius in 1721 after two unsuccessful colonizing attempts by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, Mauritius was inhabited by birds, deer, bears and some slaves left behind by the retreating Dutch. The French succeeded in their endeavours where the Dutch had failed. They achieved this success by extensive and often exploitative use of slaves torn from their homes in Madagascar and the east coast of Africa. The story of slavery in Mauritius as in other colonies is a harrowing tale of cruelty and barbarism, the masters having the power of life and death over their miserable human chattels.

In the eighteenth century, in the war between England and France for supremacy

in India, Mauritius was naval base of no mean importance. During the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, left much to her own resources, she came to be the springboard of pirates who, ostensibly encouraged by the local government, launched an attack on the rich Indiamen ploughing their way from India to Europe. The depredations caused to British merchant shipping were enormous. For instance, on 12 February 1808, merchants agents and shipowners of Calcutta petitioned the Admiralty for protection against the pirates. They attached a table to their petition showing that in the months of September and October 1807 they had lost twenty ships (Letters from Wellesley to Castlereagh 15th July, 1808)

The British came to consider that the only way to break French influence in the Indian Ocean was to capture this *nid de corsaires*. They made themselves masters of the island more easily than they had imagined. Napoleon was too much enmeshed in the web of empire he had built around himself to be able to afford enough leisure and resources for the defence of this so distant outpost. Moreover, one of the tragic aspects of Napoleonic policy was to underrate the importance of sea power. It has been argued by historians that if Napoleon had given serious thought to the French Indian empire instead of doggedly attempting to invade England, the course of history might well have changed.

After an unopposed landing and a few skirmishes, the British could hoist the Union Jack on Government House. One of the first things they did was to change the name of the island from *Lille de France* to Mauri-

tius, the name she had borne during the period of Dutch occupation.

The inhabitants reconciled themselves to British rule with good grace. This was due partly to the good-natured temperament of the first British Governor, Robert Townshend Farquhar, who was anxious to make the most of the liberal British policy with regard to Mauritius. Britain could afford this liberalism, for she had achieved her main objective to oust France from all influence on the Indian subcontinent. Trafalgar and Waterloo shattered for good France's dreams of becoming a first-rate imperial power. Neither France, nor for that matter, any other colonial power would dare for more than a century to contest British naval supremacy. Consequently, the importance of Mauritius as a naval and military base, sank into insignificance. During her period of military splendour, Mauritius was largely a commercial centre, serving as a ware-house for naval and military purposes as well as for the numerous captures of the pirates. The riches of the pirates attracted ships of all nations, and particularly Dutch and American, who found it more profitable to buy in Mauritius what they would have otherwise got after a risky voyage to India.

Under British rule Mauritius swiftly switched over from commerce to agriculture. The descendants of the French colonists continued with renewed zeal to develop the colony. It is curious to note that the British people never showed any interest in settling down in the island. The British officials, their years of service completed, were delighted to return to their country. As a result

Mauritius has nothing today to distinguish her as a British colony. The evolution of Mauritius as an agricultural country, one of the most notable producers of sugar, was rapid. This evolution is inextricably mixed up with Indian immigration. Already Labourdonnais, the father of *Lille de France* had introduced Indians from Pondicherry to help him in the harbour works in the new capital. *Porte Louis* (Auguste Toussaint *Histoire de l'Océan Indien*). Farquhar also had resource to Indian man power for the repair and building of roads. It is interesting to note that the illustrious Charles Darwin spent a fortnight in Mauritius and could observe the convicts. He has left an impressive picture of these Indians :

Before seeing these people, I had no idea that the inhabitants of India were such noble looking figures. Their skin is extremely dark, and many of the older men had large moustaches and beards of a snow-white colour ; this, together with the fire of their expression, gave them quite an imposing aspect. These men are generally quiet and well conducted ; from their outward conduct, their cleanliness and faithful observance of their strange religious rites, it was impossible to look at them with the same eyes as our own wretched convicts in New South Wales (Charles Darwin *Journal of Researches*, John Murray, London 1845, p.484)

Indian immigration to Mauritius became a matter of utmost necessity after the abolition of slavery in all British colonies in 1834. The emancipated slaves refused to work on the sugar plantations, which cruelly reminded them of their days of servile toil. The planters looked to India and India came

to the rescue. Indians began to pour into the island in a steady stream. Some came fired with a spirit of adventure, but most of them were lured by the prospects of a gold rush. They were made to think in such terms in the employ of the Franco-Mauritan planters. The recruiting agents of the planters painted a rosy picture of an island flowing with milk and honey, where they would soon make themselves rich.

The planters exploited to the utmost the supply of labour from India. By nature hard-working, the Indian labourers exerted themselves heart and soul to the cane plantations, which received a fresh impetus. The Rev. Patrick Beaton, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century spoke in terms of eulogy of these Indians. He could observe them at leisure, as he spent quite a number of years in Mauritius as a missionary. He said :

These swarthy orientals, so thinly clad, are the muscles and sinews of the Mauritius body politic. They are secret source of all the wealth, luxury and splendour with which the island abounds. There is not a carriage that rolls along the well-macadamized *chaussee*, or a robe of silk worn by the fair Mauritian, to the purchase of which the Indians had not indirectly contributed. It is from the labour of his swarthy body in the cane fields, that gold is extracted more plentifully than from the diggings of Ballarat. Respect that swarthy stranger, for without him Mauritius would soon be stripped of its wealth, and left with scarcely sufficient exports to procure food for its rice-eating, cigar smoking inhabitants (Patrick Beaton : *Creeoles and Coolies*-Jamen Nisbet & Co., London 1858).

Unfortunately, the traditions of slavery were slow to die. The planters paid scarce recognition to the value of the Indian workers. They treated them no better than the *ci devant* slaves. The indentured labourer, on embarking for Mauritius, knew little or nothing of the nature of the contract into which he had entered with his prospective employer. He did not know that if he absented himself from work for a day, even because of illness or inclemency of the weather, or for personal, family or circumstantial reasons, he would forfeit two days wages. He did not know that for a trifling offence he would be clipped in gaol and that there would be no voice raised in his behalf.

In their desperate circumstances, when the tyranny of the labour laws oppressed and the police were anything but just and considerate towards them and the magistrates were themselves planters or intimately connected with the planters, the Indians found a champion of their cause in a German, De Plevitz, who had been for years in the island. De Plevitz showed a genuine interest in the fate of the Indians. He drafted a petition on their behalf which he sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The agitation of this philanthropist resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission, which disclosed many of the dreadful horrors in the relations between employers and indentured labour. The Royal Commission made recommendations for the welfare of the Indians, but matters did not change much as it was one thing to make recommendations and quite another to implement them in a colony where the Governors so easily succumbed to the blandishments of the rich planters.

In 1901 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, on his way from Bombay to Natal, where he had launched his movement for the emancipation of the Indians, spent a fortnight in Mauritius. Reports of Gandhi as a Barrister and a militant social worker had preceded him to the island and naturally the Indians *feted* him as a prince. He addressed them on different occasions, insisting on the fact that it was to their advantage to learn English and French, for this would enable them to integrate themselves into the life of the Mauritian community. He considered that Indians in Mauritius "were entitled to all the rights and privileges of British subjects all over the world, especially as they were the principal labourers in the country, which owed its prosperity to their patient labour and great endurance."

Back in India, Gandhi prevailed upon a co-member of the Friends of India society, to come to Mauritius to set up in practice as a barrister and work for the uplift of his fellow countrymen in much the same way as he had been doing so valiantly in South Africa. Manilall M. Doctor did so, as expected. He regenerated the Indians and made them feel that they not merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. He founded a weekly which he called the *Hindusthani*, which at first appeared in English and Gujarati, later switching to Hindusthani as the second language. The Indians could follow political and social events in the home country and acquire a consciousness of their own role. Manilall deposed before the Royal Commission of 1909. The abolition of the obnoxious labour laws, such as the "double cut", the recognition of the 'religion of the

immigrants with a view to having them subsidized by the State in much the same way as Catholicism and Protestantism, and the education of the immigrant children on right lines were some of the things for which he pleaded. Manilall awakened the Indians to some sort of political consciousness. He organized them in favour of the *Action Liberale* which opposed the conservatives. Soon after, the Indians were presenting their own candidates for election, at first with little success because of the barriers laid down by the literacy and franchise tests. However they succeeded in having two Indians elected in 1926, to the great consternation of non-Indians, who felt in that event a danger of being swamped by the Indians. But, of course, they could not stop the wheels of history from moving. In 1936, when the Labour Party was founded, it relied for support mainly on the Indian masses. Britain had to think seriously of bringing about changes in the political constitution, but World War II retarded all progress in that sphere. After the war, revision came, and under the first elections held in accordance with the new constitution held in 1948, 13 out of the 19 seats were won by Indian candidates. A revolution had taken place which culminated in power gradually falling into the hands of Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam and his cabinet composed mostly of Indian ministers.

The country is heading towards sovereign status, which it is hoped would be achieved after the next elections. The people of Mauritius are looking forward to this event with a mixture of joy and anxiety, as they are conscious of the uncertainties which are in store for them. They hope that the government would find solutions to the economic problems of the country, which are the more pressing because of a terrific demographic rise. Imagine eight hundred thousand people crammed within 716 sq. miles, especially in an agricultural country. The problem is made more acute by the presence of strong minority groups who are too often in disagreement with the policies of those leaders who have sprung from the Indo-Mauritian masses.

Gradually, as the non-Indians came to understand the Indians, their *elite*—and it may be underlined that there is a really strong *elite* of French culture, with Mauritian authors published by reputable publishing houses in Paris—began to appreciate the rich culture to which the coolies and their descendants were the heirs. Their literature were, of course, greatly influenced by Hinduism, the religion of the Indo-Mauritian masses. It would be interesting to analyse this aspect of Mauritian literature.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF DANGEROUS DRUGS

Sir Harry Greenfields, a recognized authority of international repute on Narcotics and now President of the United Nations International Convention on Dangerous Drugs and Narcotics since 1951, writing in the *Asian Review* discusses a subject which has been increasingly becoming a matter of the most serious concern to most countries and their Governments of the modern world. The incidence of addiction to narcotics of a dangerous type has been spreading, especially in the western countries and in the U.S.A. and, from reports available, has been rapidly and wideningly entering into ten-age habits. The importance of a clear picture of the situation as it has been emerging and its inherent threats to society would, therefore, be recognized to be a matter of very great importance and concern to modern society all over the world. Sir Harry Greenfield's contribution to such an understanding of the subject would, accordingly, be both apposite and timely :

When I talk about the international control of dangerous drugs, you will want to know which drugs they are. First, there are the natural drugs, of which the most important is opium. Opium is described in the international treaties as the *Papaver Somniferum*. From it are made morphine, heroin

and codeine and more than 20 other derivatives. Secondly, there is the coca bush, the leaves of which are chewed and from which cocaine is made. Thirdly, there is the hemp, or *Canabis Sativa*, which may be better known to you by its Eastern names of Ganja, charas, bhang or by its near-Eastern name of hashish which has entered into our language in the word assassin (*hashishin*) or under the Latin American name of *Marihuana*.

Lastly, there are the synthetic drugs which are an ever growing family. The best known is pethidine, of which about 17 tons are consumed annually. Of the other 50 or more synthetic narcotic drugs, only 13 are produced in quantities of more than 1 kg. in any one country ; so we have nothing much to worry about except to watch that no one of them suddenly springs into prominence.

Where are these substances produced ? Opium is produced in 10 countries, the bulk of which is for their own consumption ; but three countries produce for export—India, Turkey and Yugoslavia in that order of importance. The total annual export is about 700 metric tonnes and this is mainly for manufacture into morphine which, in turn, is very largely manufactured into codeine. It is estimated that there may be diversion from controlled cultivation of opium of from 10 to 25 per. cent making, in absolute terms

180 200 tons per annum. In addition, there is a large uncontrolled production in South Asia which is estimated at about 1,000 tons per annum. This is in the area Yunnan, Burma, Laos and Thailand.

As for the Coca leaf, it grows mainly in the Andean highlands of South America, principally in Bolivia and Peru, but there is also some cultivated and consumed in Columbia.

Hemp is grown almost anywhere but the principal sources are Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean and Mexico. It grows wild and is also cultivated for commercial reasons, string and rope being made from its fibre.

The legitimate use of opium is for the manufacture of morphine which is carried out in 17 different countries, the most important of these being the U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States of America, Hungary and the Netherlands. But one-third of the morphine now produced is made from poppy straw—that is to say, from the plant of the opium poppy. The legitimate use of morphine has greatly declined in recent years, by as much as 35 per cent in the last 10 years, and now its principal use—about 90 per cent is for conversion into codeine.

The coca leaf is mainly used locally for chewing, and apart from this local consumption, its principal use is as a flavouring substance for soft drinks. It is also manufactured into cocaine of which a little over 1 ton is manufactured every year. This is done mostly in the United States, France and Great Britain. However, the medical use of cocaine is declining.

Hemp has no medicinal value of any sort and, therefore, there is no legitimate use ex-

cept, perhaps, for a tiny quantity for ~~corn~~ cure; but it is sometimes used in indigenous forms of medicines in the East.

So long as the use of these narcotics are confined mainly to legitimate medicinal uses and their dangerous contents to society are avoided except, perhaps, for an occasional instance, now and then, of their abuse by quacks and sometimes, perhaps, also by qualified medical men, these could hardly be expected to pose any threat to the social order. It is, however, their illegitimate and large-scale illicit use which is of principal concern to organized society and their Governments and which becomes so difficult to deal with successfully. Sir Harry continues:

As for the illegitimate use of these dangerous drugs, the Permanent Central Board in Geneva found in its last review that the main areas in which the illicit traffic in opium is rife are still the Near and Middle East and South East Asia. They found also that the illicit traffic in morphine is chiefly in South-east Asia and the Mediterranean basin, and that in the same area there is also a thriving traffic in heroin which extends to the Middle East and to North America. Traffic in coca leaves is confined to South America and there is a very considerable consumption of these leaves in Bolivia, Peru, Columbia and the remoter parts of the Argentine.

The illicit consumption of cocaine which was notorious in the 30's there after declined very steeply, but it has now substantially increased and large quantities of coca leaves are clandestinely manufactured into cocaine. It is first made into crude cocaine in the area of cultivation and is then exported in

that form and refined by the illicit traffickers, confiscation mainly occurring in South and North America.

Of all the narcotic drugs *cannabis* is probably the most widely used and it is particularly in demand in Africa and the Near East...

Opium was consumed non-medically in India for generations. But since Independence India has set a shining example to the rest of the world. In 1949 India declared that she would reduce non-medical consumption by 10 per cent each year over the next 10 years and has faithfully carried out that promise. Now the consumption has been very greatly reduced and is under strict medical control.

The illicit traffic is chiefly carried by sea and air, and in latter years, particularly because of the facility of air travel opium has tended to be replaced by portable forms of crude morphine and even heroin...The traffic is very persistent because the financial rewards to the traffickers is very high.

Here the writer gives a brief resume of the history of how the present organization for the international control of dangerous drugs has been gradually evolved over the years.

The movement towards international control over dangerous drugs began in the last century and it was developed in the Shanghai Conference shortly before the First World War. It was kept in mind through the War and was embodied in the Versailles Treaty. As a result of that an International Conference was held which ratified the 1925 Convention under which, until now, we have

chiefly worked. This Convention was based on the *navicert* system introduced by Great Britain during the war for the control of contraband by sea...The elements of the system are that no goods may be exported to a country unless the country of destination has given a certificate that it wishes to have those goods. Then only the exporting country may grant an export certificate. That system is now applied to the illicit transport of dangerous drugs and it has been eminently successful.

Based on this system, detailed statistics of manufacture and distribution, export and import are supplied by all the States subscribing to the Treaty and these are sent to the Central Board in Geneva which compared them with the certificates and make sure that they correspond.

It was found immediately after this Convention was brought into force that the traffic was still very high, and so a further Congress was held which established another Convention in 1931 in regard to manufactured drugs. This required the contracting parties to submit annual estimates of expected consumption over the next 12 months.

It was found almost immediately after this Convention was brought into force that the traffic was still very high, so a further Convention was held in 1931 in regard to manufactured drugs...The statistical system which is the central feature of these control measures is not merely a matter of accounting: it is to enable the Central Board in Geneva to ascertain the real hard fact behind the figures...In this respect both India and

.. Pakistan have a good record—India a very good record.

...Therefore it can be said that the control over the licit transactions in dangerous drugs is now virtually complete throughout the world, except for mainland China...there we really do not know what is happening... From missionary sources I have good reports of the Government of China. One missionary who had been there for many years and who is now excluded and might therefore be thought to harbour harsh thoughts towards the present regime said on the contrary, that this "puritan regime"—for that is what it is—has succeeded in three fields where we failed. It has greatly reduced—if not abolished—drunkenness; it has done away with prostitution, and it has greatly reduced consumption of narcotic drugs...

This is a world-wide problem...In some of the less developed countries, addiction tends to stay at a relatively low level...But in more developed countries addiction tends to grow and it is, perhaps, a factor of the increasing pace of life and increasing urbanization. Some addiction is in search of euphoria, some is escapism and some may be almost inadvertent and may derive from prescription of drugs during a period of illness. ... During this last year the Board attempted to get a volumetric assessment of the illicit traffic in opium and products and arrived at the estimate that, in all, there may be some 12,000 tons of illicit opium floating about in the illicit channels of the world...

The implications of a volume of illicit traffic of these dimensions are alarming...If you set against this the average licit production

of opium which, in the five years up to 1964 was about 1300 tons You will see that the available supplies of illicit opium do, indeed, give cause for profound concern. Such a quantity would supply between 700,000 and 3,400,000 addicts depending on whether they consume opium as such or in the form of morphine or heroin...

This computation relates only to illicit production in South East Asia and takes no account of other areas of cultivation such as some regions in the middle East and some in the western hemisphere...The number of addicts must run into several millions.

If we turn to other natural narcotic substances, the annual licit production of Coca leaves, as reported to the Board, is about 12,000 tons, of which 95 per cent is chewed. But the real annual crop is much larger and has been estimated at between 32,000 and 38,000 tons. of which a considerable quantity is converted into crude cocaine, which then finds its way into the illicit traffic.

As for Cannabis very large quantities are available in different parts of the world. My board has been unable to make even a rough estimate of the quantities in the illicit channels, but estimates of the number of habitual consumers range from several millions to several tens of millions. *It is in fact in regards to Cannabis that the increased addiction has been most noticeable.* Let no one persuade you that it is not a dangerous drug it is poised as it were, mid-way between the stimulents (the so-called pep-pills—the "purple hearts") and the "hard" drugs (morphine and heroin) from which the redemption of an addict is extremely difficult.

There is now a growing apprehension in a number of countries that that the increased misuse of sedatives and stimulants may provide a breeding ground for drug addic-

tion. Last year the World Health Organization urged the desirability of control over barbiturates, tranquillizers and amphetamines.

OVER HALF-A-CENTURY BACK

WHAT THE EGYPTIANS WANT

It is said that some Egyptian students in England have written to a prominent daily there that nothing short of independence will satisfy their countrymen. That seems to be a correct reading of the public mind in Egypt, considering that Saad Zaghloul Pasha, a most prominent Egyptian Nationalist and chief of the non-official Egyptian delegation in Paris, has, according to the *Hindu*, written to the London *Times* claiming "complete independence" for his country, and declined to listen upon any other terms to the suggestion made by Mr. D. A. Cameron in that British paper that he should be appointed Prime Minister. The Egyptian patriot wrote to the *Times* in part.

"Your contributor... is quite wrong in his suggestions as to the future and as to my personal feelings. In reality I can content myself with nothing less than complete independence for my country. It is not a matter of making concessions, but of an absolute right, which can-

not be split up into different parts. This is my own profound conviction and the unanimous opinion of my countrymen." "If moreover, I ever could, by some impossibility, deviate from the line of conduct which has been sanctioned by the whole of Egypt, the Egyptians would consider me the greatest criminal." "Your contributor is no less wrong when he says that the whole question would be solved if I were appointed prime minister. I would rather be the humblest subject in my own independent country than occupy the highest possible post in Egypt submitting to a foreign protectorate."

It is presumably this plain and fearless statement of honest convictions which has made the *Times* not only advocate to the urgent announcement of British policy in Egypt but also to add that "owing to the delay which has occurred it should be much more specific than the declaration to India in 1917."

—Ramananda Chatterjee

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NOTES

Feeding the Nation

Some wise Englishman said a long time ago, "Half a loaf is better than no bread." But that was useful advice given to such fools as refused to take half on the ground of its inadequacy as a belly filler. In India such advice is not required; for we accept even quarter or one-eighth of a loaf from a benevolent government which, first of all, cannot bake a full loaf and, secondly, cannot bring it to the consumer without allowing a host of persons and things to take little bits out of it. The government, in fact, cannot handle the baking or the distribution of a full loaf of bread on account of their inefficiency, poverty of outlook and dishonesty in personnel. The national loaf may weigh a hundred million tons and may be worth ten thousand crores of rupees. So, Sri Jagjivan Ram, who is by no means the most brilliant and capable man in India's cabinet, shivers at the mere thought of that monster loaf of bread. It is therefore baked in half a million pieces by a million traders who try to make the maximum profit out of this business, as is customary with tradesmen. And everybody shouts about socialism without knowing what that means. Some try to beat up a few land owners who arrange to have their land cultivated by hired men or by "share-cultivators", others try to loot a few shops or go on strike in banks, commercial houses or steel factories; but the basic fact of the mis-handling of the national load of bread remains

in the hand of profiteers as before and the million traders carry on their trade all the better because of government's attempt to potter about with the business in a small way. They do this by trying to obtain bits and pieces of bread from foreign sources and by buying up other little bits by a procurement organisation which just fails to achieve anything.

The food business being rupees ten thousand crores in value and being spread out over more than a million square miles in location, cannot be handled by a limited number of government offices and a limited number of men with limited funds. And that is that. Those who hope to achieve this through a wider, larger and cleverly planned national enterprise should have a good look first at all the national undertakings which are now "socially controlled". These are (1) railways which are managed not at all to the satisfaction of their users; (2) posts, telegraphs and telephones which are a source of great annoyance to all who have anything to do with them; (3) flood control, power generation and irrigation projects which are hopelessly ill planned and managed; (4) steel and other factories which have been set up at exorbitant cost with borrowed money and are run at great loss; (5) state trading which is an organisation for procuring foreign exchange at any cost and which procures dribblets of foreign exchange in economically unsound ways; and (6) all those government departments which arrange for polic-

ing, trials of criminals, tax collection, public works, education, medical treatment of sick people, industrial relations and various other things connected with the management of the affairs of the nation which are all organised and run ineffectively and to the detriment of the nation's good name and morale. In the circumstances social or state control of more things will merely create more anti-social activities by all who will be placed in a position to exploit the nation. The only thing that may do any good to the nation is to organise the general public to look after their own well being. The last twenty years have been spent in making the people state conscious and to make them progressively dependent on the government for everything. As a result of this state-centric outlook people have lost their ability to do things for themselves. We have found out the limitations of government or of political organisations in every field of national work like production, distribution, consumption, employment, housing, health, sanitation, communications, education and all the rest of it. We have therefore to decentralise our outlook and learn to do things in our own way and for our own advantage through organised public bodies. Whether these bodies will be co-operative societies, collective farms, social organisations for self-help and self-protection or even limited liability companies which will undertake work reserved for the government so long but left undone or badly done, we cannot say off hand. May be all kinds of organisations will have to be set up to achieve the full national purpose. But all these organisations will have to state the purpose clearly and precisely and made to stick to those purposes. instead of being permitted to go off at a tangent at some inopportune moment to achieve some much greater and supremely vague objective, as is the common practice with political groups or state departments which specialise in not doing things in order to satisfy the higher and more important considerations of government (never they may be).

There are of course all those other vociferous elements in society who shout for revolution as a solution for all social, moral, economic, political and spiritual problems. They must be given a

hearing and must be made to give precise and detailed schemes for total social welfare through their proposed revolution. We have seen a few revolutions during the last sixty years and we have seen how crores of people have died, suffered, lost all possessions and passed through disorders which the combined forces of *Thugis, Bargis* and *Pindaris* could never have achieved. We do not want our houses burnt and looted, respectable men and women killed, injured and insulted, girls molested, children made to go without food, clothing, education and medical treatment in their millions and waifs and orphans and young men and women used as the soldiers of revolutions for the advantage of some scheming devils or well meaning lunatics. Revolution it can be, if it is approved of by competent persons in cold blood and after considering all its dimensions in full detail. But never, just because some enthusiasts have the necessary lung capacity to disturb the public peace and yell the place down with promises of a perfect life which will arrive through quotations from books and recitals of wise sayings. The Congress has done this since 1947 and after spending thousands and thousands of crores in giving shape to their plans have brought the nation to a near insolvent position. The idea of revolution naturally includes the certainty of internecine fights. This will mean destruction of life, property and institutions and the eventual emergence of a victorious group *which may not be socialistic, or even attached to the ideals of democracy and individual freedom*. Why should we take such risks unless we find all other and less risky ways totally blocked? We think, if the public organised themselves to achieve various economic and political ends in a peaceful and progressively realisable manner, there would be no requirement for drastic remedies like revolutions. First there must be control of the governments by the public for clearly stated purposes. The governments have controlled the public for over twenty years for their vague and general schemes and plans. This must now be reversed but the public must not make the mistake of forming new political parties. The new organisations must be purely economic and social.

Democracy, Communism, Fascism and all the Rest

When India had Rajahs to rule the people who paid taxes, nazarnas, fines, fees etc., to the Ruler, the Pandits of social wisdom said that Rajah meant *Praja Ranjati Iti Raja*, that is, the rajah was called a rajah by virtue of his function of pleasing the subjects. Others said the word ranjati referred to the blood that the Rajah's sword let out of the body of his subjects. We suppose it meant both from time to time and according to the nature and mood of a particular king. But the subjects decided that Rajahs were no guarantee of their freedom nor of their personal rights as human beings and so, rajahs began to pass out yielding power to democracies which were systems of government by the people, directly or through representatives. The size of the states soon determined that democratic governments will be carried out through representatives. So representatives organised themselves for election by the people and great propaganda and vote collecting machinery were set up everywhere in democratic countries by the aspirants to rulership and political parties came into existence. Propaganda always carries a certain amount of lies, false promises, misinterpretation of facts, tempting suggestions and doctrines of a dubious variety. Political propaganda, therefore, has never been free from these objectionable traits and truly wise men have seldom looked upon politicians as interpreters of human principles of any lasting value. Political propaganda always carries in it the poison of greed. That word is connected etymologically with the Sanskrit word Gridha which means a vulture. The first verse of the *Ishopanishada* tells people not to be greedy but to live a life of detachment. Politicians too should be free from all greed, that is desire for personal gain in money, power or advantage, but they seldom are. That is why political parties are crowded with self-seeking persons in whom moral considerations are not always in top priority. Vice being a more common urge in peoples' mind, democratic forms of government steadily acquired more and more adherents with an anti-social outlook and people experiencing excessive acquisitiveness of both

material and abstract varieties in their chosen representatives looked round for better systems of government. So other types of "representation" were offered for acceptance to the people for establishing better governments. The most popular of these new types of vice-free representative governments have been Communism and Fascism.

In meaning and theory communism offers every member of the community a place in society in which he or she will be assured of opportunities to contribute to the total national product to the best of his or her ability as well as of the right to obtain a share out of that product to satisfy all his or her needs. But apart from the restrictions that communism imposes on peoples' personal freedom, its methods of employing them for productive work and of paying for the work were such as nullified the promises of liberty and of providing for all needs that people require provision for. Whatever ideals communism may propound the facts relating to one's economic and political life in a Communist state are far from satisfactory. One may have to tolerate rules and regulations relating to housing, food, clothing, travel, education, medical aid, luxuries, savings, working conditions, wages etc., etc., which one finds obnoxious. One may be employed to do work which one does not like nor has any natural aptitude for. One may be sent to a place against one's will. One may even be made to accept certain creed and dogma which one does not really believe in. One may say that such discomforts and obstructions to free and easy living have to be tolerated temporarily and that eventually Communism will achieve its objectives in full. But if the so-called teething troubles continue over decades and the sufferings of the people increase with the growth and development of this new type of government, people naturally lose their enthusiasm for this type of political organisation. For, as we have said in the beginning, people wish to exchange new systems for old forms of government in order to get more freedom and increased amenities of life no matter what philosophical compensations may be offered as substitutes for the things they desire. And (

munist leaders develop vices too, same as other leaders have done in the past.

Fascism is an authoritarian form of capitalistic government in which the capitalists, the workers and the general public have to work and live according to the dictates of the top leader. The top leader may have warlike objectives or ideas of a constructive kind for the betterment of the nation's economy and military strength. The militaristic motive is always there in fascistic governments and the only justification for introducing this form of government is the same as one shows for the establishment of martial law. Fascism, therefore, cannot ever be a permanent form of government. All nations may however find it necessary to go fascist for a time to realise their military aims which may be of a defensive or an offensive variety as the case may be. Capitalists as well as workers have to surrender their freedom of action to the supreme authority in a fascistic state and that is why such governments choose to call themselves socialistic. It must be pointed out that the social will is completely suppressed and rendered subservient to the will of the Dictator in a fascistic state.

Communism also calls itself socialistic and there are many democracies which use the same term to describe their nature and quality. In fact there are some monarchies which have very elaborate arrangements for social welfare and complete social security, and are therefore more socialistic than the Socialist state. The term socialism has therefore lost its true meaning through its misuse. True socialism must combine social freedom and liberty with social security and welfare.

This has not been done in the Communist states in the Fascist countries. Most democracies which announce their socialistic preferences have little organisation for the social good. Exploitation of the people in a blatant manner by traders and public servants is permitted in most of these countries. The people are also duped to part with their political powers in favour of political parties or individuals and the governments thus created seldom achieve anything socialistic. We are thus faced with a situation in which no doctrinaire approach from any philosophical angle can

assure us personal freedom and liberty, and, social welfare and basic social security. That is because the people suffer from an age old *raj* complex and wish to be ruled by kings, leaders or parties. If they chose to rule themselves they could be very much better off. And they must try to do so.

Hindi Again

Progress means changes for the better. A changeless static condition is not very useful nor advantageous for humanity. Changes therefore are necessary and there have been many during the last two hundred years in India. What Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his immediate followers thought, therefore, may not be considered to be of any value by those who have come after Nehru. And many such persons, probably a majority of the Indian public, do not consider Hindi to be a suitable language for the purpose of replacing English. English has served as a link language, as a medium of higher education and as the language of international communications for nearly two hundred years. It is a highly developed language and is spoken by several hundred million people. In India about fifty million people have a knowledge of English and this knowledge may have a money value of over five thousand crores of rupees. Indian history of the period of India's fight for freedom is largely written in English if one seeks the truth from source books and literature. Most great Indians of the last one hundred and seventy five years have used English to a great extent to record their thoughts, opinions and experiences. In these circumstances it would serve no useful purpose to root out English from India's educational set up. The Indian mind will lose its contact with the world of science, literature, philosophy and the arts as soon as it has to receive all communication and to express all thoughts in an Indian language. The idea that Hindi will be of any use for making good the loss caused by abolishing English from Indian education, is a totally wrong idea. Hindi is undeveloped, in the throes of doubtful experiments handled by not the best brains of the country, and is not yet fit to serve as the link language for India. Its international position is such as requires no assessment.

It may develop hereafter, but judging by what the Government of India have so far spent for its development one would quail to face a budget of the total expenditure for introducing Hindi in India on full scale. The costs may be five crores per word taught to India and the manufacturers of Hindi may not stop concocting Hindi words if they find it profitable to do so on a bulk basis. Hindi will therefore be bad business. Even worse than industrial planning.

There is some propaganda that education carried on in the regional languages of India would be better than a system with English as the medium of instruction. It will have for some mysterious reason, the further advantage of creating unity in diversity by providing the required quota of diversity we suppose. And wherever the regional languages fail to induce the students to flower out in knowledge there will always be Hindi to boost the flowering process. In any case English will be gone for ever and all who do not know English will soon know everything. In fact, those who speak Hindi already do so. This proves that Hindi can replace not only English but also logic and the basic facts of human psychology. The statutorily accepted axiom is that a knowledge of Hindi and the Dev Nagri script completes one's education.

Those who have any knowledge of Indian languages including Hindi know that most of these languages are not yet properly equipped for imparting higher education in all its branches. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Marathi, Gujrati and Bengali are certainly more developed than Hindi. But even these languages cannot serve as yet as media for teaching many subjects. None can be useful for international communication. In the circumstances the only way to maintain our standards of education and intellectual and technical performance would be to retain English as the medium of higher education in all parts of India. English will be very useful as a link language and as the language of international communications. Abolition of English and the introduction of Hindi will destroy the unity of the Indian People. India's education too will become sub-standard and her isolation in the community of

nations complete. This isolation will have a disastrous repercussion on trade, commerce and industry as English has now become the world's most important language in the field of economic activities.

Whatever progress India has made during the last one hundred years has been largely achieved with the help of English, as far as languages played a part in that progress. Great scholars, scientists, politicians, industrialists, artists, literary men other outstanding men, whose achievements the world accepted as valuable have been born in India during this period. The regional languages have been in use throughout India during this period and students who qualified for higher education picked up a knowledge of English easily enough to continue their education in that language. The languages mentioned before viz., Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Marathi; Gujrati and Bengali made remarkable progress during this period and nobody found that English stood in the way of this progress. In our opinion knowledge of English helped this progress and we believe that if Hindi replaced English all major Indian languages would suffer a great setback. In short, knowledge of Hindi will be infinitely less useful compared to knowledge of English. Politically minded people in India, from the highest to the most ordinary, have learnt to ignore true values and to depend on make believe appearances of a symbolic significance. The present arguments about media of instruction, removal of English and introduction of Hindi are all empty political twaddle with little connection with the basic realities of national life. Our politicians have very unfortunately deteriorated in their mental and moral qualities. The nation can no longer depend on their sincerity, wisdom and intellectual integrity. It is a sad state of affairs, but the public are not yet waking up to the dangers of having such leaders.

Politics must be based on the realities of life. Whenever politicians find the realities too strong for them, they take shelter behind all kinds of unreal assumptions, exaggerated aims and fantastic objectives. They do all this to divert public attention from the stark realities of life

which they have failed to handle and mould to the best advantage of the nation. India to-day is financially near insolvent. In the field of defence arrangements India is finding it difficult to keep pace with her enemies. In production, employment, social security and soundness of administration, India's reputation is very low. So, our politicians are giving us Hindi instead of food, and abolition of English instead of suppression of Pakistan and China. But we do not think Indians are foolish enough to be taken in by these political tricks.

Nationalisation of General Insurance and Banks

We have had to point out on many occasions that India's national affairs are very badly managed by the caretakers of the nation, and they should be made to concentrate on their job and not allowed to discover new ways and means for achieving a total greatness for the Nation and its political parties. For, we think that people who cannot organise and arrange for proper cultivation of the Indian soil, build all necessary roads, reservoirs, canals and *bundhs*, run railway trains on time, manage posts, telegraphs and telephones efficiently and also fail to manage many other things effectively like education, medical services, policing etc. etc., should not seek the nation's sanction for undertaking more jobs of various other kinds for which they are ill-equipped as managers and organisers. When they nationalised life insurance, they did not thereby render a great national service. As far as we know, the profits of the insurance fell and policy holders' share of the accumulated profits fell too. That is, the public got less than before through their Life Insurance investments. The management side of the life insurance business suffered a set back too and there were complaints from everybody about almost everything connected with the smooth operation of the various offices. Now the Government want to take over general insurance too. This does not signify a great desire or urge to fulfil a national purpose. For the general public are quite satisfied with the private management of the business. Interference from the State will neither make things more advantageous for the

public nor improve the service. In fact, the general public are not interested in this branch of insurance to any considerable extent. The funds, income and profits are also not very great. The idea has come to the mind of our politicians as they believe such a take over will be a good socialistic gesture without any increase in their liabilities. Food, housing, education, medical aid and social security cost money and hard work. Improving the railways, posts, telegraphs, telephones, police and other administrative services mean for them achieving the impossible. So, they talk of nationalisations of general insurance and banks, which they think they can do without running any great risks. But we think we should, first of all, nationalise our democracy by liquidating the various small cliques and coteries which try to arrogate to themselves the political rights of the nation. Until we controlled our politicians we would never have a proper democracy, leave alone a real socialistic outlook.

As to the social control of banks; that is another subterfuge for diversion of public attention from more urgent and important matters. The people of India are now suffering from the socialistic pattern of the thoughts of our politicians. They have not put down in writing all their thoughts for the reason that they are nebulous and unstable. If instead of thinking these politicians worked hard to remove the various physical obstacles to our economic, intellectual and ethical progress, we might have gone forward quite a lot more during the last twenty years. But our leaders like appearances more than basic realities. For realities are weightier than ideals and require stronger shoulders to carry them to their proper destinations. Dreams, hopes and ideas usually involve not much hard work and one may bask in the glory of one's thoughts without creating any grave responsibilities for themselves.

Propagation of Lies

We have no quarrel with Hindi as a language nor with the Hindi speakers in so far as they themselves speak Hindi. We, however, have no hesitation in declaring that Hindi is not sufficiently developed to be a medium of higher education, a link

language for the various States or a means of international communication. The Government of India, for many years, carried on a false propaganda about the importance of Hindi in their official publications in order to establish it as the national language. One falsehood was that 42 per cent of the people of India had Hindi as their mother-tongue. Another was that Punjabi was a branch of Hindi. In fact, Hindi proper is spoken by only about 15 per cent of the people of India. About another 15 per cent speak Hindi though it is not their mother-tongue. The 42 per cent myth was made up by including in the Hindi group many languages which were as close to Hindi as Dutch was to English. This falsehood has now been carried abroad by Sri Morarji Desai who said somewhere that more than half the people of India spoke Hindi. He also said that 98 per cent of the Indian people did not speak English. This is also an untruth, as more than 10 per cent of the Indian people have received English education and Sri Morarji's statement cunningly refers to the number of persons whose mother-tongue is English. Sri Morarji in course of the same speech tried to belittle the importance of Sri Chagla's resignation. As this resignation is significant as an index of public feeling against the adoption of Hindi as national language, Sri Morarji's attempt to scoff at it is an attempt to misguide the world public. It ill behoves a person of Sri Morarji's position to indulge in false propaganda and to make damaging statements against a man who is held in high respect everywhere in India.

A Medium of Education

A medium of education must be the best medium of expression for the teachers as well as the best medium in which the best books and literature on a particular subject are written. The students should also understand it and know how to read and write in it. When we examine the educational qualifications of teachers of science and technical subjects as well as those of other upper grade teachers, we find their background is very much English-based. Teachers of other subjects too have learnt the subject mainly through English. The students are more or less able to carry on their studies in English. For primary education the mother language is certainly more suitable. At a later stage learning English will be an essential part of their education. When we study the usefulness of Hindi as a medium of education in Hindi speaking areas, we find all competent teachers of the higher classes are English knowing. They can teach better in the higher classes through English than with the help of Hindi. The reason is that their own education was carried out in English and all good books also are in English. So, a Hindi speaking teacher who teaches any subject in the higher classes or in a college prefers English to Hindi. A Bengali or Tamil speaking teacher will also prefer English to his or her own mother-tongue when it comes to teaching higher mathematics, the sciences, economics or political theory. There are hardly any teachers in the field of higher education who cannot teach better in English than in any Indian language. Those who can teach only in Bengali or Hindi are usually found in the lower classes of the schools. It is therefore not necessary to push the Indian languages summarily into a position in which they will not be effective. This state of affairs will continue for many years as far as the use of regional languages goes. Hindi will never be of much use in non-Hindi speaking regions.

The idea that the regional languages will be the medium of instruction for higher education as far as possible and that English or Hindi will be used when regional languages fail to work is the result of forced reasoning. For if the students did not get used to English or Hindi from an early age their higher education through those languages would be impossible. And if they received education through their mother language upto the age of sixteen years they should continue in the mother language, for the reason that they would not have a good knowledge of any other language excepting their mother-tongue. Knowledge of a language improves with studying different subjects in it. If one studies history, geography, hygiene and civics in English, knowledge of English will develop. If one studies all subjects in Tamil knowledge of Tamil will improve. Then, if Hindi could be used for univer-

sity education it should be tried out in those areas where Hindi speakers predominate. When it was found that Hindi or any other Indian language had developed sufficiently for the teaching of the physical sciences, law and engineering in it, one could talk about its adoption for university education. Even then English should be continued at the option of the students, for many of them might prefer to continue their studies in English in the hope of going abroad for further studies. The imposition of Hindi upon any student should not be attempted, as that would alienate the people and lead to serious consequences. As a matter of fact Indian politicians are wasting their time and energy in entering into a large scale controversy over languages, when they see that the more important needs of the people have not yet been satisfied. The whole thing emerges out of a desire to place Hindi in a position of national importance. But Hindi is not sufficiently developed for this honour

Food and other Fables

The Congress has never been critical of its own actions. It has always tried to white wash the black deeds of some of its members and to justify their foolish mistakes. They have always behaved like an authoritarian clique of self-willed oligarchs. In the sphere of food growing and the distribution of the same in a just and fair manner the Congress has failed miserably. But they have never admitted their inability to produce results. Nor have they taken the public in their confidence and attempted to organise the people to secure better production. One may say, with no risk of damaging the claims of the Congress for handling food supplies efficiently, that 75 per cent of the people of India have had to fend for themselves in procuring food during the entire period of Congress raj and the other 25 per cent got about half of the food grains they required through direct or indirect governmental help. If food grains constitute half of one's requirements of food, then the governments provided the people about $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of their entire national food requirements. In the circumstances if

Sri Morarji Desai goes abroad and brags about the conspicuous success of the government's management of food supplies, one has to point out to him that the people of India do not die in larger numbers from starvation because of their miraculous ability to live without much food, and not on account of anything that the Government or the Congress have done. Sri Morarji who is responsible for much of our trade slump, unemployment and general state of social unrest cannot understand how he is concerned with all that happens. Had he been endowed with a better sense of psychological causes and effects he would have realised that unfair rates of taxes and too much financial control induce people to work less, earn less, shout more and avoid paying taxes. A shackled economy moves unwillingly and slowly. The leaders of the Congress who rule India have got Sri Morarji back into power in spite of his past record, in order to make Prime Ministership easier for Sm. Indira Gandhi. But they have not made things easier for the people of India by this unwise selection. Sri Morarji has now gone abroad for some reason which should be connected with public finance; but he appears to be doing propaganda work connected with the Indian languages and English and other non-financial matters. Why Sri Morarji should waste his time explaining his linguistic preference to the British public, is not at all clear to us. Why, again, he should tell the British public about the efficiency of the Indian government in handling the food problem of India is still more meaningless to us. His use of facts and figures of extremely doubtful authenticity makes his speeches quite ridiculous. His assurances as to there being no chance of India disintegrating in the near future are absolutely uncalled for and can only help to put doubts in people's mind where none existed before. In fact, Sri Morarji's tour and speeches have done great harm to India's prestige and position in foreign countries. He has been unnecessarily provocative and unwisely confiding for no apparent advantage to his country and people. Pressmen said he looked younger than his age. He has been clearly juvenile in his speeches.

HUMANISM OF RAMMOHAN

MIHIR K. MUKHERJI

Humanism is a noble and clean concept wherein man is regarded as the centre of the universe and intellectual activity. In such an elevated position his art, literature, education and thought are all emancipated from gross materialistic influences on the one hand and supernaturalism on the other. While the spirit is liberated from redundant formalism of unsubjective occupations, a climate is created to unfold and rear the rare qualities of liberalism in thought and habit. Hyperphysical idealism of Plato and other-worldliness of vedantins as a method of approach are discarded to travel freely into the pragmatic spheres of human activity, positive and certain.

A foundation was laid in India too. Though it had to wait till the arrival of Renaissance in the nineteenth century, never a new concept it was entirely new to the Indian mind. Intellect is blended with sensitive feeling, love, kindness and charity are deliberately associated with springs of action; realization of a universal ideal is endeavoured through a varied range of dimensions, contemplative activity, dynamic thinking, exaltation of senses—the characteristics of Indian will are necessarily present.

With Rammohan the free spirit of humanism recommences. A harsh critic of Hindu orthodoxy and methodological formalism

engendering meaningless bigotry and suicidal superstition, he paved the way for free thinking. Once he wrote to a friend, 'A sense of duty which one man owes to another, compels me to exert my utmost endeavours to rescue them from imposition and servitude; and promote their comfort and happiness... the source of prejudice and superstition and of the total destruction of moral principle, as countenancing criminal intercourse, suicide, female murder, and human sacrifice. Should my labours prove in any degree the means of diminishing the extent of those evils, I shall ever deem myself most amply rewarded.'

In his life and work this is abundantly manifested.

Without being an anti-Hindu his secession from the age-old Hindu 'church' is regarded as a land-mark in Indian reformation. The establishment of the Brahmo faith was a revolt against sectarian paganism of the sanatana Hindus and widely prevalent transcendental escapism. The banner was carried on to different walks of life, social, political, theological, meditational. Descended from the medieval tradition he was palpably modern. This modernity replenished his views and made them humane. Philosophy and theology, fashion and flavour, aspect and intention are all reflections of life. Rammohan was neither a product of Indian Renaissance nor human-

ism but precursor of both.¹ With a wonderful inquisitiveness in all aspects of life he added for sighted understandings and this keen comprehension of good and evil made him an indefatigable social reformer. His erudite scholarship in the classics of east and west and the scriptures made it possible for him to be a bridge between modern European knowledge and ancient Indian learning. Amalgamating them both with the enthusiasm of an evangelist, he catered for the Indian mind. Ceaselessly he struggled, and often against overwhelming odds, to get man recognized as the centre and authority of everything concerning him. A deliverance from ill-conceived notions of fatalism, needless and superfluous suffering it is. Human nature is fashioned through human deeds alone.

In many respects he is a pioneer, humanism not excepted. His constant criticism against the malevolent set up of Hindu society and her false values has awakened men from centuries of torpor; his constructive activities have borne fruit in social reconstruction, and resulted in partial repair of unfortunate wrongs and accursed blunders of medieval society.

In matters relating to religion, logical reasoning is at the forefront. Scriptures devoid of intellectual-empirical basis, and arbitrary arguments and comments of minor preceptors can scarcely be raised to the level of a true religion. Human welfare, free, fair and virtuous, abides in the heart of the universal religion that develops intellectual and moral excellences.

Narrow-minded dogmatism was neither within nor without. Confutation was not confined to specific religious practice, to every existing faith it was extended. The profound intellection extended its sway to Mohamadanism, critically analysing it in 'Tuhfatul Muh-hidden'; in 'Precepts of Jesus—the Guide to Peace and Happiness', the essential teachings of the Bible were codified, divesting them of mystic enigmas and supernaturalism. To him the Bible was the noblest of scriptures,—its universal moral principle espousing the natural relation between man and man truly commendable.

His monotheistic form of worship founded on theistic rationalism is devoid of scriptural authority. Distrust in idolatory and inclination towards monism grew out of deep culture of christian and Islamic scriptures. Studies in the Upanisads, Koran and Bible moulded and formed his spiritual ideal paving the way; for a Catholic outlook and idea of the Universal Absolute. Perfectly qualified, he revealed the idea of an immanent spirit denouncing the irrational array of multi-million demi-gods and mythical gods of popular Hindu cult. In Upanisads the world and God are identical. The infinite power that unifies and sustains is no other than the Pantheistic Absolute, the one Omnipotent. He is the Real Universal Perfection incessantly influencing finite being towards accomplished knowledge and self-realization. Ignorance leads to all types of perversion and incoherence prevalent in India of his times. Brojendra Seal contends that Rammohan's conceptions of different

religions and civilizations are aspects of one universal, nothing exists decrepit.² Study and culture of great religions was an incentive to offer reforms and reorganize the old set up. Max-Muller says without reservation that Rammohan is the founder of comparative Theology.

With impudence and infirmity of greivous order descended from anarchic condition India was passing through, alien bureaucrats forged cowardice and confusion to make matter worst confounded. At the same time an intense longing for some sort of intellectual emancipation, social or spiritual, was widespread in the sentiment of intelligentia.³ Not escapism or mysticism but a social realism. Sir Gurudas has remarked that we are too much inclined towards other worldliness ignoring the matters of physical reality, and Rammohan attempted to rectify this serious evasion of responsibility decades ago. Not quite easy it is to estimate the value of religious upheavals and social disquiet of his time. It cannot be dismissed as the restlessness of a changing age but a unique commotion initiated by the advent of humanistic ideas in some rarely gifted persons. Around his dynamic personality revolved the finest elements of humanism. Self-propriety, dignity of man, righteousness, social-realism, to mention only a few that changed the course of Indian civilization. The body politic of Indian society was at its worst during the early days of the English supremacy. A nation devoid of moral standard and mental balance, it had indolently gone down in ignorance, poverty, illiteracy and superstition enveloping. Value

of man was at a low ebb and that of woman in shambles. Child-marriage, untouchability, *kulinism*, polygamy, enforced widowhood, burning the luckless widows on funeral pyre had toppled down the dignity of man. Neither any precise fidelity nor purity of character worth the name could be seen. Uncertainty and doubt, discension and discord, remiss and rancour were rampant.

To work in such an environment was a task herculean. Never did he hesitate to undertake it since with the ideals of humanism he was imbued. He loved man over everything else and had self-reliance. The agitation started around prevention of widow-burning virtually swept away many an ill from which the society was suffering and repudiated others. A new era was heralded wherein new worker could make progress and devote energy in an environment extensive, expansive and liberalized. But would this prohibition solve all the insinuating problems connected with widows! Unless they are properly rehabilitated, suitable atmosphere created, where they can live in due honour and peace, no useful purpose would be served simply by saving them from the jaws of unnatural death. The far-sighted vision of Rammohan, faithful to humanism, suggested an insurance scheme for their benefit, first of its kind in this continent. Humanitarianism is a blend of human feelings, sympathy and socialist and living in an age of Reason he qualified himself with the essentials of human virtue. Well being of man was his primary consideration. Whatever he did it was for the wel-

fare of mankind whatever he under-took, human propriety was the sole motive. A pattern of humanity he realized in himself, his universe was human, where he was invariably present,—an ever lasting image of human feeling and reason. In social reform or in education for women, human feelings loomed large, gracious and beneficent and solemn.

More than social or political emancipation, individual mind should be freed from matter of fact and lifeless rites and stagnant formalities that go by the name of religious worship. Blind faith betrays mental inertness. Life is activity, effervescence makes society potent and enterprising. New innovations accrued from intellectual judgment only rejuvenate society putting an end to all vacillation. Unless people *en masse* are liberated, no society can prosper.

Freedom he prized above everything else, freedom of thought and freedom of expression. A battle royal was waged within his family. Acute difference of opinion with the near and dear ones estranged relation with the parents, disruption with the Hindu community, curse of his own mother—nothing could deter him to defend and extol freedom and truth, he left his house resolved and unmoved. This was all over the writing of a monograph, 'Idolatrous Practices of the Hindus, he was only a young man of sixteen then. By the choice of his own morality man makes himself. And he made his own person felt—a recognized champion of liberty for all men, freedom of expression for all. Freedom he preached and freedom he spread working among men in the teeth of opposition from

mighty Rajas and intellectuals,⁴ undaunted, in true spirit—value of reality lies in action. Man is what he wills.

Upon himself he takes the entire responsibility to make or wreck his own person, determination is his own, spontaneous and discretionary. Much before the contemporary existentialists Rammohan envisaged into dependence of human mind, to no rigid stereotyped division it conforms. Force of circumstances social or political impact howsoever exerting man can ward off, to exist in his own right. Humanism without human freedom is meaningless and human freedom denude of individual self expression is a mockery. William Adam said, "Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action, merely, but of thought. To Buckimham⁵ he wrote, I consider the cause of Neapolitans as my own, emancipation as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful.

For upholding human freedom public opinion was consolidated, efforts were made to unite common man on a common front having instilled political and social consciousness. 'If you remain separate one from the other, if you are divided in your own home, if you are like a boat whose planks are all river asunder. He asks his countrymen, 'how shall you give potency to the message of India to the world?'⁶

In thought and activity in religion and education, in social reform and struggle against bureaucrats, the idea of individual freedom he diffused, extolling the cause of humanism. The sole motive for the publi-

cation of 'Sambad Kaumadi' was public welfare as openly announced and that it was 'common people's own paper'.⁷ Against the suppression order of freedom of the Press by Lord Hastings, his agitation in collaboration with the Tagores (Dwarkanath and Prasannekumar) Chandrakanta and others will remain a memorable step in the evolution of an independent Press.⁸ Restrictions imposed on the Press by Mr. Adam he fought against; strict censorship and licensing system had to be withdrawn at last by the King-in-Council.

Sometime he could not succeed. The injurious 'Jury Act of 1827' could not be repealed. But the spirit of opposition and protest indubitably reveals one thing: his love of justice and fairplay.

Humanism often works through nationalism in arousing political consciousness. stimulation of the spirit of nationalism is a dire necessity where self-expression is throttled and free thinking curbed. Reinstatement of the dignity of man needs awakening of consciousness when impediments make way for friendly alliance, human congeniality returns. Indifferent and carefree man, lethargic man becomes politically conscious through Rammohun's thinking. Stirred by his multifarious activities thinking of an age assumed entirely a new form. Harmful legislation of an alien government resisted attacks of reactionaries and conservative elements successfully retaliated, personal maligns matched with impunity—he emerged as a nation builder.

That economic reforms is closely allied to administrative, and amelioration of the conditions of kisans is a sure way to the

strengthening of government machinery were impressed upon a government not indigenous. In Land Reform the epoch making suggestions he made,⁹ among others, that 'land should belong to the tiller of soil and agricultural tax should be lowered on cultivation, have since been incorporated in all socialistic planning and reform.

He did not favour individualism. Individualism has not a catholicity of mind as extended as humanism. A tinge of singular oddity of isolation lurks within to make it an ego-centric predicament. Real freedom is comprehensive embracing the appreciation of other existences. Humanism is a misnomer if it fails to evoke a genial sense of freedom: Freedom in every walk of life and necessarily a vital presence, or overwhelming force warming different elements of human behaviour. The germ of national aspiration can easily be traced in it. The concept did reflect his fond aspiration, India emancipated, physically and mentally. Indians governing their own destiny, extolling democratic process. 'I necessarily feel extremely grieved,' said he, 'in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by government without consulting or seeing to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge'. In all probability the idea that India sharing equal partnership with England in the commonwealth of Nations was germinating. A votary of freedom England could not but

treat India on equal footing, a partner—he believed.

On intellectual side humanism is expressed in the growth and dissemination of education. Education means bringing out the best in a man. Of all the ingredients on which humanism thrives it is the most effective and intreding. Social progress and moral refinement of a people and individuals depend on proper education and culture. With a new age Rammohan's advent synchronised, an age of scientific enlightenment and logical reason, an age of progressive outlook and universal sympathy in Europe. Dominated by the deathless concepts of Voltaire, Locke, Hume, Tom Paine, Compté and others, the trend of world-thought was liberalised, and propagated its productive and intellectual ideals.¹⁰ No other solution could be discovered for a fallen nation as ours, a people having languid mind, vitality frigid and supine body, but in true education, save in cultivation of modern knowledge changing the course of civilization. Acquaintance with modern knowledge implies understanding western science and philosophy whose medium was English. For the establishment and propagation of English he moved heaven and earth, vehemently opposing oriental system. Like a true humanist never was he opposed to nor deprecated the classics and ancient philosophy. Rationalisation was what he wanted. He himself founded a Vedanta school. That modern system of education in this country has its origin in his indefatigable endeavour is not a bit exaggerated.

He was not a child of revolution, human thinking and doing, he revolutionized

by venturing to introduce an educational system synthesising eastern learning and western method, ancient classics and modern science. The exertion made to achieve this end was unending: Vehement protest against the proposed college of Lord Amherst intended to impart exclusive teaching in eastern love, life-long agitation for the introduction of English education. At the same time complete break away from ancient knowledge and cultural tradition of India was impracticable. That would be total disavowal of our own heritage, repudiation and renouncement of the erudition, experience and attainments that have been swirled across the countries. The task was to reorganize and remodel, not to destroy, to mend and improve, not to impair and annahilate. Mental discipline in modern knowledge is necessary. It is offered by Mathematics, western Logic, physical physiological Sciences.

Though a devotee of classics, to Bengali language he gave a new impetus, a real start, like Erasmus and Luther in modern Europe, vitally necessary for a language of an intellectually evolving people. Prose style originates from him. Indian literature he flooded for the first time with essays, monographs and dialectics; translation of Bhagvadgita and Bengali grammar are also born from his pen. In artistry and mode of expression his command of language is praiseworthy; the manner of literary presentation, composition of independent form, at once chaste and convincing, lay the foundation the bright future of which is practically assured. Social, political,

economic, religious, philosophical—every subject found place in his animated writings. Far from being an isolated activity, closely associated it was with the natural habit of life out to realize the image of mankind in his ideal. Dr. Sukumar Sen evaluating Rammohan's language says it as 'simple, direct and expressive'.....'precision seldom attained by his learned contemporaries.'

Humanistic inclination initiated a number of humanitarian ideas that he unleashed bearing fruit on ripening. First was he in many a movement. Emancipation of women-folk from centuries of surveillance was his handiwork. If a substantial position of mankind is allowed to remain in an inferior status, it amounts to slavery. Evil it breeds. The entire body-politic is vitiated. Such thoughts as inheritance of women, harms of dowry-system and selling of daughters, female-education, widow-marriage,—purported to restore the dignity of women, were permeating his sympathetic understanding. Leading the way he left them as a legacy to other humanists, like Vidyasagar, Dayananda, Bipin Pal, Govinda Ranade, Vivekananda and other social workers.

A humanist is not infrequently an internationalist. Into varied occupations he forges ahead the energy, unwavering and indomitable. Rammohan was more of a cosmopolitan than a narrow nationalist. Widely stretched was his outlook, well beyond the confines of limited time and geographical space. The main force, sympathy universal, added to his total disposition rendered his humanism a constant source

of justice, righteousness and unqualified appreciation of virtues.

Narrow nationalism purposely omits favourable points and merits in alien civilization and its accomplishment. A humanist pauses to consider. He singles out the refinements. He evaluates its fair worth. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct. He spoke of the Englishmen, "I gave up my prejudice against them and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants."¹¹

No one would advocate the continuation of foreign rule but it is also perfunctory estimate not to see the frankness and magnanimity of a great mind influenced by humanism. To him love of country was incalculably great as love of man was infinitely greater, patriotism was only a part of the bigger whole, humanism. Love is a concrete manifestation of human deeds and achievement, it scarcely means anything in abstract symbol or has potential suggestive value. Culture he endeavoured to animate in a novel manner. By synthesising art and morality, spirituality and values of different cultures he presented a reoriented form, of national culture.

By accomplishing an everlasting alliance between eastern culture and western thought Rammohans' rationalism thrived. Europe was experiencing a revolution in the realm of intellectual ideas particularly concerning human habit and freedom, initiated by Rousseau and Voltaire, and nursed in the cross-currents of the French Revolution.

him advent of western thought was beneficial at least from one point of view, it had opened the portals of modern science and Philosophy before the Indian mind. The tremendous impact of western culture overwhelmed a group of young students of Hindu College. They lay adrift by their own wanton indulgence in the luxury of the western way of life. Adding of spiritual element in humanism mollified the turbulent temper, and though could not lull yet reasonably served as a tranquilizing force.

Widely extensive was his interest and feeling, encompassing continents, whether it was a severe famine in Ireland or the colonial agitation at Guatamala, never he failed to extend his compassion and appreciation. With all his might he felt the cause of the aggrieved, of justice, of freedom, and no mere formal courtesying. The spirit of humanist India is fully and distinctly present in his letter of felicitation sent on the liberation of Latin American States from the imperialist Spain. At the defeat of Naples Republic his was a deep dejection, a personal frustration as it were. The down-trodden and the oppressed have a special claim on sympathy and attention of the humane intellectuals. Revolutionaries of Ireland who were trying to overthrow the English rule got solid moral support of this undaunted mind. Might be due to this he was forced to close down the publication of "Mirat", on whose pages were analysed the reason of the debacle in Ireland. When Greece was groaning under the autocrat Pashas of Turkey, he earnestly prayed for the Greeks, wished a speedy end of slavery and oppression.

The two streams of consciousness, national and international, coningle to form a cogent fountainhead that humanism is from which flows the concept of equality, fraternity and freedom. Cultures and civilizations meet here, humanitarianism is born. Narrow confines of nationalism yields to a superior force, and values with permanent interest emerge. It is the brotherhood of man he aimed at. Barriers of geography and climate, differences in tradition, convention, amusement and habit, whims of likes and dislikes, and multiplicity of culture could not dishearten him to be constantly in search of a common concern. The great truth he found at last—in life eternal. In a number of ways he was a unique figure in the world's history. Not merely as a humanist or as the first modern Indian his name we pronounce but as a man of versatile habits and variegated activities. With Voltaire and Luther he is ranked and with Erasmus and Mill onething he did deeply realize,—freedom of mind unbiased and freeing spiritual concepts from the quagmire of superstitious beliefs. Unless mind is cleared of constrained limbo neither it can receive new ideas nor can give up narrow sectarianism. The earnestness and zeal with which incentive to the spread of modern education and culture was given calls back the fine efforts of Erasmus. His letters of protest against disparity and discrimination, partisanship and impropriety speak of plain-spoken and fearless founder of Protestantism. Versatility makes him bed-fellow of the great Voltaire with whom he shares the spirit of independence and its indivisible expression. His sincerity and devotion to truth may easily be compared to Mill's. A

matter of fact age was turned into a prolific age with great ideas.

His biographer, Sophia Dobson Collet said so nicely, 'He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations,—he embodies its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and present, and timid, disinclination towards revolt'.¹² Yes, it was due to his humanistic influence the immoral tradition was turn down to pieces, to usher in the inestimable enlightenment, human consciousness, intellectual thinking, pragmatic imagination and artistic habit in all iridescence.

Rammohun's philosophy is a curious blend of intellectual idealism and existential humanism, free will and human subjectivity, marking out the practical side of it. Like Schiller he does not think his Absolute dehumanizes knowledge and activity. Like modern existentialist philosophers he believes in human subjectivity. Individual man is free yet he can go beyond himself at will—human subjectivity at large.

It implies his own free determination, whenever he desires he has his own way unfettered by a compulsion that comes from outside.

The philosophical bearing of this humanism is that man is not end in himself, he is the centre of all existence. His decision determination, intent and will incessantly project in making himself anew in others image. The psychic bond of perpetual relation can never be over-emphasised. Man it takes out of his self-made individual citadel

perpetually to reorient the person. A pattern of humanity lurks resplendent in his image, constituting human individuals of his own type and proclivity and inclination he is encompassed with. He identifies himself with the constituents, cogent and potential, seeking favourable co-operation. Outside he goes his own self to meet the universal in him, not Plato's Ideas but positive image of concrete dimension, in his fond-image and self-willed activity. In embracing humanity entire moral he becomes, the idealization of his true self that is continuously serging up to choose his best. A transcendent realization of mankind he loves by illimitable projection into the heart of human existence. The remaking of oneself it is indispensably harmonizing to the tune of universal ideal of concrete reality whenever he crosses the limitation of one's subjectivity he presents and pursues the universal purpose and inclination, going beyond the subjective limitation of individual person, he realizes the real nature of man.

Without being commodious or subservient to an external agent Truth's value rests on its efficacy and employment.

1. In India Humanism was of a later growth than Renaissance. D'Rozio, David Hare, Vidyasagar, Bethune, Vivekananda, Devendranath, Akshay kumar in some way or other became associated with the activities contained in these two concepts.

2. K. M. Mitra wrote, 'Rammohun Roy wanted...to spread monotheistic worship, to establish a universal church where all classes of people—Hindus, Mehomedans, and Christians—would be all alike welcome to

unite in the worship of their supreme and common Father.' Cal Review, No Lxxxvii.

3. This sentiment found outlet in the utterance of Rammohun, 'All true education ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of conscience or, in the spiritual and mental restlessness of the disciples of D'Rozio. And in Keshab Sen, 'A light has dawned upon the face of our church. Our consciences have been roused from dormancy, and stimulated to activity by the solemn calls of duty coming from all quarters.

4. The persons opposed to any reform, Radhakanta, Kalikrisna, Gopimohon, Ramgopal (Mullie), Haranath, Bhabanicharan, Nimaichand and others were big landlords business magnets, intellectuals and wealthy men.

5. An European editor expelled from India on Government Order for adverse criticism of government activities.

6. Extracts of Rammohun's writings are from 'The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy,' Allahabad, 1906.

7. "My only object," he wrote an editorial, "...that the rulers may more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people, and the people may be put in possession of

the means of attaining protection and redress from their Rulers.'

8. 'If can scarcely be doubted,' boldly he he declared, 'that the real object of these Restictions is to afford all the Functionaries of Government complete security against their conduct be made the subject of observation, though it is associated with a number of other restrains totally uncalled for, but well calculated to soothe the supreme authorities in England and win their assent to the main object of the Rule --the suppression of power, remark on the conduct of public officers of Government in India'—
Appeal to the King-In-Council.

9. In 'Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India' (1832)

10 Epoch making events in international sphere were American War (1772) and Independence (1776), advent of Rousseau (1712-78); Voltaire (1694-1778); Kant (1724-1804); Hume (1711-76); Comte (1798-1857); Mill (1806-73); Spencer (1820-1903); Darwin (1809-82); Adam Smith (1723-1790); French Revolution (1793); defeat of Napoleon (1815).

11. In the life and letters of Raja Rammohun Ray by Sophia Dobson Collet, London 1900.

12. Ibid.

TRAGEDY AND SANSKRIT DRAMA

Dr. S. KASHINATH RAO

The conspicuous absence of tragedies in Sanskrit dramas is generally attributed to the Hindu religious sentiment which abhors tragic ending of a play. Some critics, especially in the West, believe that this religious inhibition had greatly thwarted the growth of Sanskrit drama, which otherwise, in their opinion, could have reached the artistic heights of the Greek drama. The paradox of Hinduism is that though it is called a religion, it is more a way of life than a religion in the strict sense of the word. The basic beliefs with the passage of time became customs and later patterned into traditions. These traditions with their unbroken continuity became laws which in due course are identified as religious sanctions. The purpose of this article is to show that the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit dramas is not due to any religious dogmatism or lack of higher aesthetic sense in the Sanskrit dramatists but due to their beliefs and attitude towards life which differed from those of their Western counterparts.

The credit for innovating tragedies in dramatic art should be given to the Greeks ; the word "tragedy" is derived from the Greek word "tragos". In the ancient West the flower of civilization blossomed in its magnificence in and around Athens and in due

course the Hellenic civilization and culture cast their spell on Europe. Though materially the ancient Greeks made spectacular progress, life was wrought with eternal fear of external aggression and economic insecurity. No doubt they had all sorts of gods in their pantheon of worship and believed in innumerable myths and miracles, but their life sadly lacked spiritual dimension. Life to them was a mere manifestation of material progression ; life after death was only a matter of intellectual speculation. Therefore when a crisis developed either in human life or in their civilization, all their gods, myths and miracles could not breathe confidence in them. They prepared themselves to surrender to the doom which they were helpless to prevent though forewarned. They were convinced that crisis was after all the shadow of the inevitable cataclysm. This was the psychological background to the tragedy in the Greek dramas. That is how we find the chorus, the lifeblood of Greek tragedy, when forewarns the befalling doom the characters line-up mechanically to submit their lives to death. It is no wonder that the Europeans and the English whose civilizations were moulded and influenced by the Greece incorporated the technique of Greek tragedy, though with less successful effect, in their own literature.

There is a section among the Western scholars which believes that the ancient Hindu art and architecture and even certain myths were greatly influenced by the Greeks. Some even assert that temple building, idol-worship and even the cult of Krishna (drawing similarities between Krishna and Pan) were the outcome of the impact of Hellenic culture on ancient India. It is true that ancient India had close contacts with Greece, especially through trade and commerce. Even centuries before the invasion of Alexander the Great, the Greeks had their settlements in India. But all this cannot lead to the conclusion that ancient India was a cultural satellite of Greece in the sense that the European countries were. As Professor Raghavan observes the absence of tragedy in Sanskrit darma is in itself "a fact which is against some Western Scholars who are anxious to see Hellenic influence on Indian drama". The origin of Sanskrit drama can be traced back to the Vedic times. Even before Panini, the great grammarian (5 B. C.), there were in existence standard works on dramatics called "Nata-Sutras"; works of Silalin and Krsasva were popular treatises on dramatics. It is true that Bharata's "Natya-Sastra", considered as the highest authority in this regard, forbids tragic ending of a play. But by this time, the dramatist had already rejected tragedy as a form of drama; Bharata had only codified what was by then a commonly accepted conviction of the dramatists. This sprang from the following arguments. Hinduism enjoins on its followers a firm faith in the indivisibility and indestructibility of life. Life which is cyclical in nature has neither

a beginning nor an end. Tragic ending of one's life is therefore illogical. Further, rebirth is a basic belief of the Hindus. Therefore, to think of putting an end to one's life under tragic circumstances with a view to releasing the individual permanently from the problems of life is irrational. Lastly, the Hindu attitude towards life differs fundamentally from that of the Westerners. Life is after all the material manifestation of the divine spirit on earth. According to Hindu faith it is only after many rebirths into lower forms of life does one obtain birth in a human body. This stage is both a great opportunity and a privilege for one to realize the unitive knowledge of the divine-Brahman. Therefore to put a tragic end to one's body is to put an end to one's own spiritual development the *raison d'etre* of being born into a human body. Viewed against this philosophical background of the Hindu mind, tragedy has no place in the scheme of life.

The Sanskrit dramatists, however, were not unaware of the stresses and strains of life on this earth. They were conscious of the fact that life was not a bed of roses. But they viewed life as a conflict between spirit and matter, good and evil and between virtue and vice. They were convinced that notwithstanding the initial ups and downs, in the ultimate analysis, spirit will triumph over matter, good will replace bad and virtue will conquer vice. They did not believe in tragic ending of their plays merely for the sake of tragedy. They developed tragic situations in their works and at times to the extent of tragedy appearing inevitable. But the dra-

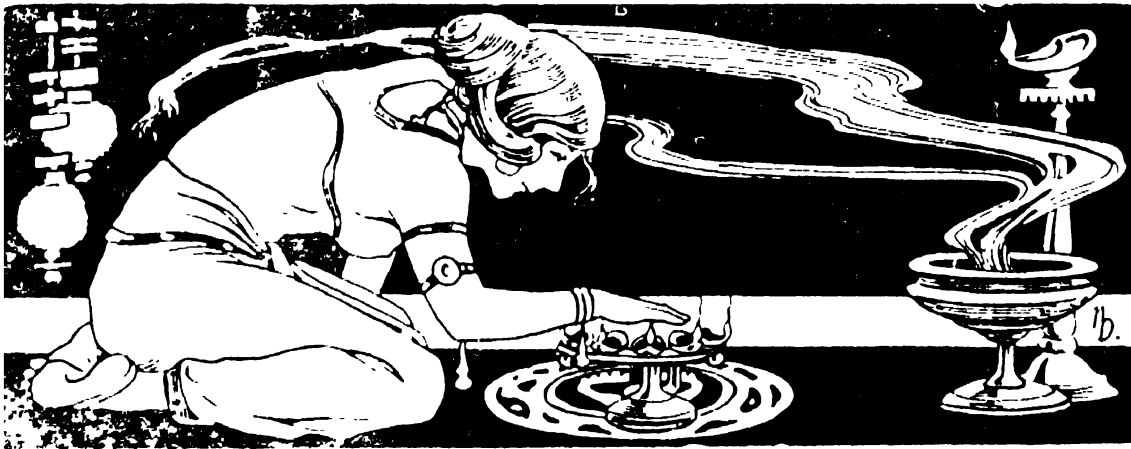
matists did not succumb to the common malady of despair. With their dexterity and faith in life they found out solutions to overcome the crises. Such solutions were varied and at times may appear even superficial and fantastic ! Tragedy in the dramatic art is the result of the incapacity of the dramatist to find a solution to a situation which he himself has created. The dramatists builds up events which culminate into a crisis and then unable to find a way-out he sees in tragedy the only and inevitable solution. To the Sanskrit dramatists tragedy was a reflection of the immaturity of creativity. Beyond what appears to be an insoluble problem there is always hope. To rise to that height one should have faith in life. This undefinable faith was portrayed in the form of God, miracles, super-natural elements etc.

Whether it is "Kavya" or "Nataka", literature was considered by the ancient Hindus as a medium for supreme recreation and as an effective vehicle of education and moral elevation. The great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which are full of tragic situations and pathos, stand even today as inexhaustible fountains of hope and joy to millions of their readers because they assert the triumph of good over evil and breathe confidence and hope in life even under the worst circumstances. Among the Sanskrit plays the most popular and highly acclaimed work is Kalidasa's "Shakuntalam". When rejected by King Dushyanta, the pregnant Shakuntala could have thrown herself to despair and committed suicide ; Kalidass

could have easily turned the play into a tragedy. But Shakuntala stood up against the odds. Like Sita in the Ramayana, she showed faith in life and in the ultimate triumph of Right over Wrong. She begot a son in the forest and brought him up as a valiant prince. In the end, she regained her lost paradise. Under circumstances of less provocation, Ophelia went mad and killed herself by drowning in water ! Bhasa's "Svapnavasavadatta" is one of the masterpieces among the Sanskrit plays. Mistakenly King Udayana believed that his beloved died in the fire. But unlike Romeo he did not kill himself and pave the way for the heroine's death. As a result the lovers get united in the end. Bhasa's "Urubhanga" is wrongly called by some as a tragedy. The play deals with the last days of Duryodhana, the Villain of the Mahabharata and the prime cause for the great war and consequent destruction. His thighs being smashed by Bhima in a duel Duryodhana, who is the central character of the play, wails his sad lot. The dramatist describes the pathetic position of the central character but does not either glorify his character or justify his earlier misdeeds. All that happens is that the bad meets a bad end. It is true that Bhasa's "Urubhanga" is a novel departure from other Sanskrit plays in the central character—who in the modern sense may be called the hero of the play—meets his doom at the end. But a man of Duryodhana's character can never fit into the Sanskrit dramatists' concept of a hero and therefore "Urubhanga" cannot be called a tragedy. Bhavabhuti's "Malatimadhava" and 'Uttararamacharita' contain such pathetic situations and tragic

elements that in the hands of a lesser dramatists perhaps would have become tragedies ! These examples alone prove that the Sanskrit dramatists neither lacked imagination nor aesthetic sense to recognize the value of tragic element in dramas ; where they differed from their Western counterparts was in regard to the tragic ending of the play. This was not because of any religious inhibition but due to their sincere conviction in the ultimate triumph of spirit over matter and virtue over

vice. The Greek and other Western dramatists saw in death the only solution to the insoluble problems of human existence. They could not think beyond this. But the Sanskrit dramatists could not, with their faith in life, rise above the common level of thinking of the human mind under the worst circumstances. Therefore they rejected death as an answer to human miseries and as a solution to crises in life.



ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Y. N. VAISH

.....when a person disables himself, by conduct purely self-regarding, from the performance of some definite duty incumbent on him to the public, he is guilty of a social offence.

John Stuart Mill

The tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* had not been included among the four tragedies by A. C. Bradley. While he excludes *Antony and Cleopatra* he dubs it as "glorious folly." The tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* is neither for domestic incidents nor for social incidents like the tragedies of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*. It has a political theme which "is entirely steeped in an atmosphere of rhythmic passion,....". It is the remark of William Archer. The play is so much rhythmic that the critics fail to learn of its real theme and Lord Tennyson refers to Cleopatra "a dream of a fair woman." Shakespeare makes her personality so magnetic and lovable that the mind of critics is attracted by the physical charms of Cleopatra and their ears by rhythmic passion. Shakespeare gives the finish to the physical features of Cleopatra with his imagination. The women of his other plays can not come upto the physical beauty and charm of Cleopatra.

Shakespeare had gone for its theme to Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Antonius* which was translated from French into English by Sir Thomas North in 1579 and from Greek into French it was translated by Jacques Amyot. It is considered by some critics that *Antony and Cleopatra* is the sequel to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* which was produced as early as 1601. After nearly seven years (1608), *Antony and Cleopatra* was entered by Edward Blount in the Stationers' register *A Book called Antony and Cleopatra*. If we do not know much about his early tragedy *-JULIUS CAESAR* (its theme was also taken from North's *Plutarch's Life*) we do not find any difficulty to understand the tragedy itself. Shakespeare had dramatized the rest of the history of *Plutarch's Life* in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Antony who played the most important part in *Julius Caesar*, is the hero in the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra*. In the tragedy of *Julius Caesar*, Caesar was assassinated for

his despotism. After the death of Caesar, Brutus delivered the funeral oration to the Roman audience justifying the cause of Caesar's murder, but Brutus also allowed Antony to deliver a speech at the funeral of Caesar. Antony's passionate oratory turned the mind of the Roman audience against Brutus and his allies. Brutus and his allies were defeated by Antony and his allies at the battle of Philippi in 42 B. C. The victory was due to Antony because he was not only a great orator but he was also a brave soldier.

In the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* a Government is framed of triumvirs, Antony, Octavius Caesar and Lepidus. Antony was the most venerated not only by Octavius Caesar and Lepidus but even by the Generals and the audience. Antony is in Egypt while Octavius Caesar and Lepidus are in Rome. Antony is living with Cleopatra at Alexandria which is the capital of Egypt. Before Antony, Julius Caesar had married Cleopatra without rites. After the death of Julius Caesar, she got success in conquering the best statesman and a brave soldier, Antony. Under her charms, he forgets his duties which are designated to him by the public. He indulges in luxury and idleness. He becomes the worshipper of Cleopatra and, before the love of Cleopatra, for Antony.

Let Rome in Tiber melt, and wide arch
Of the rang'd Empire fall: here my space,
Kingdom are clay: our dungy earth alike
Feeds beast as man, the nobleness of life
Is it do thus: when such a mutual pair

And such a twin can do't, in which I bind
On pain of punishment, the world to weet
We stand up peerless.

He, even, ignores to receive the messenger who brings the news of the death of his wife Fulvia.

Shakespeare points out in the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* that a great man, either a statesman of some high rank, must not commit such mistakes which are done by the common men on whom he rules. When his mistakes come out on the screen in front of the public eyes, the public disregards him and there spreads a chaos and disorder among the public. His subordinates also follow the path of their leader the path of revelries, luxury and idleness. In that way a head of the state, of the nation and of the office can not take the stern actions against his subordinates because he is himself involved in the common vices. How can he blame others when he is to be blamed? He can not put forth the examples of his moral and political achievements. His mistakes are responsible for an internal conflict which is a civil war that makes a state weak economically and socially.

Demetrius and Philo who are the Roman soldiers, belong to Antony's army. Philo tells Demetrius the *dotage* of Antony.

Nay, but this dotage of our General's
O'er flows the measure: those his goodly eyes
That o'er the files and musters of the war,
Have glow'd like plated Mars,
Now bend, now turn

See where he is,
Who's with him, what he does.
I did not send you. If you find him sad,
Say I am dancing, if in mirth, report
That I am sudden sick. Quick and return.

Charmian advises her mistress, "if we did love him dearly, you do not hold the method to enforce the like from him." These words of Charmian develope a fury against her in Cleopatra.

Thou teachest like a fool, the way to lose him.

Cleopatra loves Antony only for gratifying her senses.

Antony reaches Rome where Octavius Caesar treats him with harsh words.

LEPIDUS Soft Caesar.

ANTONY No Lepidus, let him speak.

The honour is sacred which he talks on now,

Supposing that I lack'd it but on Caesar,

The article of my oath.

Antony has to endure the harsh and strong words of Caesar because he has lost both his reputation and moral vigour to commend and control his subordinates and even his friends. Since the time has mortgaged himself in the kingdom of a whore who "made great Caesar lay his sword to bed. He plough'd her, and she cropp'd." Agrippa, the friend of Octavius Caesar, asks Caesar to marry his sister Octavia with Antony for bringing the end of differences. The character of Agrippa is taken from the Bible. Shakespear had a sound knowledge of the Bible. Lepidus hails this suggestion. Lepidus is less talented and courageous than Caesar, so he flatters Antony and Caesar.

When messenger reports to Cleopatra Antony has married Octavia, the sister of Caesar, she thunders on the poor and innocent messenger. She hales him in anger because this sudden news maddens her. Later on, she asks the features of Octavia.

Whether is she superior and fine in her structure? He tells her that Octavia is inferior to her in all respects. Now the hope awakens again in her for coming back of Antony. Shakespeare does not make Octavia a bit of a cunning lady. She can not treat Antony with the art of a whore.

Antony is far away from Egypt and living with Caesar and Octavia, but his mind and heart is attached to Cleopatra when he is far away from her. Soothsayer suddenly enters and Antony asks him whether he is coming from Egypt? He wants to know about Cleopatra. He tells him that he is not coming from Egypt. Soothsayer, reading his inclination to her, tells that he should be "to Egypt again." Then, Antony asks him "whose fortunes shall rise higher, Caesar's or mine?" Soothsayer predicts that the fortunes of Caesar shall rise. He also advises Antony that he should not stay at the side of Caesar because

Thy demon, that thy spirit which keeps

thee, is

Noble, courageous, high unmatchable,

Where Caesar's is not. But hear him,

thy angel

Becomes a fear, as being o'er power'd

therefore

Make space enough between you.

ANTONY speak this no more.

Soothsayer tells that

Thy lustre thickens,

When he shines by! I say again thy spirit

Is all afraid to govern thee near him.

But he away 'tis noble.

Now Antony makes up his mind to re-

turn to Egypt ; he says to Ventidius:

I will to Egypt,
And though I make this marriage for peace
In the East my pleasure lies,

Soothsayer does work in the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* as witches do in the tragedy of *Macbeth*. Shakespeare has already introduced Soothsayer to his readers and audience in Act One and scene two, when he is in Egypt. In this scene he does not play an important part except where the ladies of Cleopatra ask him their fortunes. Here he is a palmist, not an astrologer. He tells Charmian.

In Nature's infinite book of secrecy, a little I can read.

CHARMIAN, Good now some excellent fortune. Let me be married to three Kings in a forenoon, and widow them all ; let me have a child at fifty, to whom Herod of Jewry may do homage. Find me to marry me with Octavius Caesar, and companion with my Mistress.

Here is an irony. Antony is third paramour of Cleopatra and after the death of Antony she shall choose Octavius Caesar as her fourth paramour Here are also Biblical references.

Antony has escaped from Athens to Egypt because he could not break the fetters. When Octavius Caesar asks his sister about Antony, she tells "My Lord, in Athens. She tries to hide the fact from his brother, which is already known to him. He tells his sister that

No my most wronged sister, Cleopatra
Hath nodded him to her, He hath given
his Empire

Upto a whore.....

Before the marriage of Octavia with Antony, Caesar had already received a letter from Alexandria in which it was written

he fishes, drinks, and wastes
The lamps of night in revel, is not more
manlike

Than Cleopatra nor the queen of Ptolemy
More womanly than he. Hardly gave
audience

Or vouchsafed to think he had partners.

You
Shall find there a man, who is the abstract
of all faults,

That all men follow.

Caesar tells Lepidus, "you may see Lepidus, and henceforth know, it is not Caesar's natural vice to hate our great competitor. He has assured Lepidus that he hates Antony due to his faults which have clouded all his goodness. Antony, now, "is the abstract of all faults, That all men follow." Octavius Caesar is prudent and a dutiful statesman and a good administrator. Shakespeare makes Octavius Caesar a man of foresight because Shakespeare was himself a political philosopher. Shakespeare means that a head of the state or a head of the office involved in self-regarding, is responsible for the decay of a nation. All the persons follow the *faults* of their head. The persons are not responsible for a nation.

Octavius Caesar reports to his sister that Antony has assembled nearly all the kings for waging a war against Caesar. Caesar is also seeing a chance to wage a war against Antony who is now an idle man of a number of faults. His sister is afraid that war shall

weeping calms Antony's anger against her.
Antony says :

Fall not a tear I say, one of them rates
All that is won and lost : give me a kises
Even this repays me.

When school master conveys the message of Caesar, turning down his request, Antony challenges him for single combat, calling him a boy. Caesar reads loudly the letter of Antony.

He calls me a boy. and chides as he had
power

To beat me out of Egypt. My messenger
He hath whipped with rods, dares me to
personal combat.
Caesar to Antony : let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die : meantime
Laugh at his challenge.

Caesar laughs at his foolish challenge. He knows that Antony had lost all his military power in war. So, he calls him on for single combat. He knows all his weaknesses because he is a man of all abstract faults. Antony has still confidence in his soldiery forgetting his vices and faults. Antony is even defeated in single combat. At the last hour of his life Antony relizes the cause of his fall, like Adam :

Triple-turned whore, 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this novice, and my heart
Makes only wars on thee.
And he repeats in rage and sorrow :
To the young Roman boy she hath sold
me, and I fall

Cleopatra finding Antony is enraged against his love ; she locks herself in the monument and asks Mardian "go tell him

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

have slain myself :” Seeing the entrance of Mardian he erupts :

Oh thy vile Lady, she has robbed me of
my sword.

She is not less clever and cunning than her mistress :

No Antony,

My Mistress loved thee, and her fortunes
mingled

With thine entirely.

She also informs Antony that she “rendered life : Thy name so buried in her.” Getting to hear the false news of Cleopatra’s death, he runs against the sword. Antony does not commit suicide for his defeat but receiving the news of Cleopatra’s death.

The death of Antony does not change Cleopatra from bad to good. Antony’s Guard brings him to her monument. Diomedes informs Cleopatra that he is dead.

CLEOPATRA: Oh Sun

Burn the great sphere thou mov’st in,
darkling stand

The varying shore of the world. O Antony
Antony, Antony !

Help Charmian, help Iras help : help
friends

Below, let us draw him hither.

Cleopatra does not leave her monument but she asks her women :

Help my women, we must draw thee up :

CLEOPATRA : Here is sport indeed !

How heavy weighs my Lord ?

Our strength is all gone into heaviness.....
they heave Antony aloft to Cleopatra.

Dying Antony is restless for her, “Oh quick, or I am gone.” But she is not restless for him. Antony could not die “Until

of many thousand kisses, the poor last I lay upon thy lips.”

It is the opinion of some critics that whore-love turns into true and Platonic love,

When, at the time of her death, she utters :

Husband, I come :

Now to that name, my courage prove my
title.

There is no proof of her courage and title. She prefers death rather to live because she could not conquer Octavius Caesar throwing her charms upon him.

CLEOPATRA : My Master, and my Lord

CAESAR : Not so ! adieu.

She has tried to make Caesar her slave like Julius Caesar and Antony but she could not spoil his mind with her whore-talks. She has praised Caesar now ; it was her belief if she would praise Caesar, she should be able to make him her slave. She told Charmian in Act two, scene five, when Antony, was away.

In praising Antony, I have dispraised

Caesar.

Shakespeare was a philosopher and an imaginative dramatist but after all his was a mind dominated by Bible in her latter period of his life. The main aim of Shakespeare in the tragedy *Antony and Cleopatra* is to advocate through dramatizing the philosophy that the Head or the Leader of a nation should not love himself in self-indulgence coming in power. Being a great philosopher, he was an imaginative writer, also, an aesthetic like romantics who were the lover of *beauty*. How does he draw the portrait of Cleopatra when she crosses the Cyndus river :

I will tell you,

The barge she sat in, like a burnished

Throne

Burnt on the water : the poop was beaten
gold,
Purple the sails : and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick.
With them the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke
and made
The water which they beat, to flow faster
As amorous of their strokes. For her own
passion,
It beggar'd all description, she did lie
In her pavilion, cloth of gold, of tissue,
O'er picturing that Venus, where we see
The fancy out-work Nature. On each
side her,

Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling
Cupids
With divers coloured fans whose wind
did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they
did cool.
And what they undid did.

This scene can be compared with the
scene in Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* ;
Where Thames with pride surveys his
rising towers,
There stands a structure of majestic frame,
Which from the height ring Hampton
takes its name.

It is due to Blinda who is not inferior to
Cleopatra in her charms.



INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE STRAIT OF TIRAN

HAREKRISHNA SAHARAY

After the Corfu Channel Case¹ the right of innocent passage was incorporated into the Geneva Convention of 1958 on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone. The right of innocent passage is a limitation on the sovereignty of a state to control the territorial water in time of peace. Subject to international convention this right is implicitly granted to foreign states. Like all other international customs and usages the right of innocent passage through the territorial water of another state is ancient and sacred. Denial of such right in time of peace is tantamount to violation of customary international maritime law which would give rise to international hostility. To avoid any ambiguity about this right the International Court of Justice in the Corfu Channel Case laid down the following principle of international maritime law.

"It is, in the opinion of the Court, generally recognized and in accordance with international custom that States in time of peace have a right to send their warships through straits used for international navigation between two parts of the high seas without previous authorization of a coastal state, provided that passage is innocent."²

This principle was recognised by the International Convention held at Geneva in 1958 relating to Territorial Sea and Conti-

guous Zone. This was ratified by more than thirty countries including great powers. In dealing with the doctrine of innocent passage Article 16, paragraph 4 reads thus :

"There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or the territorial sea of a foreign State."

One point is to be noted in connection with this provision that it is not a codifying provision but a mere innovation. So, in absence of ratification of the Geneva Convention of 1958 relating to the Territorial Sea, a State not signifying its consent to the Convention does not seem to be bound by that innovation. A State is considered bound by an international convention when it directly or indirectly signifies its assent to such convention. Obligation under international convention or treaty arises out of accession or consent to it by the parties even if there is no ratification.³

The definition of innocent passage is given in the following terms in the said convention.

"Passage is innocent so long as it is not prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the coastal state." (Article 14 paragraph 4).

From the above definition a question may be raised who is to decide the breach of the peace or disorder or insecurity of the coastal state by allowing a foreign ship to pass through its territorial water. Is it the affected coastal State itself? Or, is it some international organisation? To answer this question one will have to look again into the limitations imposed on the authority of the coastal State to exercise jurisdiction over foreign vessels passing through its territorial sea. A vessel navigating the ocean is like a floating island, and consequently carries with it the laws of its own country so far as the persons and property on board are concerned. Those rights to a certain extent are retained by a ship even when it visits a foreign port or passes through the territorial water of a foreign State. In the *Creole Case*⁴ it was decided that a municipal court could not exercise criminal jurisdiction over the mutineers of a foreign ship when the crime was committed on the high seas. The Geneva Convention of 1958 on the territorial Sea is stricter when it lays down that a coastal state is barred to arrest any person on the board of a foreign ship that passes through its territorial water for an act of crime committed on the board even when it is within the territorial water. Again here the test applied for exception to this limitation is peace, good order and security of the coastal state. This test seems to be determined by a coastal state in the light of international standard. Mere assertion of the breach of the peace or any illusory claim insecurity of the coastal state is not enough to substantiate the right of jurisdiction of the coastal State over the foreign ship during

its passage through her territorial water. It may be submitted that the test in this regard ought to be an objective one. The effect of the crime committed on the board of a foreign ship during its passage through the territorial water of another state requires to be directly felt on that state. In *Wilderhus Case*⁵, Waite C. J. drew a nice distinction on the breach of the peace. One which disturbs the peace of the ship alone while on the territorial sea of a foreign state is to be dealt exclusively by the flag state of the ship. The other which disturbs the public peace may be dealt with by the proper authority of the coastal State. In particular when there is a crime of heinous character on the board of the ship during its passage through the territorial water of a foreign state, the offender may be brought to trial in the coastal state subject to be consent of the consul of the flag state.

So far as the civil matters are concerned the principle of exemption relating to a foreign vessel passing through the territorial waters or exercising the right of innocent passage was not recognised in *Panama (Compania De Navegacion Nacional) v. United States of America*⁶. There was no sufficient authority to the effect that a foreign vessel was exempt from civil arrest during its passage through the territorial water. But this principle does no more hold good. If a passage is not innocent the coastal state is entitled to exercise civil jurisdiction over a foreign ship within its territorial sea. There are certain exceptions to this general rule of international law laid down by the Geneva Convention of 1958 on the territorial sea

and Contiguous Zone⁷. The coastal State is forbidden to divert the passage of a foreign ship through her territorial water so as to exercise civil jurisdiction over it. Nor is she allowed to levy execution against the ship for a civil cause of action. Though these principles relate to a ship during its course of journey through the territorial water of a foreign country, they similarly hold good in case of a foreign ship during its innocent passage in time of peace. Violation of any of these principles by a friendly coastal state may be regarded an act of unfriendliness.

So, it appears from the above discussion that the breach of the peace in the coastal State due to some acts in the foreign ship passing through the territorial water is not to be determined by the coastal state solely in the light of her own internal legal standard. It ought to be gauged by the courts of a coastal State from the international view point. Or, the issue may be determined in case of doubt by an international organisation of juridical character which applies purely rules of international law.

In view of the above principles recognised by international law, it is necessary to examine the position of the strait of Tiran. Because on this issue depended the claim of the Egyptian Government to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba against the Israel's port of Eilat of the head of the Gulf.

Straits hold a peculiar position in international law. Unlike the territorial limit of a sea, the width of straits is not usually three sea miles as practised by the Anglo-American countries. Straits which are less than six miles width are considered territo-

rial⁸ of the coastal State. Only under peculiar nature of indented coast a country is allowed to extend sovereignty beyond this territorial limit.⁹ The six mile limit of a strait sovereignty by a coastal state is also Anglo-American principle followed in international law. This is an exception to the three mile limit of territorial sovereignty over maritime belt. But the extent of territorial sovereignty over a strait by a coastal State ought to be different when a state does not agree to a three-mile limit of maritime belt. As a matter of reference it is to be noted that a limit of six miles plus contiguous zones for territorial water is claimed by Egypt along with other eight States.

The strait of Tiran is though more than three miles in width but the navigable channel through it is less than half a mile on the Egyptian side of the territory which clearly proves the Egyptian sovereignty over it. A right of innocent passage through the strait may be claimed by maritime powers or other coastal states on the Gulf of Aqaba provided there exists an international agreement in this respect with Egypt as one of the parties or special local regulations among the coastal States similar to the 1936 Montreux convention governing the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It is evident that there has not been any international agreement to this effect except a vague declaration of U. S. A, U. K., and France in 1956 that the strait of Tiran is an international waterway. To this one sided declaration, Egypt or other coastal States on the Gulf of Aqaba were never parties. So that declaration was useless. So far as local regulation is concerned,

there was an Egyptian-Israel general Armistice Agreement signed at Rhodes on February 24, 1949. That agreement specially prohibited Israel from the use of its sea forces—military, para-military or non-regular—the territorial waters of Egypt lying “within three miles” of her coast line. That agreement was entered into when Israel was not in possession of her part Eilat.

The port of Eilat is a later annexation to Israel territory as the fruit of conquest. Under the Charter of the United Nations, annexation of territory by force has been renounced. So recognition of title to a conquered territory in the post war is invalid since a State “has resorted to war contrary to its obligation”¹⁰ under the Charter.

Israel could assert her right of passage through the strait of Tiran under the 1949 Armistice Agreement for her merchant ships. But since the port of Eilat has been the fruit of aggression, this right can not be invoked under the said agreement for the merchant ships using this port. Because one can not get the benefit under an agreement for an illegal act. Besides, in 1956 Israel's leaders unilaterally declared that the 1949 Armistice Agreement was dead. If this is so Israel can not claim the right of passage for her vessels through the strait of Tiran in absence of an agreement with Egypt.

It is doubtful whether the hostility between Egypt on the one hand and Israel, U. K. and France on the other hand in 1956 had any effect on the 1949 Agreement. Mr. Justice Cardozo in this regard observed thus :

“The effect of war upon the existing treaties of belligerents is one of the unset-

led problems of the law. The older writers sometimes said that treaties ended *ipso facto* when war came. The writers of own time reject these sweeping statements.”¹¹

From the above remark it may be concluded that the terms of the Armistice Agreement of 1949 are still valid unless there is a renunciation of the Agreement by all the parties concerned. But if this Agreement is disregarded by any of the parties because of the 1956 hostility, then Israel once again forfeits her right of innocent passage through the navigable waters very close to the Egyptian coast.

Israel's right of passage through the strait of Tiran may of course be claimed on the ground of prescription. Since 1956 Israel's ships have been using the passage through the Strait of Tiran without any interruption on the part of the Egyptian Government. Incidentally, it means that the Egyptian authority has given implicit consent to the right of passage by the Israel's ship through the strait. This agreement may be countered by Egypt on the ground that her consent to the use of the strait by the Israel ships forced upon her as a result of serious intervention by two great powers on behalf of Israel in 1956. So that consent was not free but under coercion. She reserves her right to repudiate that coerced consent as soon as situation permitted her.

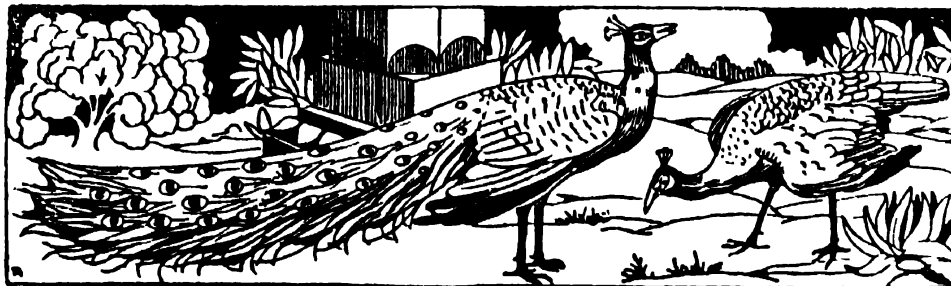
The blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba by Egypt against the Israel's port Eilat was a partial one, Egypt declared her intention not to allow any ship carrying contraband goods destined for the port of Eilat to pass through the strait. Right of blockade against

a port of a hostile state is recognised by international law. Egypt is allowed to demonstrate that right against Israel if she considers her hostile to Egypt. One can invoke the doctrine of innocent passage only in time of peace and not in time of hostility. Assuming the strait of Tiran as an international waterway, Egypt's right of denial through the strait by Israel's ships rests on the evidence that there exists hostility between her and Israel. On that count Egypt may also consider that the use of the strait by a ship carrying contraband for Israel will be prejudicial to her security. Non-recognition of Israel as a State by the Egyptian Government is one of the proofs that hostility subsists all along between the two countries.

The real solution to the problem respecting the strait of Tiran does not seem to lie in arguments and counter arguments. It entirely rests on international agreement in which Egypt must be a party. Other-

wise, any declaration by any powers without will never bring any lasting solution.

1. I. C. J. Reports, 1949, P. 4.
2. Ibid, P. 28
3. A. G. for Canada v. A-G for Ontario (1937) A. C. 326.
4. United States—Great Britain, Claims Arbitration, 1885. (Report of Decisions, P. 241)
5. 120 U. S. 1, 30 L. ed, 565, 6 Sup. Ct. 385.
6. United States-Panama, General claims Commission, 1938 [Hunt, Report of American and Panamanian Arbitration, P. 812 (1934)].
7. Section III.
8. Oppenheim : International Law (1962) Vol. 1. P. 510
9. Norwegian Fisheries Base, I. C. J. Rep. (1951) 116, 46 American Journal of International Law, 348 (1952)
10. Oppenheim, International Law (1962) P. 574.
11. Techt v. Hughes (1920) 229 N Y.222.



EDUCATION AS A RESIDUAL FACTOR IN ECONOMIC GROWTH

R. SUBRAMANIAN

ECONOMIC growth, as it is understood to apply to the developing nations including India, has, of late, been increasingly treated to theory and facts through 'growth models' patterned on the experiences of a developed nation and 'planning schedules' calculating the logarithm of development in the context of the various basic fundamentals and of the factors pertinent to 'growth.' Economists and statisticians design into them several primary econometric complexities that are usually attendant on theoretical exercises in planning and growth. Over the complex of factors that trigger-off development, there is difference of opinion as well as emphasis even among them; some would think that an inflow of foreign capital uninterruptedly can do the job of development; some others would emphasise improved agricultural productivity and abundant supply of food so as to lever up human energy and to find adequate man power for other tasks; a balanced growth on the farm and in the factory is the imperative for some. Still others there are who would say that education of the people would increase workers' productivity on which depends the expansion of economic activity. True; in the ultimate analysis, it is the people who matter most, for they are the mainspring of national reconstruction. But the question arises: (a problem of choice at that), which of these approaches should receive the first attention in dealing with economic growth? Now, let us consi-

der what theoreticians call, the 'residual factors' that stimulate economic growth; that is to say, factors apart from the traditional ones which are a commonplace knowledge today and so often described by eminent economists, Arthur Lewis, Schultz, Baltra and Hakim (1948). Studies have been conducted in an effort to trace the influence of the residual factors in several developed countries. For example, a study of farm production between 1900 and 1960 conducted by the American Professor Solow led to the conclusion that 90% of farm productivity was due to the residual factors. In Europe, similar conclusions have been arrived at by Prof. Aukrust; in UK, Professors Reddaway and Smith have pointed out that capital and labour inputs were responsible only for a 25% increase in output per head in manufacturing Industries between 1948 and 1954. Hence one can say that a major segment of influence in productivity is not primarily capital and its accompaniment like technology and science, but the residual factors like organisation, inventiveness and education that deal equally directly with the whole range of man's economic and social skills to step up physical output in a country. Among these factors, education is ranked high, though it is difficult to say how much of the R-factors is owned by 'education' in the circumstance of economic development.

Nevertheless, studies are not wanting

to show the role of education in economic growth. In their book, *EDUCATION, MANPOWER and ECONOMIC GROWTH*, Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers (1964) present a comprehensive analysis based on their study of 75 countries of the world ranging from the backward to most advanced, of the part education plays in economic development; they say that there is a definite positive correlation between a country's educational development and its economic productivity; the coefficient of correlation between educational level and the Gross National Product per capita is .888 and hence according to them the best single factor in a country's wealth is the people, especially the younger generation in the secondary schools. A note of caution may be made here; for it should not even then, be supposed that education alone would be enough to ensure prosperity of a nation. In India, as also in Egypt and Thailand, education is put on a high pedestal, but the national income per capita is low; because of the impact of several factors on economic development, one cannot be definitive about the quantitative result of growth due to education if a country spends a stipulated sum on it. What we can, at best, admit is that well-motivated people through the various levels of education for the young and the adults will be able to contribute more towards economic rejuvenation, given the resources.

Capital investment, then, in people gives a shot in the arm of the nation for continuous progress; for, a nation desirous of transforming its vicious circle of poverty into one of a virtuous cycle of prosperity should reckon

with its manpower and the development of its potentialities for an efficient economic stride into the future.

This brings us to the crucial importance of educational planning without tinkering with it indefinitely. Mass education for positive hopefulness can influence an economy in a variety of ways. The effect of education on the formation and maintenance of capital for growth potential is easily seen in the advanced countries; there is close association between education and a people's propensity to save, as it is between education and fertility in a population. Again, correlation is found between education and income in a community even when below the poverty line, between adoption of improved agricultural practices among farmers and education, and between the needs of achievement on economic growth on the one hand and education and needs of achievement on the other. Once industrialised, a country will find that transference of people from agriculture to industry gradually taking place if there is occupational mobility; and according to Arthur Lewis and Collins, 'for persons in lower occupational status, education is the main channel of social mobility.' Slowly the development of industrial training and skill through better education, both technical and general, is required to impart skills and smoothen out the transfer and this will eventually force the people to raise their living standards also. Such a phenomenon can be seen in the centralised economy of the USSR. Education and training increase productivity and at a more advanced level, the training of engineers and scientists has been marked

by further advancement of nations, In such a context, what is important is to generate a marchant class and a business-oriented and educated middle-class for private activity and governmental service.

Hence, it is in the educational institutions that the motivations for the attainment of of these is developed through realistic educational planning. The way is to build more schools, launch massive educational programmes for the adults in villages and revolutionise university education to suit the growing demands of a developing nation, to meet the changing character of society consequent upon the strides made in science and technology and to improve the performance of the economy, the quality of the people and their excellence. What is needed is not a high sounding crash programme but the utilisation of the limited fund in order to maximise the 'good' out of it.

Allocation of funds for the mere training of engineers, doctors, scientists and others by itself does not guarantee growth since education will be socially malignant if people lack opportunities and incentives to use them. The strategy of developing education in a country must be based on the character and traditions of the people, the stage of economic development and the vistas for advancement,

Educational planning is yet to get off the anvil in our country despite serious efforts after independence, though the outlay on education has been increasing from the first

Five Year Plan through the Fourth Five Year Plan, from Rs. 133 crores to a little less than Rs. 1,210 crores. There are impressive achievements in the field of elementary, university, technical and social education, but the functional 'growth areas' in education have still to be figured out in order to cope up with the problems of the economy in growth pains. For, rightly has the Education Commission (1966) said: "education should be transformed in order to relate it to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation. This can be done if education is related to productivity, strengthens social and national integration, hastens the process of modernisation strives to build character by cultivating social, moral and spiritual values.

The Indian educational experience over the years of economic planning offers a big laboratory to researchers in social sciences to observe the validity of theoretical hypothesis involving relationship between factors necessitating speedy economic development. Quantitative research on education as a factor in national development is a rarity in our country. An inquiry into the wealth of India should certainly have to reckoned with the educational capacity of the people for sustained growth. for limitless progress ; only then can she find her way and work independently in the decades to come.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF UNION GOVERNMENT

Dr. BHARAT BHUSHAN GUPTA

The present Union Government comprises the President, the Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, Secretaries and members of the Central Secretariat Service. These instruments have to be made more effective tools for the fulfilment of the objectives of a welfare state.

The Office of the President

The Constituent Assembly was divided at the outset between protagonists of the presidential and the parliamentary form of government. The controversy ended in favour of the parliamentary form of government with a President at the head of the Indian Republic.¹ The executive power of the Union is vested in the President and shall be exercisable either by him directly or through officers subordinate to him.²

Manner of Election

The President is elected³ by an electoral college consisting of (a) the elected members of both Houses of Parliament, and (b) the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

There is to be a uniformity in the scale of representation of the different states at the election of the President. This has a two-fold character. There is to be uniformity among the States *inter se* as well as party between the States as a whole and the Union.⁴ This unique system of presiden-

tial election was adopted for several reasons. Firstly, after it was decided to have a parliamentary form of executive it was felt that direct election for the office of the President was neither necessary nor desirable. Therefore, it was decided to constitute an electoral college for the election of the President. This has been done by making elected members of Parliament and elected members of Legislative Assemblies of States *ex-officio* members of the electoral college.

The electoral college is thus broad-based and large in size.⁵ The inclusion of members of Legislative Assemblies in States in the electoral college makes it possible for the State Assemblies to participate in the election of the President along with members of Parliament. This renders unilateral election of the President by a majority of the members of Parliament impossible. If other political parties, other than the majority party in Parliament, have a majority in the Legislative Assemblies of the States the result of the Presidential election can tilt in their favour. Election through proportional representation makes it possible for the President to be elected with as large a majority as possible and with as many parties and groups as possible.

Powers of the President

The President is vested with the executive power of the Union. It shall extend to all

matters with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws, and to the exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as one exercisable by the Government of India by virtue of any treaty or agreement.⁷ In other words, the executive power is co-extensive with the legislative competence of the Union.⁸ The executive power of the Union also extends to the giving of directions to the States to ensure compliance with the Union laws, and also to give directions to the States in certain matters enumerated in Articles 275 (2) (3), 339 (2), 353 (a) and 360 (3) of the Constitution.⁹

On an appeal in the case of *R. J. Kapur v. State of Punjab*, Chief Justice Mukherjee held:

"The Executive function comprises both the determination of policy as well as carrying it into execution. This evidently includes the initiation of legislation, the maintenance of order, the promotion of social and economic welfare, the direction of foreign policy, in fact, the carrying on or supervision of the general administration of the State."¹⁰

All executive action of the Government of India is taken in the name of the President.¹¹ He makes rules for the authentication of all "Orders and other instruments to be made and executed by him."¹² Further, he makes rules for the more convenient transaction of business of the Government of India, and for the allocation among Ministers of the said business.¹³

In respect of the legislative powers of the President, it is worthwhile to refer to Article 111 which simply says: "When a

Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament, it shall be presented to the President, and the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom."¹⁴ Further "the President may, as soon as possible after the presentation to him of a Bill for assent return the Bill if it is not a Money Bill to the Houses with a message requesting that they will reconsider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof and, in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message."¹⁵ The President's veto power is calculated to prevent legislature from its hasty and ill-considered action. But such a power would come for a rare exercise in a parliamentary system of government where the legislation is piloted by the Executive itself.¹⁶ According to K. M. Munshi, one of the members of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, a President may exercise his veto power if a Bill is apparently opposed to our fundamental rights or the prescribed sphere of state powers in conformity with his oath.¹⁷

In respect of ordinance making power, the subjective satisfaction of the President is considered essential. No court can go into the question whether satisfaction is justiciable or not. Since the President has no administrative machinery of his own, he will ultimately depend on his ministers and their staff for the exercise of his ordinance making power extends to the State-List during a Proclamation of Emergency. The Court can, however, declare an ordinance invalid if President issues an ordi-

nance on a subject for which the Parliament is competent to legislate. The ordinance making power of the President has been attacked as being extra-ordinary in character.¹⁸

The President's emergency powers are more sweeping. They are stated in Articles 352 to 360 of the constitution.²⁰ He can promulgate three kinds of emergencies :

1. Proclamation of Emergency in case of war or external aggression or threat thereof (Article 352).

The consequences of these emergencies are enormous. In case of proclamation of Emergency due to war or external aggression the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any State as to the manner in which the executive power thereof is to be exercised and the power of Parliament to make laws with respect to any matter shall include power to make laws conferring powers and imposing duties, or authorising the conferring of powers and the imposition of duties, upon the Union or officers and authorities of the Union as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one which is not enumerated in the Union List. Further, the President may direct exceptions or modifications to all or any of the provisions of Articles 268 to 279 for the duration of the Emergency.²¹ The President is also expected to protect every State against external aggression.²² Under Article 358, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation fundamental rights guaranteed under Article 19 shall be automatically suspended. Further under Article 359, the President can by order declare that the right

to move any court for the enforcement of any of the rights shall remain suspended.²³

2. In case of Proclamation due to failure of constitutional machinery in the State the President shall "assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or anybody or authority in the State other than the Legislature of the State exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and make incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary except assumption of powers of the High Court. Further, the powers of the Legislature of the States shall be exercised by the Parliament of the Union, the power of conferring of powers and imposition of duties upon the Union of officers and authorities thereof shall vest in the Parliament or the President and further the President shall authorise expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of the State."²⁴

3. In case the President declares a Proclamation as to Financial Emergency the executive authority of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any State to observe certain canons of financial propriety. Such directions may include a provision requiring the reduction of salaries and allowances of all or any class of persons and reservation of all money bills for the consideration of the President after being passed by the Legislature of a State.²⁵

Does the President exercise these powers in his discretion or on the advice of his Council of Ministers? Article 74(1) provides merely that "there shall be a Council of

Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his functions" and further 'what advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into any court.'²⁵ There is no provision, however, whether the President is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. On the conclusion whether the advice is binding or not depends the extent of the President's power. If the advice of the Council of Ministers appointed under Article 75(1) "to aid and advice the President"²⁶ is binding, the President is left with little discretion and he becomes a constitutional head if the advice of the Council of Ministers is merely a recommendation which the President is free to reject, the President becomes an autocrat more powerful than the President of the United States.

Debates in the Constituent Assembly reveal the background of Article 74(1). B. R. Ambedkar, chairman of the Drafting Committee said: "In the draft constitution there is placed at the head of the Indian Union a functionary who is called the President of the Union. The title of this functionary reminds one of the President of the United States. But beyond identity of names there is nothing in common between the form of Government prevalent in America and the form of government proposed under the draft constitution... Under the draft constitution, the president occupies the same position as the king under the English constitution. He is the head of the State but not of the executive. He represents the nation but does not rule the nation. His place in administration is that

of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known. The President of the Indian Union will generally be bound by the advice of his ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice."²⁷ Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, spoke in a similar vein. He said: "we have had to reconcile the position of an elected President with an elected legislature, and in doing so, we have adopted more or less the position of the British monarch for the President. His position is that of a constitutional President... Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his ministers it is hoped that the convention under which in England the King acts always on the advice of his ministers will be established in this country also and the President, not so much on account of the written word in the constitution, but as a result of this very healthy convention will become a constitutional President in all matters."²⁸

As the speeches indicate the original idea was that the advice of the Council of Ministers would be binding on the President. This was to be done as Ambedkar explained through the issue of an Instrument of Instructions. The idea was ultimately abandoned and the Article was left as it was without the specific provision by which the President was to be bound by the advice of his Ministers.²⁹ In *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*, Justice Mukherjee opined that "a higher value

may be placed on the report of the Drafting Committee."³⁰

The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that under normal circumstances the President is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. It is not the Council of Ministers which aids and advises the President but it is the President which aids and advises the Council of Ministers. K. Santhanam has also endorsed this view.³¹

The President, however, is not expected to be a figurehead.³² The position of the President is dependent on many factors :

1. It is dependent on the relationship between the President and the Parliament. If the Parliament is divided into a number of political parties, none commanding an absolute majority the President may exercise some discretion in the selection of the Prime Minister.

2. The relationship between the President and the Prime Minister is dependent on personal equation between the two. People's confidence in Jawaharlal Nehru in an abundant measure made him a dominating personality in administration and the simple, devout and austere personality of Rajendra Prasad was nearly eclipsed.

3. The President takes an oath "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law" and to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the people of India". If there is a choice between being true to the oath or to the content of the speech he would prefer loyalty to the oath to avoid impeachment.³³

4. The President makes rules for the more convenient transaction of government business and allocates work. He has a right to be kept informed by the Prime Minister of all decisions of the Cabinet. He has a further right to call for such information relating to the administration of the Union and proposals for legislation and has authority to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.³⁴

5. The President has been empowered to give decisions on questions as to disqualifications of members. The President's decisions are however based on the advice of the Election Commission.

6. The President is given power to summon and dissolve Parliament. The only remedy for not summoning Parliament for over six months is the impeachment of the President. Article 85 specifically says that Parliament has no authority to assemble *suo motu*.³⁵

7. The Presidential power of sending messages to the Houses of Parliament is meaningful. The mere threat to use, and the possibility that the President may use this weapon, will make ministers hesitant in tending and advice which may not be palatable to the President, unless they are in an unassailable position. The President's power to return all bills, except money bills, for a total or partial reconsideration can be effective. Article 111 simply says that if the President wants to return the bill, he shall do it as soon as possible.³⁶

President and Prime Minister

Articles 74 and 75 explain the relationship between the President and the Council of Ministers. Article 74(1) provides "there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."³⁷ Article 75(1) provides for the appointment of the Prime Minister by the President and the other Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. The tenure of the Ministers is dependent on the pleasure of the President.³⁸ In respect of actual administration the duty of the Prime Minister has been stated in Article 78. It makes it obligatory on the Prime Minister "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for and if the President requires to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council."³⁹

In a study of the President of the Indian Republic, it is stated: "The relationship between the President and the Prime Minister is unique in character and will mostly depend upon the personal equation existing between the two and the prevailing socio-economic circumstances. The President and the Prime Minister balance each other and while the President has normally to act on

the advice tendered by his Council of Ministers, he may in certain circumstances refuse to accept that advice. In other words, the President may block any action of the Prime Minister which he considers to be patently unconstitutional."⁴⁰ The working of the Indian Presidency during the last 17 years has made the President a constitutional head and it is not necessary to make the advice of his Council of Ministers binding on him.

Appointment of the Prime Minister

The Constitution of India gives statutory recognition to the position of the Prime Minister which is established for long by convention in England.⁴¹ The Constitution states merely that "the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister."⁴² So far the President has acted unimpeachably and has waited for the election of the leader of the majority party before asking him to form the government.⁴³ There are, however, some circumstances in which the President may be able to exercise his personal judgement in making the appointment of the Prime Minister, for example, when there is no obvious successor to a Prime Minister who has resigned or died in office, or when none of the parties is able to command the support of the Lok Sabha.⁴⁴

Powers of the Prime Minister

Since the President is expected to be a constitutional head all powers of the

President are to be exercised by the Prime Minister. This makes the Prime Minister the most powerful person in the country. Attacking this concentration of powers and influence in the hands of the Prime Minister in the Constituent Assembly K.T.Shah said: "that there is every danger to apprehend that the Prime Minister may become a dictator if he chooses to do so. I think there are cases which ought to be removed from his political influence."⁴⁵ He suggested that appointment of judges, ambassadors and governors should be made by some other agency independent of executive control.

The cabinet is described as the formulator of national policies, the highest appointing authority, the arbiter of inter-departmental disputes and the supreme organ of co-ordination in the Government.⁴⁶ The Ministers of State come next to the Cabinet Ministers. Some of them hold charge of independent portfolios but are not members of the Cabinet and attend only when invited to do so. Others hold no independent charge of portfolios and work under Cabinet Ministers. Deputy Ministers are not responsible for any administrative work but are practically understudies for eventual appointment as Ministers of State. Their duties include answering of questions on behalf of Ministers, helping them in piloting Bills, explaining policies and maintaining liaison with members of Parliament, public and the press and undertaking special study or investigation of particular problems.⁴⁷

Addressing the Shillong Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration on 26 April 1960, A. K. Chanda described the functions of the Prime Minister as follows :

"Obviously the functions of the Prime Minister could hardly be susceptible of precise definition. As the elected leader of the party which commands a parliamentary majority, and responsible for selecting his colleagues, his functions are comprehensive and his discretion on many vital matters unfettered. He determines the size and composition of the Cabinet, the allocation of portfolios, the constitution, authority and functions of standing and *ad hoc* committees of the Cabinet; he takes final decisions when two or more Ministers are in disagreement, except on major questions of policy, and his approval is necessary before any question can be brought before the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is for this reason regarded as the fount of authority and the final arbiter of policy. The extent to which he exercises those functions on his own naturally depends largely on his personality and standing in the party and the country."⁴⁸

Council of Minister

The Cabinet formed on 15 August 1947, immediately on transfer of power was composed of Prime Minister, a Deputy Prime Minister and twelve other ministers. Shortly thereafter, a Minister without Portfolio was added to the Council. Three Ministers of State and two Deputy Minis-

ters were appointed in the second half of 1948.⁴⁹ The present strength of the Council of Ministers is 53. There are three categories of Ministers, 16 Ministers of the Cabinet, 18 Ministers of State, and 19 Deputy Ministers. There is no mention of the term "Cabinet" in the Constitution but 16 Ministers of the Cabinet form the nucleus of the Council of Ministers.⁵⁰ The personal power of the Prime Minister has varied from person to person. Jawaharlal Nehru wielded much more power than both his successors, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. There appears thus to be no necessity of imposing any constitutional limitations on his powers.⁵¹

Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the Minister without portfolio, was the first to be charged with the responsibility of formulating proposals for the reorganization of the machinery of government. He considered it desirable to outline the future structure of the Council of Ministers defining the responsibilities and status of the three categories of Ministers. He proposed that the Council should formally include all the three categories, though effective authority would be exercised by the Cabinet component of the Council alone.⁵² His proposals in respect of the size and categories of Ministers and definition of their functions were put in cold storage by the Government as these things could not be regulated rigidly by rules.⁵³ It was left for the Cabinet Minister to make such use of the Deputy Minister as he liked.⁵⁴ According to Asok Chanda, the use of

the Deputy Minister depends on two factors—the personal equation between the Minister and his deputy and the measure of confidence which the Minister is prepared to give him. It is suggested that a Deputy Minister should be appointed with prior consultation of the Cabinet Minister with whom he has to work and on considerations other than those of political service.⁵⁵ The relations between a Deputy Minister and Permanent Secretary should also be defined. The Deputy Minister is not between the Cabinet Minister and the Permanent Secretary but is 'a political neophyte' to be aided, advised and initiated into the mysteries of administration by the Permanent Secretary.⁵⁶

Right from the second half of 1948, the three categories of Ministers have come to stay. The change in the classification of Ministers in May 1952 when Ministers of State were raised to Ministers of State of Cabinet rank proved to be short-lived and finally the position reverted to that of the second half of 1948.⁵⁷ This classification of members of the Council of Ministers has in itself two evil effects. First, it introduces the principle of hierarchy which brings with itself a lot of bitterness. Second, it tends to increase the size of the Council of Ministers which means a further burden on the taxpayer.

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stressed that the administration of the country is to be placed on a war-footing to give it a singleness of purpose to combat poverty and unemployment and to

undertake extensive programmes of industrial and social developments in order to raise the standard of national life. On this consideration alone, the possibility of limiting the size of the Cabinet, without in any way limiting the Prime Minister's discretion, should now to be explored. The flexible system of government in committees, if worked properly and extensively, should facilitate quick disposal of business and the reconciliation of divergence of views and afford yet another justification for a small Cabinet.

The case for a small Cabinet is based on several grounds as follows :

1. On the grounds of economy, India is a vast country but has limited resources. It has many problems but two of the most important problems are those of defence and development. These would need enormous resources. It is, therefore, desirable that the administrative machinery must not be too heavy lest it consume the better part of resources. If establishment expenses are too heavy very little amount is left for defence and development.

2. Most of the departmental work is being done by the Permanent Secretaries and Ministers are merely signing machines. The greatest complaint of the minister is that he has to do a lot of paper work. File work takes the best part of his time. If the minister could be relieved of all routine paper work and he be only consulted on major issues of the department it is not difficult for him to attend to the work of several departments keeping the principle of span of attention in mind. All decisions within the Ministry should be decentralized and there should be seve-

ral levels of decision-making. The Minister in this situation can attend to all important matters concerning a number of allied departments without being over-worked.

3. A rational classification of departments would reduce the number of Ministries. At present the classification of departments is not rational because personal considerations have to be taken into the account and the result is that even allied departments have to be dispersed. Dissidence within the ruling party adds to this problem. If personal considerations could be kept aside, and classification of departments within Ministries rationalised, the result would be a rational composition of the Council of Ministers.

A Council of Ministers would thus be a smaller one. This small Council can meet as often as it likes. Even in emergency such a small Council of Ministers would be able to meet at short notice and take decisions expeditiously. This plan is a little different from the plans of L. S. Amery and Winston Churchill. Amery distinguished between two kinds of ministers—non-departmental ministers and departmental Ministers. He visualized a Cabinet of half a dozen supervising, non-departmental ministers meeting to deal with current administrative questions by bringing into its discussions the departmental ministers directly affected. Churchill visualized a number of over-lords who would be in the position of Super-ministers, free from day to day departmental responsibility but able to meet under the Prime Minister and take all vital decisions for the Government. Under this plan there

were to be junior ministers incharge of the various departmental activities. Herbert Morrison substitutes the co-ordinating minister for the supervising minister as the idea of supervising minister imperils an essential of the British Constitution.⁵⁸ In the above plan there is neither place for non-departmental Ministers, nor for overlords, nor Super-Ministers, nor for Co-ordinating Ministers. The size of the Council of Ministers is reduced from 53 to 7.⁵⁹ The Plan has a scientific basis. All administrative work is divisible into two parts—policy formulation and policy execution. The seven man Ministry can thus look to policy formulation for the Government and policy execution can be left to the Permanent Secretaries of Ministries or Departments.⁶⁰

Not only the size of the Council of Ministers has to be cut down but expenditure on them has to be drastically reduced. There is no necessity to emulate the amenities that are available to ministers in Europe or America. Our resources are limited while there is affluence abroad. A statement released by the CPWD showed that 12 of the 14 Cabinet Ministers of State had CPWD furniture and electrical appliances worth more than Rs 30,000. This would completely off-set the economy made by reducing the number of Ministers. It is suggested that all ministers be made to pay for all conveniences that they receive on behalf of the state. This would result in considerable relief to the state exchequer. Other economy measures include travel by senior officials without their staff, the lowering of rate of incidentals in respect of internal travel by Rs 10 and reduction in expenditure on con-

ferences and committees. 10 per cent cut in the over-time allowance of lower grade central employees is to result in the saving of Rs 3.5 lakhs but a grant of Rs 18 lakhs to IAS and IPS officers by way of increase in their salaries seems to prove that the Government is following the proverbial policy of "penny wise, pound foolish."⁶¹

Cabinet Committees

Gopalaswami Ayyangar who was the first to study the constitution of committees, proposed a more fundamental change in the structure and relation of the Ministries in place of committees of the Cabinet for purposes of co-ordination. He suggested that allied departments should be brought together in a relatively small number of stable groups with machinery within the groups for financial and administrative co-ordination and also for bringing about a measure of preliminary integration of policies and plans.⁶² The plan was, however, dropped because of its complications.⁶³ It is now suggested that re-organization of the system of government should be buttressed by Cabinet Committees.⁶⁴ At present, the Cabinet committees are : the Emergency Committee, Legal and Parliamentary Committee and Appointments Committee.⁶⁵ The Cabinet committees may continue to be formed but the membership need not be confined to the members of the Council of Ministers whose number is to be seven. K. Santhanam in an analytical study of "Political Responsibility" has suggested constitution of Committees of Parliament. According to him "the only way in which Parliament and legislatures can effectively influence and control the government is to set up standing committees for each

department. All legislation and new projects relating to any department should be placed before the standing committee and obtain its approval before it can be placed before Parliament or implemented by the government. Where the legislature is bicameral the standing committees may be composed of the members of both Houses. The Opposition groups⁶⁷ should be given substantial representation, say, not less than one thirds."

MINISTERS AND DEPARTMENTS—

At present, there are 20 Ministries and 28 Departments within the Government.⁶⁸ Re-allocation of business in new Union Ministries has taken place under the re-organized Indira Cabinet. Subjects relating to insurance have been allotted to the Department of Revenue in the Finance Ministry which has been renamed as the Department of Revenue and Insurance. Another important change is the transfer from the Health Ministry to the Ministry of Works and Housing of certain town-planning and development activities.

The Housing and Works Ministry has been re-designated as the Ministry of Works Housing and Urban Development.⁶⁹ The Bureau of Public Enterprises under the Department of Co-ordination in the Finance Ministry has been transferred to the Department of Cabinet Affairs in the Cabinet Secretariat.⁷⁰ Subjects relating to village industries, including khadi, handicrafts and Ambar Charkha, hitherto under the Department of Social Security have been transferred to the Ministry of Commerce. The administration of bal-bhawans and children's

museums, at present under the social security department, has been shifted to the Education Ministry. The Social Security Department has been, re-designated as the Department of Social Welfare.⁷¹ The Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Ministry of transport have been merged into Ministry of Transport and Aviation, with two departments, namely the Department of Aviation and the Department of Transport, Shipping and Tourism.⁷² The Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation have been merged into a single Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation. The Ministry of Health has been re-designated as the Ministry of Health and Family Planning with two departments of Health and Family Planning. The Ministry of Industry and Supply (hitherto with two departments) has been constituted into two Ministries—Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Supply and Technical Development.⁷³ The Ministry of Rehabilitation ceases to exist. A new Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation has been constituted with two departments, namely, the Department of Labour and Employment and Department of Rehabilitation.⁷⁴ The two departments under the Ministry of Steel and Mines, namely, the Department of Iron and Steel and the Department of Mines and Metals, have been constituted into two separate Ministries namely, the Ministry of Iron and Steel and the Ministry of Mines and Metals.⁷⁵

The Hindustan Times commented on this re-allocation of business as follows:

"Most of the changes announced in Delhi on Tuesday in the allocation of business to Ministries will be welcomed, though there were expectations that Mrs. Gandhi might attempt a more thorough-going organization of her Government on functional lines."⁷⁶ The paper added. "These changes emphasize that in the complicated process of ministry-making the rational grouping of functions is not the only consideration. Other factors such as the political standing of Ministers, their personal predilections, their availability for parliamentary duties in either House their regional or linguistic background and so on have to be balanced."⁷⁷

Asok Chanda suggested another plan of re organization of Departments. According to him "Co-ordination can be secured if the portfolios (other than Home, Defence, External Affairs, Finance, Information and Broadcasting and Law) are integrated into five ministries; Food and Agriculture; Industries and Power; Commerce and Supply; Transport and Social Services. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture should have four Departments of Food, Agriculture, Irrigation, Community Development and Co-operation; Industry and Power should have Departments of Industries, Mines and Power, Petroleum and Chemicals and Technical Development. Supply and Commerce should have the two Departments its name indicates. Transport should have Departments of Railways, Transport and Communications (including Civil Aviation). The fifth re-organized Ministry of Social Services should have Departments of Education, Health and Labour. The present Ministry of Works, Housing and Rehabilita-

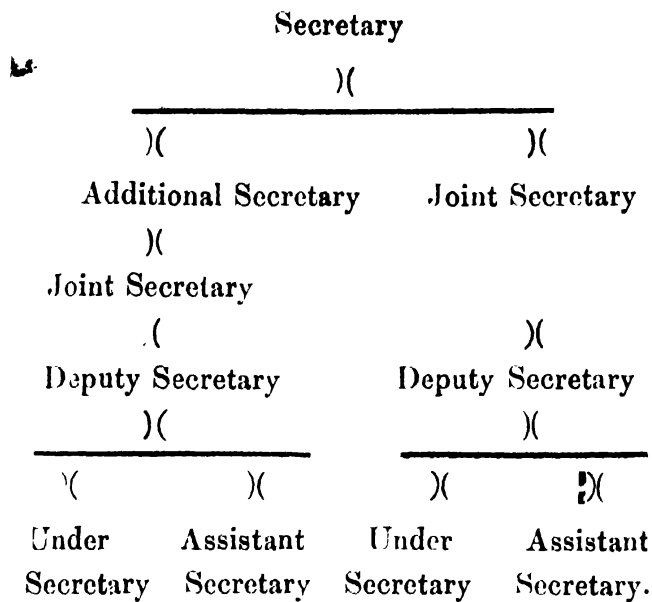
tion should also be conveniently placed under this ministry as Departments."⁷⁸

It would be advisable to constitute six ministries—two ministries of General Administration and Social Services and each under a Minister of State but under the overall charge of the Prime Minister and four other Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence Planning and Economic Development and Communications under a separate Cabinet Minister. A detailed analysis of the Ministries has been given already. The suggestion that the rigid boundaries between the Union Ministries should be pulled down and a team spirit created in administration needs be implemented without delay.⁷⁹

SECRETARIES

T. T. Krishnamachari, the erstwhile Finance Minister, admitted that there were as many as 48 secretaries and special secretaries at the Centre on 1 October, 1965, as against 18 on 1 November, 1957. There are 20 additional secretaries as on 1 October, 1965 as against only 10 on 1 November, 1947, 115 Joint secretaries as against 34, 235 deputy secretaries as against 70, and 426 as against 167 under secretaries. These figures exclude ex-officio posts, but not equivalent posts.⁸⁰ The number of officers in each Ministry in the rank of under-secretary and above has swelled to incredible proportions. It may be argued in favour of the normal increase that the central responsibilities have vastly increased. Even so, there is no justification for so vast an increase.⁸¹

The vertical expansion of the officer cadre in 1946 was as follows:⁸²



Gopalaswami Ayyangar proposed that each department should constitute a clearly manageable charge of one Secretary, and the responsibility of the Secretary as the head of the department should be complete and undivided. As a consequence he suggested the abolition of the post of additional secretaries as well of joint secretaries except where they were indispensably necessary. He, however, made a distinction between a secretary holding a charge of a big department and one holding charge of a small department. He equated the Secretary of a small department with the Joint Secretary of a big department. He opposed the insertion of joint or additional secretary between the secretary and his deputy in a department as *prima facie* an unsatisfactory arrangement.⁸³

Asok Chanda also felt that creation of joint or additional secretary post was an unsatisfactory arrangement, as the secretary was not there by formally relieved of his *de jure* responsibility, while *de facto* responsibility was entrusted to another officer.⁸⁴ Ayyangar's proposal for constituting depart-

ments, each homogeneous in function and a manageable charge for a secretary was formally accepted in 1950 but nothing was done to implement it.

Asok Chanda conceded that a distinction was necessary between a secretary of a big and a small department but according to him a more logical plan would be to place each Ministry under the charge of a secretary largely unencumbered with departmental work and an additional Secretary in charge of the departments included in a Ministry. Where the department itself was synonymous with a Ministry, the secretary should have the assistance of joint secretaries, where necessary.⁸⁵ Despite the suggestion of Gopalaswami Ayyangar of one secretary for one department and of Asok Chanda for one secretary for one Department-Ministry and for one secretary for one Ministry and an additional secretary for each department the original concept of hierarchy has been disturbed by the introduction of secretaries with fresh nomenclatures i.e. special secretaries, additional secretaries and secretary generals.⁸⁶

There is need of compact Ministries combining under the direction of one secretary all the related departments.⁸⁷ If this pattern is followed then the demand for number of secretaries at the Union level at the present organizational pattern would come down to 28 for Ministries/Departments. 1 for Cabinet Secretariat, 1 for President's Secretariat, 1 for Prime Minister's Secretariat and 1 for Planning Commission. The total number of secretaries necessary would be 32. Compared with the strength of secretaries, additional secretaries and joint secretaries total of 48+20—

115=183 on October 1965.⁸⁸ In the category of secretaries alone there would be saving of $183-32=151$ posts. Joint secretaries required would be 48. If this figure is deducted⁸⁹ from 151, then there would be a surplus of 103 posts. If officer-oriented procedure is adopted the number of deputy secretaries and under-secretaries required would be 40 and 120 for Central Government Ministeries and 56 deputy secretaries and 168 under-secretaries for 28 departments of the Central Government. In all the number of deputy secretaries and under secretaries required to clear the work of the Central Government would be 96 deputy secretaries and 288 under secretaries against the present strength of 235 deputy secretaries and 429 under-secretaries. This would result in a saving of 103 posts of secretaries and 139 posts of deputy secretaries and 141 posts of under secretaries. After deducting the number of assistants and lower division clerks that would be employed in the Central Registry Office, thousands of Assistants and lower division clerks would be rendered surplus to be employed as and when necessary. In addition, the gain in terms of efficiency would be enormous.

Coming to the Central Secretariat Service we find the same proliferation of employees. The present lay out of the Central Secretariat Service is as follows:⁹⁰

Under Secretary
) (
Section Officers (Classes I and II)
) (
Assistants
) (
Clerks (Divisions I and II)

This hierarchy leads to unnecessary delay as every case has to pass through several levels for a decision.⁹¹ In place of this hierarchy, a new cadre to provide for all duties performed by assistants, superintendents and assistant secretaries was proposed in 1944 but was unfortunately rejected.⁹² Asok Chanda has proposed that section officers and assistants should be gradually replaced by officers who would deal with cases direct and dispose of them as far as possible at their own level. A few clerks should be employed to make an orderly arrangement of all relevant papers and may be better remunerated. He suggests the replacement of section officers by a new class of Assistant principals and principals. They should perform duties other than supervisory and should be able to rise to under-secretary level.⁹³ A separate competitive examination should be held to facilitate recruitment.⁹⁴ The category of principal should gradually absorb section officers and assistants under them. This scheme has the advantage of replacing several categories by one category of principal. This would be beneficial in itself. Financially, the scheme may prove to be costlier in the beginning but if five principals replace two superintendents and eight assistants it may prove to be economical in the long run. We may have a more efficient machine at a lower cost. The scheme of merger of grades in one grade of principal proposed by Asok Chanda is worth a trial.

1. "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, p. 29.

2. Ibid, p. 29.
3. Ibid, p. 29.
4. Ibid, p. 30.
5. In the 1952 election there were 3559 members in the electoral college and a total of 6, 16, 913 votes were cast.
6. "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, p. 29.
7. Ibid, p. 38.
8. R. N. Misra, "The President of the Indian Republic", 1965, p. 47.
9. Ibid, p. 47.
10. Quoted by R. N. Misra, "The President of the Indian Republic, 1965, p. 49.
11. Article 77(1), "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, p. 40.
12. Article 77(2), Ibid, p. 40,
13. Article 77(3), Ibid, p. 40.
14. "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, p. 58.
15. Ibid, p. 58.
16. R. N. Misra, "The President of the Indian Republic, 1965, p. 100.
17. Quoted by R. N. Misra, "The President of the Indian Republic", 1965, p. 101.
18. R. N. Misra, "The President of the Indian Republic", 1965, pp.98-108.
19. "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, pp. 190-197.
20. Ibid, p. 191.
20. Ibid, p. 192.
22. Ibid, pp. 195-196.
23. Ibid, pp. 192-195.
24. Ibid. pp. 196-197.
25. "The Constitution of India", 1 March 1963, p. 39.
26. Ibid, p. 39.
27. Quoted by D. N. Banerjee "The Union Executive", in "Aspects of Indian Constitution" (M. G. Gupta ed.), 1956, pp. 165-166.
28. Ibid, p. 167.
29. M. V. Pylee, "Constitutional Government In India", 1960, p. 339.
30. A. K. Gopalan v. The States of Madras, 1950, SCR, p. 92.
31. K. Santhanam, "Parliament and Democratic Principles", in "The Hindustan Times", 5 December 1964. See also Asok Chanda, "Indian Administration, 1958, pp. 73-76,
32. See the views of N. C. Chatterjee, B. N. Rau and G. S. Pathak in "Civic Affairs, Vol, 8, No, 7 (1961), pp. 25-28,
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KARUNA K. NANDI

As the deadline for the 1968 U. S. Presidential election steadily draws near, the attacks on President Lyndon B. Johnson, whose success at the next year's Presidential elections were earlier reckoned as almost a dead certainty, appears to be being stepped up and Johnson himself appears to be increasingly dithering and incapable of any adequate response. U. S. public opinion poll experts seem to ascribe this to the increasing sense of frustration under which Johnson appears to be labouring. The image of a flamboyant and rather cocksure Johnson appears to be steadily losing ground to a rather forlorn and helpless albeit still ambitious Johnson and revealing him for what, in essence, he has always been, a tool in the hands of the Pentagon war-mongers, and of his cabinet.

The two wars that have simultaneously devolved on his shoulders, one a large-scale and never-ending shooting war in a distant land with long lines of communications to be maintained at enormous expense of men, money and materials—all American—and a second and, perhaps, an even more devastating one that he is being compelled to fight on the home front and which appears to have left him, his cabinet, advisers and aides in a state of complete bewilderment and unable to cope with the magnitude and

the immensity of the eruption, the race riots, conflagrating with apparently no immediate or only minor provocation in far and wide parts of the American continent.

The result appears to have been that U.S. public opinion is being steadily alienated from Johnson. A very recent opinion survey discloses that President Johnson has lost public opinion favour, since the end of June this year, by as high a figure as 19 per cent, his 59 per cent favourable June rating has now gone down to only about 40 per cent. A separate Gallup poll carried out at about the same time shows Johnson at, perhaps, his lowest ebb to date. But the actual rating it is apprehended, may be even substantially lower, because these surveys did not include a most sensitive area of American public favour, his call for an over-all 10 per cent surcharge on income tax, in which case, it is almost certain, he would be found to have lost by anything between a further 15 to 20 per cent.

Analysing the recent opinion poll results, the racial crisis by itself appears to have cost Johnson very dearly. In June his rating on these issues—civil rights and race riots—were found to have been 50 per cent favourable; in the present survey this appears to have dropped to an all-time low of approximately 32 per cent (71 per cent whites are

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found to have vigorously disapproved of Johnson's handling of racial problems. So far as the Vietnam war is concerned, the June survey showed a steep decline to just above 50 per cent from an earlier 63 per cent favourable rating; in the present instance the trend appears to have been completely reversed; only 37 per cent think that the President's conduct of the Vietnam problem is legitimate, while 63 per cent think that it is not even going as well as it was—which was not much—six months ago.

It is this atmosphere of despondency and even a sense of bewilderment in the White House, that Johnson's critics have been lashing out at him for with concentrated vigour and fury. But what gave grist to these attacks is the undeniable fact that Vietnam and the race riots were like a canker that have been feeding on one another and were thus being mutually sustained and nourished. This was brought out in sharp focus by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Senator William J. Fulbright in course of a public address in Honolulu, when he was reported to have sneeringly observed President Johnson's "Great Society has become a sick society. Each war", Senator Fulbright went on to elaborate, "feeds on the other and, although, the President assures us that we have the resources to win both wars, in fact, we are not winning either. . . Together, the two wars have set in action a process of deterioration in American Society . . . each of the two crises is heightened by the other." At about the same time Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Republican John Sherman Cooper were taking sharp issues with the White House on the Presidential decree for a 10 per cent income-tax surcharge, the decision to send 15,000 more troops to Vietnam and the refloating of the battleship New Jersey for Vietnam duty. Both very vigorously asked the President to take the issue of the Vietnam war to the U.N. before intensifying it any further.

Incidentally, the tax-surcharge, which was ostensibly called for financing the Vietnam war and which, the White House claimed would evenly distribute the extra burden on all levels of income, has been causing more widespread resent-

ment than, apparently, it was initially expected to do by the White House fiscal advisers. Some eminent fiscal experts have in fact, described this additional tax proposal as a fiscal trickery. Milton Friedman says :

"The 10 per cent surcharge on individual income taxes that President Johnson has proposed is diabolically simple. It sounds as if... it would leave unchanged the degree of graduation in the tax rates. Yet, in fact, it imposes very different burdens on different level of incomes and increases the steepness of the graduation of the tax rates. . .

The proposed extra tax is stated as 10 per cent of present taxes. But you cannot pay any extra tax out of the part of your income that is already mortgaged to pay existing taxes. The extra tax must come out of the rest of your income. The burden it imposes on you is therefore seen most clearly by expressing the extra tax as a percentage of your income after present taxes rather than as a percentage of either your total income or of the taxes you now pay. . ."

Apart from the tax surcharge, Vietnam itself has been in issue in the public criticism of the Government. The conduct of the puppet Ky government which had, reportedly, been harassing the civilian population of the country ament the new President election, there has been causing severe criticism of the U.S. Government's affiliations with it. There was hardly any room for doubt that South Vietnamese Chief of State Nguyen Van Thieu, the military candidate for the presidency and his running mate, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky were using their control of the machinery of Government to sabotage the chances of the civilian candidates for the office, especially that of the most universally respected civilian candidate Tran Von Huong. That these accusations had a great deal of substance was eventually proved when Nguyen Van Thieu was declared by a comfortable majority. This would also seem to prove the accusation that the preceding Vietnam Government were a puppet of the American military junta and their seeming indifference to the corrupt methods employed by the Government party to re-win at the elections were being carried on with

virtual American support and encouragement.

In fact, there was evidence that public support for the President's war policy was being steadily replaced by doubts and criticisms even among a large majority of those who have been its staunch supporters. The Republicans who have been very staunch in their support of the President's Vietnam policy have been considering if the *Gulf of Tonkin* resolution, which the President regularly claimed was his authority for prosecuting the war, did not "require modification in the light of changing political and military conditions and whether alternative legislative action was not necessary."

So far as the South Vietnamese elections were concerned, they were even most forcefully denounced as a "fraud and a farce". Democrats Stuart Symington and John A. Pastore, both one time staunch supporters of Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy thought that "if these elections turn out to be what it begins to look as if they will be—namely, a farce. . . This Administration might as well face up to that result in a major fashion. Thus Johnson's odd supporters were seemingly deserting him, his enemies were growing bolder and his hold on the Congress slipping. He has, no doubt, rebounded surprisingly in the past, but this time he appears to have lost more ground than ever before which it may not be easy, may even be impossible to substantially regain.

This, so far as the U.S.A. is concerned, may not, altogether, be a bad prospect for the nation. There seems hardly any doubt of the need to free the Administration from the hold that the Pentagon and the war-oriented Johnson cabinet appear to have been wielding upon his decisions and actions. The ineptitudes of the Administration in handling purposefully and successfully the race question may also be in large measure ascribed to the biases and prejudices of his cabinet in whose hands, it appears, he has been a tool rather than the leader initiating policies and action.

1 *Fresh Dialogue With China and Pakistan ?*

A very short while before he resigned his office in the Union Government, Foreign Minister M. C. Chagla appeared to have been ready for a

fresh dialogue with China and Pakistan. In fact he was reported to have publicly said so and to suggest that if the countries concerned were prepared to accept his feeler in this behalf, it should not be impossible to seek reconciliation of seemingly irreconcilable outstanding differences and disputes between these countries and India at a conference table.

It had not been made clear in the then External Affairs Minister's statement if such a pronouncement on his part was impored by any suggestion indicating relaxation of the usually aggressive tones that have been known to mark the attitudes of these countries towards India. Judging from events, recent as well as past, there did not seem to be any ground whatever to expect that any change in the outlook of these countries so far, at least, as their relations with India were concerned, was likely to undergo any vital change in the directions of conciliation in the immediate or even in the distant future unless, of course, Mr. Chagla had some off-the-record feelers conveyed to him by the other sides of which the country and the public know nothing about. In the absence of such a possible feeler, one is wholly at a loss to understand what might have been the occasion or the reason for the expression of such generous sentiments by our the then External Affairs Minister.

As far as China was concerned, her relations not merely with India but also with the rest of the world except those few who are her direct satellites, have been steadily assuming an increasing measure of belligerence. Indeed, even with countries with which she maintains diplomatic exchanges, China's conduct has been assuming a character which is not merely contrary to all accepted standards of international behaviour and the rules of protocol, but even far below all standards of normal civilized behaviour. Attacks by violent mobs, apparently with the encouragement of the constituted authority, upon foreign legations in Peking and even physical assault of their diplomatic personnel including, in certain cases, violent assaults upon the resident Minister Plenipotentiary have become matters of almost daily occurrence. The dignitaries of the Indian

mission have of course been subjected to repeated insults and indignities and let alone offering reparations as any other civilized government would be bound to do. Peking has never had the grace of even offering to apologize. Representatives of other countries have also been known to being subjected to similar indignities—one of the latest being the reportedly savage attack upon the British mission in Peking. It is amazing that such things are allowed to happen in a country which lays claims to being the seat of one of the most ancient and highly developed civilizations of the earth. It may seem even more amazing as well as frustrating that there is apparently nothing that the victim countries can do to compel more civilized behaviour by the host country. That diplomatic exchanges are still being maintained with a country whose callous indifference to all norms of civilized behaviour has already earned world-wide notoriety, would seem to bespeak the extreme patience and forbearance of the injured countries.

As far as Pakistan and her relations with India are concerned, she would seem to have been emulating the example of her newly discovered bosom friend with a great deal of gusto. One of the latest example of such behaviour has been the beating up, detention and eventual expulsion of two members of the Indian consular mission on a trumped up and patently untrue charge of espionage against the host country. This she has been doing all too frequently, while her own diplomatic staff in India have, on more than one occasion, been apprehended in the actual physical act of espionage against the host country.

Nevertheless, India will welcome re-establishment of cordial and normal relations with both China and Pakistan on a mutual exchange basis. But it takes two to make a bargain, even as it takes mutual good will and a preference for cordiality to violence to lead one to a conference table at which differences may be frankly discussed and ironed out into understanding and reconciliation. The climate for such possible exchanges between India on the one side and with Pakistan and China on the other would, however, seem to be heavily overcast. China's armed forces

on her northern boundaries (currently across the Sikkim borders) are constantly being reinforced and replaced. Pakistan, apart from constant armed incursions into Indian territory at several points on the long Indo-Pakistani boundaries has been arming herself afresh to the very teeth with modern armaments and equipments a great deal of which have been surreptitiously smuggled into the country through intermediary countries to whom these military hardware were supposed to have been consigned. Where, then, was the occasion for the kind of wishful offers that our the then External Affairs Minister had made to these countries presumably with the knowledge and approval of the Prime Minister?

The Government of India must realise once and for all that insidious enemies like China and Pakistan who, apart from open belligerence also seek to attack the country through their Indian agents and quislings, cannot be dealt with by offering them the olive branch. It has been done all too often in the past and has only borne bitter fruit. Strong measures are the only language these people seem to understand and appreciate,—appeasement, on the contrary, to further stimulate their lust and their greed. Appeasement, under whatever disguise it might seek to operate, is an unmistakable sign of self-confessed weakness and *weakness is a sin* which can only ask to be trampled upon by the strong. If India desires an end of present hostilities of China and Pakistan, she must gather the resources to talk to them in the language of strength, not reconciliation.

The World Food Crisis

Dire notes of warning are being currently sounded by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation for some time that "the world food situation has now entered a critical stage in which the primary concern of the world community will be to avoid famine in some of the densely populated areas of the globe." It was originally apprehended that the relative rates of food production and population growth would lead the world to enter upon such a critical stage during the mid-seventies or early-eighties of the

present century. There would, thus, be a period of some eighteen to twenty years intervening between the arrival of such a critical phase and now, during which to reverse the trends of population and food curves by making a concerted attack upon the problems of hunger and malnutrition. But, according to a recent pronouncement by the Director General of the Food and Agricultural Organization, it is "now abundantly clear that the crisis has descended (on us) even before the decade of the sixties has ended."

Food production, it is estimated, in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has failed to keep pace with the population growth in these regions. In 1965-66 the rate of food production is estimated to have actually declined by 1.5 per cent. Some 60 odd countries, representing approximately a third of the total human race, and who have attained political independence since 1945, have their economies at various stages of development: but almost all of these countries have been caught up in the same vicious circle: agriculture burdened by pressures of population; industries once geared to external trade, now left without any internal market. In addition money needed for fertilizers, irrigation, agricultural credits is being deployed to the making of armaments and missiles; poor nations whose resources should have been mainly concentrated upon efforts towards agricultural sufficiency are found to squander a great part of their scant and scarce resources upon a phase of modern industrialization on a scale and of a nature which should have followed, not preceded a stage of full employment in the community. In the result, more than half of mankind remains malnourished. The aim should be to push the entire complex of economic and social measures to a point of coordinated effort where they begin to make the processes of both production and distribution adequate for the needs of society.

How to achieve these ends? Obviously one factor of prime importance is to push up the rate of increase of food production to something like double the current rate of annual increase in this field of endeavour and to sustain it at that level for a number of years. Only at such stage could

agricultural development be made self-generating. At the same time the food production-capacity of the advanced countries should be fully utilized—there is evidence there is ample surplus but unexploited capacity in these areas—and should be available for meeting current shortages. In addition, new sources of food production should be vigorously explored and exploited to enhance total world availability. The resources of the seas which cover approximately 71 per cent of the globe's surface, but which contribute at present less than 2 per cent of the world's food resources, might prove to be a very valuable repository in this connection. This would call for a very important measure of change in the world's traditional food habits, but that should not deter effort in this direction.

Hand in hand with measures for increasing the world's food production, the importance of efforts towards limiting the growth of population should also be realized and purposefully pursued. This would appear to be especially pertinent to low-income countries where the rate of population growth is substantially higher than in advanced countries. The pursuit of family planning measures in these regions is of immense importance, but a main obstacle in the way of successful limitation of population growth is the established fact that while in advanced countries where the average protein content of the people's food is high, population growth rates automatically and spontaneously tend to decline, induced family planning measures even while pursued on a large scale have had little or only microscopic effect upon the rate of population growth in areas where the poverty of the masses has been preventing the induction of higher protein contents in the people's daily food intake. The problem of population growth and poverty would seem to be inter-related, almost caught up in a vicious circle as it were and it is necessary to find ways and means to break the circle before any substantial progress in dealing with the oncoming food crisis can be expected to be achieved. The resources of modern science and technology should, obviously, be concentrated upon dealing with the challenge of this apparently insuperable problem.

Let us look at our traditional food crop and the problems they pose. Rice is one of the most important food crops of the world, supplying as it does approximately 75 per cent of the gross food intake of more than half the world's population. A ton of rice meets the barest requirements of only about 10 persons in a year. To supply the minimum needs of the rice-eating population of the earth some 2,800 million tons of rice would be required. In addition some more would be required to not merely cover the needs of the steeply growing population, but also to provide a reservoir against crop failures which are a normal hazard of rice cultivation. Monsoon failures in 1965-66 accounted for a steep decline in production. Irrigation may mitigate the effects of a monsoon failure to more or less extent, but it can never completely guard against such a natural calamity. The only answer is to develop rice production on a global scale than hitherto. Rice is basically a subsistence crop; less than 5 per cent of the world crop crosses national boundaries and more than half never leaves the farm where it is produced. In large areas of the underdeveloped world there are insuperable disincentives against the effort to produce a surplus crop. It is necessary to remove these sources of discouragement. Increased incentives would also help in the reclamation of suitable but undeveloped rice growing land. There is plenty of such land available in most underdeveloped regions and experience has shown that the result is generally more than commensurate with the effort and the capital expenditure required for such reclamation of land. Rice cultivation in the swamps of Africa has yielded results which have been most encouraging. Limited use of technology—such as may be within the reach of the inadequate resources of most rice cultivating countries—could be explored with encouraging results. The difference between regions where the use of advanced technology and improved varieties of seedgrains have been put to use and where the average per acre yield has been as high as 1,500 lbs., against 1,500 lbs., or even less where they have not been used, would indicate the potentials of such a possible breakthrough.

Similar results have likewise been achieved with the cultivation and production of wheat. Even in the irrigated canal areas of the Punjab—both those portions within Indian territory and those falling to Pakistan's share—the per acre yield of wheat has been substantially higher than elsewhere in the Indian continent. With other food cereals also improved methods of cultivation and irrigation, use of improved varieties of seed grains etc., would be bound to yield comparably encouraging results. What is required is an imaginative and determined handling of the problems associated with the production of food crops by the Governments of the countries concerned; not just paper programmes and projects calling for investment of millions and millions of capital resources which these countries cannot afford and simply have not, but practical and practicable application of resources to programmes suited to the inadequate facilities available and which cannot be expanded overnight.

Alongside of the agricultural contents of the peoples' food, supplemental food resources require to be explored and exploited with vigour and determination. Animal husbandry and pisciculture are in a poor state of stagnation in most underdeveloped regions of the world; and yet they could supply a great proportion of the minimum protein requirements for the people's nourishment. Some underdeveloped countries like India have laid down a measure of elaborate organizations for dealing with such items of food development but unfortunately callous measures of waste of capital resources, resources of skill and materials has marked all effort in these directions and little or no advance has generally been registered.

It must be realised that food, a world problem, has to be solved mainly on an individual basis by every individual country mainly; only a little of it can yield to coordinated international treatment. Imaginative handling of the matter, however, is lacking in most such areas.

Johnson's Income Tax Surcharge

President Lyndon B. Johnson's proposal for a 10 per cent surcharge on the American income

tax system, to which a passing reference has been made earlier in these columns, is not merely likely to affect his poll popularity at next year's Presidential election in the U.S.A., but would be bound to face very stiff opposition. For one thing, the opposition argues that the Administration's claim that the surcharge would be evenly distributed at all levels of income, is not justified. The surcharge, in fact, would lay different burdens at different levels of income when the effect of the tax is assessed on the net income levels after deducting current taxes which will be comparatively nominal at the lowest slabs of incomes and quite steep at the higher reaches of them.

Secondly,—and this is nationally far more important,—it is apprehended that the tax surcharge would be bound to stimulate the forces of recession as it would be taking away much of the incentives that were provided by the 1961 tax concessions. On this, the Administration claims that the Federal budget deficit of some 23 to 30 billion dollars would generate substantial inflationary pressures among other evils. The Administration expected to cut civilian spending by some 2 billion dollars below current projections as a partly corrective measure. But that was obviously not enough. For, as a result of the residual deficit, which would still be very large, *excessive economic advance* and its concomittant inflationary impact would be bound to be very heavy and it was necessary to put through measures to restrain such a probable trend in the economy. The proposed tax surcharge, it was argued, was estimated, to serve just such a purpose.

This, however, appears to have left the critics of the tax surcharge proposal wholly unconvinced. They apprehended that such a tax increase would be bound to depress industrial production, correspondingly releasing additional inflationary forces. It was also feared that in such an event—and the probabilities, in their view, were that such a resultant effect would be wholly unavoidable,—unemployment rates would also be bound to correspondingly go up thus releasing further inflationary pressures in the proportion that increases in unemployment incidences would be

bound to adversely affect both the area and the content of effective demand. They were also not convinced about the Administration's vague promises to cut civilian spending which had, in the past 'gone up in smoke' and which, in the form they were currently being presented by the Administration was only "nebulous" at best..

It is clear that the American public have not taken kindly to the proposal for the income tax surcharge inspite of the fact that a Commerce Department report shewed that annual rates of personal incomes had gone up by the very substantial margin of 9 billion dollars in June and July last, which brings the income level during the first seven months of the year to a level 8 per cent above that prevailing during the corresponding period of the previous year. Corporate profits were also shewn, in that report, to have marginally risen after an immediately preceding six-month decline, and industrial output also had risen for the first time during the half year.

All these facts, nevertheless, were ineffective in arresting the rising trend of opposition to the proposed measure and some forecasters predict that even if it is passed, it will not be earlier than the beginning of the new year when it could be effective upon individual incomes and certainly not earlier than about this time next year so far as corporate taxes were concerned. Some even have gone to the length of predicting that it may never pass the legislature.

One of the admitted causes for the tax rise is, of course, the mounting cost of the Vietnam War. The fact that the War has assumed proportions which is far beyond what was originally envisioned for the engagement even a year ago and the far more important fact that no one can see its end in sight within any foreseeable time, appears to have created grave doubts in the mind of the average American public as to the very wisdom of U.S. involvement in this which they are in an increasingly pessimistic mood to denounce was not America's war at all. The recent widening of the area of bombing operations by the U.S. forces upon the former excluded regions of North Vietnam is seen by many Americans as an index

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of the increasing desperation of U.S. military operations there.

So far as the outside world is concerned, the proposed tax surcharge may have an impact which may not be very palatable to many of the underdeveloped aid receiving countries. Already, the Senate Appropriations Committee have slashed the President's foreign aid recommendations by a 100 million dollars and it is likely that there may be further cuts eventually in aid finance. This, it was made clear by the House Appropriations Committee, was made necessary by the new tax proposals. Such and cuts by the U.S. would be bound to affect the resources of the IDA and aid consortium's funds. India and Pakistan would be likely to be most closely affected for India and Pakistan together have so far been receiving very nearly 70 per cent of the credits to underdeveloped countries and account for a corresponding 70 per cent of the population of the countries receiving IDA credits.

Apart from the Senate aid cuts correspondingly affecting U.S.A's contributions to the IDA, IMF and the Aid Consortium and the corresponding reduction in the gross volume of credits to the Consortium aid funds which would be likely to flow as a result, the attitude on aid to India and those underdeveloped countries which are currently being compelled to step up their defence budgets as a measure of essential self-defence, some powerful members of the U.S. Senate also do not seem to be very favourable. One prominent Senator was recently reported to have frankly recommended that "aid recipients who are making excessive defence spendings" should be punished through aid cuts. In fact an amendment to the aid proposal sponsored by this Senator has already passed the Senate as we write, "instructing the President to assess whether a country's defence spending level interferes with economic development or promotes an arms race." Although it is not obligatory for the White House to take this injunction quite literally, it is not very likely that the U.S. President would prefer to sustain his aid commitments to India and other underdeveloped countries, in spite of the fact that most of such increased defence spendings by these

countries have been thrust upon them by the exigencies of the worsening international situation; by India especially on account of the continuing Chinese threats upon her northern boundaries and the massive re-armament programme that is being carried out by Pakistan, presumably with U.S. approval and a fairly massive measure of arms grants from the latter.

However, the prospects of aid during the current fiscal year has already become bleaker than it was earlier in the year and, so far as India is concerned, it is very likely that during the years ahead corresponding with the Fourth Five year Plan, it will progressively become ever bleaker in the future.

Prospects of Peace in the Middle East

A measure of expectation appeared to have been generated in favour of possibly practical plans for the restoration of peace in the Middle East and a somewhat satisfactory settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, when President Tito went out on his peace mission to the Arab world. His efforts in this direction have, however, been described by a noted foreign periodical as like those of a travelling salesman trying to sell an unpopular brand of whisky who has had the door slammed on his face at every stop. There is no doubt that he was received by the host countries, especially, Egypt, with hearty cordiality and a great fanfare of welcome, but when it came to actually selling his peace proposal there did not seem to be any buyers among his friends of the Arab world.

The extent of the failure of his mission would be indexed by the fact that within the first few hours of President Tito's initial meetings with Nasser in Cairo, the former's secretariat in Belgrade were already issuing denials that the President had ever intended to press any peace proposal. Before his departure from Belgrade, however, President Tito had himself spelled out his peace formula: Israel's withdrawal from territories she had over-run during the June war in exchange for international guarantees of Israel's frontiers and an end to Arab belligerency. Nasser's response to this was reported to have been evasive; he was

prepared to buy it provided Tito were able to sell it to the less temperate leaders of Iraq and Syria. Syrian President Nureddin Attassi was reported to have reacted sharply,—very sharply indeed,—as if the President had proposed inducting Moshe Dayan into the Syrian cabinet. He had, however, a counter proposal to make; that the Communist and non-aligned nations help the Soviets to re-arm Syria, Egypt and Algeria so that they might engage in a "decisive" second round with Israel. Tito's reception in Baghdad did not seem to have been any less belligerent. President Abdel Rahman Arif fed Tito with several schemes to deprive the West of Arab oil. Tito seemed, frankly, to have lost his heart and to confess that the "situation at present is in an impasse."

Israeli reactions to the Tito proposals was no more enthusiastic. Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, was reported to have bluntly said that he wanted no third-party mediation and warned the Arabs that the only alternative to direct peace negotiation between Israel and them was the acceptance of the post-war cease-fire line and the continued occupation (perhaps, also, annexation) of vast tracts of Arab land.

Flushed with their six-day victory and strengthened by the continued support of the

Anglo-American bloc, the Israelis appear determined to hold to an uncompromising line. Although they were reported to have freely permitted Red Cross visits to Egyptian prisoners of war, they sharply turned down U.N. Secretary General, U. Thant's request for permission to send an emissary to Jerusalem to explore possibilities for averting permanent Israeli occupation of the Old City and compelled Thant to compromise at a vague fact finding mission. In the meanwhile Arab refugees are reported to have started re-crossing the Jordan to their homes in Israeli occupied territory, although some were turned back who were considered security risks by the Israelis. Israel frankly thinks that such toughness is necessary to bring home to the Arabs that the war is definitely and finally over and that the only course open to them to enable satisfactory solution of the present stalemate to be arrived at is for them to come to the negotiating table. Unless the Arabs are made to "stew in their own juice" for a while, it will not be possible to bring this realization home to them and to any kind of peace. In the meantime, some Israeli spokesmen are reported to have underlined, they did not want opinionated mediators to further complicate the situation than it already is.



GAGANENDRA NATH TAGORE'S BIRTH CENTENARY

The birth centenary of Gaganendranath Tagore falls on the 18th of September 1907. He was a great grandson of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore. His father Gunendranath Tagore was a first cousin of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. Gunendranath Tagore lived in No. 5 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Jorasanko which adjoined the Poet's house at No. 6 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane. Gunendranath Tagore had three sons, Gaganendranath, Samarendranath and Abanindranath. The youngest Abanindranath attained great fame as the founder of the modern Indian school of miniature painting and for bringing back to life the inspiration that once created the form and style of the cave paintings of Ajanta and Bagh and of the later miniatures painted by generations of artists at Bahsoli, Kangra, Guler, Kissengarh, Bundi, Mewar, Malwa and other centres of art including the Moghul Courts at Delhi and Agra. The eldest brother Gaganendranath was very young when Gunendranath Tagore died and he had to help his widowed mother in the management of the family estates while he was yet a student. He had therefore considerable difficulty in following any line of study or in acquiring training in music or art in a systematic manner. Music, drama and art were a passion with him and he learnt to play the piano, to act and to be a remarkably able decorator. He could lay out and develop beautiful Japanese style gardens with dwarf trees and miniature lakes, fountains, roads

and bridges. In the field of miniature painting he developed, quite unaided an astounding ability to master the essential technique and convention of the different schools of art that appealed to him. There was however a distinctiveness about his way of using a particular style or convention, for he left the mark of his own genius on every thing that he composed. In the earlier days of his life as an artist he was a cartoonist with a flair for turning out satirical pictures of unusual strength, in which he brought into ridicule the social, political and economic habit and behavior of the people and their rulers in order to prove that there should be no place for such evils in a civilised country. He attained considerable fame through his cartoons and was looked upon with disfavour by the almighty British for daring to make slashes at their imperial infallibility. A cartoon depicting the British atrocities at Jaliwanwallabagh displeased the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford so much that he left the Art Exhibition which he had gone to inaugurate, in a fit of temper. Gaganendranath was intimately connected with the Oriental Society of Art which was at that time the centre of activity for all those who wanted to bring back to India her lost cultural excellence. The Tagore brothers and many other well known connoisseurs of art worked for the Society. It published one of the finest journals of art the *Rupam* which acquired international fame within a very short time. The

ancient art of India was studied with an intensive thoroughness by the adherents of the Society and the Ajanta frescoes and Moghul Rajput miniatures became a ready source of inspiration to the young artists who sought guidance from the great revivalists of those days.

Gaganendranath had the ability to discover new form, colour and beauty in things that remained unnoticed by others who saw without seeing. Light and shape come out of apparently dark and undefined corners of creation when this master of aesthetic vision focussed his mind and eyes on things. He could express his inner vision in light and shadow and in lines and colour of such exquisite beauty and grandeur that his pictures stood out quite distinctively as entirely his own. He followed no particular style and those who found in him Impressionism, Post-impressionism, Cubism or a subjectless abstract approach to aesthetic creation were usually right and wrong at the same time. For he was bound by no intellectual dogma nor did he surrender his art to any particular technique and style. Whenever Gaganendranath discovered anything of aesthetic interest in physical nature his deep seeing eye soon broke into all its secret potentials of grandeur light, colour and shape and proceeded to project what he had perceived with a superb clarity of expression. In this work of artistic communication, Gaganendranath was always direct and those who saw his pictures did not have to appreciate their aesthetic significance by reference to any abstruse intellectual formulae. He always preferred clear vision to obscure speculative guesswork and

vague suggestions. He was masterly in his creation of magnificent contrasts. His black and white studies have always been splendid in the forcefulness of their basic form and resembled solid black marble statuary in partial view. In his modified cubistic work he used light effect in a manner suggestive of the converging shafts of illumination emanating from a number of searchlights placed at various angles. Seen in the light of their projected rays, objects appear in sectional array with their visible features sharply enclosed in straight lines. Apart from the limitations thus imposed by the method of focussing light the artist did not unnecessarily indulge in the creation of confusing geometrical patterns just for satisfying the demands of cubistic technique. His aesthetic emotions always found full expression through carefully selected methods. Conventions and styles as such had no appeal for him. Forced reasoning and argumentative approaches found no place in his artistic expression.

The collection of his pictures of the Rabindra Bharati Society, J. C. Bose Institute and Visva Bharati can be seen by the public by arrangement. But they are few in number. Efforts should be made to enlarge these collections and to exhibit the pictures at certain fixed hours. For a better appreciation of the art of Gaganendranath Tagore will doubtless guide our progressive artists into more fruitful channels of aesthetic experience, their work will then perhaps acquire a different character and not break away from Indian traditions in a blatant manner. Of the many pictures that he painted a large number were given to his daughter Sujata Devi who lived in New Park Street

Calcutta towards the end of the British regime in India. The Muslim League of that time were collaborating with the British to prove that Indian Muslims were not Indians in race, language and culture and that they were therefore entitled to form a separate Muslim state by partitioning certain parts of India for this purpose. The British led separatists appointed numerous agents provocateurs to create trouble and in 1946 rioting broke out in Calcutta on a terrifying scale. Thousands were killed and injured by the hired hooligans of the separatists. Numerous houses were plundered and set on fire in the areas where these marauders could outnumber the defenders. Sujata Devi's house was looted and set fire to numerous valuable pictures by Gaganendranath Tagore were stolen or destroyed during that incendiary attack. A few only were recovered later in a half-burnt condition. Many of his pictures have been purchased by foreign art lovers and a good number have found place in private collections in India. *The Modern Review* has published many of his miniature paintings from time to time. There has been no dearth of intelligent appreciation of Gaganendranath Tagore's art in India and in foreign countries. But no coordinated effort has been made so

far by a nationally authorised body to perpetuate his memory and to make his paintings better known to succeeding generations of Indian and foreign students of art. The Pictures that are still preserved in India easily demonstrate the versatile genius of Gaganendranath Tagore. He was a perfect master of miniature painting in a variety of styles. His landscapes are astonishingly beautiful and quite unique in their subtle colour and light effect. His illustrations of certain scenes from the *Mahabharat* are brilliant in conception and grand in execution. *Krishna* consoling the one hundred widows of the *Kuru* Princes after the devastating war of *Kurukshetra* gives the classical theme a creatively modern form of extraordinary strength. There are other portrait studies and pictures which show us the range of the artist's mastery of styles and conventions. Gaganendranath Tagore was one of those artists whose aesthetic insight always guided them to the right path of self-expression, no matter what current fashions dictated. He never painted anything which did not have an emotional background, and that assured the exclusion of calculated abstractions from the list of subjects which he selected for painting.

HOSTILES

There are many types of hostile persons in India. These are hostiles who wish to overthrow government and establish their own sovereignty. There are hostiles who are the secret agents of China and Pakistan and they create an atmosphere of lawlessness in order to keep our Police and army busy in suppressing disorder in numerous places right round the year. Then there are hostiles who just shout, take out processions, held up traffic and occasionally throw bottles or bricks in order to vent their feelings and express their lack of faith in the arrangements now prevailing in society. In the first and second groups are many tribal people who live in the border areas. The other groups mainly consist of persons who are taught to be unruly by their leaders who believe that by creating disorder they are either capturing political power for their own coteries or are bringing about a world revolution.

Whatever may be nature or objective of the hostile groups, they are a source of danger to the State. Some have actually procured arms and are fighting the forces of law and order with arms procured from China or Pakistan. Some have the support of certain Western countries too. These hostiles should be speedily liquidated. Pandit Nehru desired to make settlements with them. Peacefully ; but never succeeded in achieving anything. Mrs. Gandhi is

still carrying on sporadic talks with some persons who perhaps have no control over the actual hostiles. These hostiles therefore must be wiped out by the use of larger forces than are now being used. The tribals can be appeased after this is done and the Law is fully reestablished. The city dwelling hostiles and the peasants who think that they can occupy land by force are relatively less dangerous compared to those who carry on open warfare. But their apparent acceptance of the rules of community life in every way excepting in their abstract faith in a revolution which sporadically takes material shape in hooliganism, makes them good subjects for recruitment as the fifth column of the foreign enemies of India. These people therefore also require to be dispersed or absorbed in normal community life ; but not in a brutal manner. We believe these people can be turned into very useful citizens of India ; and many of them already are so ; with a little attention to progressive expansion of national communication work of the right sort. Most of the people who march in processions do not really belong to any political parties. They march in processions out of a feeling of frustration. When people are very poorly paid or are unemployed, in spite of their willingness to work possession of qualifications to do productive work, frustration is born in the

natural course of things. Such conditions can be changed and efforts should be made to effect such changes. White collar workers, teachers, hospital employees and other educated and trained personnel must be enabled to earn a reasonable living without any delay. Unemployment must also be abolished and steps taken to see that no families have all their earning members without jobs. When we study the activities of the so-called revolution mongers we find they uniformly try to get hold of land or agitate for increased earnings or cheap food. The problem therefore is economic and not political or ideological. A handful of persons who went to bring about revolution are taking advantage of the economic situation and organising people to raise the flag of revolution to remove their material wants. If the material wants are removed by society, these people will naturally remain fitted into their places in the community and the cry of revolution will have few to respond to. The government should make every effort to remove unemployment, increase earnings and improve employer-employee relations. They should also stimulate the production of food materials so that food prices may be brought down quickly and supplies increased to an extent which will automatically break up the black markets in food materials. On an average

if all individuals obtained $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of food grains per week as rations (children under 10 years of age 2 seers) and not 2 kilos and 1 kilo (children under 8) as at present, the black market would be broken up. But our Government some how can never organise this. The people of the country must insist on countrywide rationing at prices which will enable the people to plan a stable standard of living. If the governments cannot achieve this they should resign and let other people handle the affairs of the nation. We have been told that India will grow 95 million tons of food grains this year. If this is True, statutory rationing can be introduced in all places with road connections immediately. Ration cards should be issued to all persons; but a system should also be introduced to make it compulsory for people to hold cards of identity. Linking up cards of identity with ration cards should do away with the evil practice of obtaining false ration cards. It is a job which will require hard, honest and careful work. It should be begun in the large cities immediately and followed up everywhere as early as possible. The present red tape habits must be given up and better and effective methods evolved. For this there must be cooperation between the people and the governments.

DISGUISED UNEMPLOYMENT

VIJAYLAKSHMI K. S.

One of the most distressing aspects of the Indian economy which has been racking the minds of our economists since the day of our independence is a problem peculiar to underdeveloped countries. Our Planners have given much consideration and thought to it since it has an adverse effect on the development aspect of our economy.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Although there is a thin line of demarcation between the two concepts, the problem of unemployment (Keynesian concept) does not as such really present a serious problem in an overpopulated agricultural country like ours. The main problem is one of underemployment (disguised unemployment) or under-utilization of different factors contributing to production. In other words, the problem is not one of volume but degree of employment. Still more fundamentally, the problem is one of output, real income and standard of living.

The concept of disguised unemployment which was brought to light by Mrs. Joan Robinson in her explanation of interior occupations has been viewed differently. Lerner feels that it is workers staying on their pay rolls without exerting their full weight. Whereas U. N. Committee of experts maintain that it is concerned with the surplus number of workers relative to

resources. However, the most precise definitions are these of G. C Mandal that "It is a state of economy when the marginal productivity of labour is zero" "(Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics)" and that it is of Arthur Lewis who says that "it is too many persons on too little land".

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM IN INDIA

The problem of this peculiar type of unemployment creates human life much more burdensome than open unemployment, as it is widely prevalent and national income stands to lose by so many able bodied disguisedly unemployed. On a rough estimate, at the start of IV Plan, the backlog of unemployment in our country is estimated to be at 9 to 10 million. Of areas Sri B. N. Datar had given the following estimation of unemployment in Indian agriculture. Out of the total population of 24.9 crores engaged in agriculture, 28% are earning dependents and the rest are non-earning dependents. S. R. G. Parthasarathy has estimated that disguised unemployment in Indian agriculture may be of the order of all of 11 to 13 millions, this means that near about one third of the working force is unemployed in one way or another in Indian agriculture resulting in lower productivity. Further it is interesting to note that in India, disguised unemployment is of two types: structural and

expansionary ; the former occurs due to the lack of co-operation of factors of production forcing the workers to the substitute sector while the latter is due to mobility towards the urban sector.

Analysing the causes leading to such a situation resulting not only in under-utilisation of labour but also in low productivity, it may be said that the problem is due to low size of holdings, large pressure of population, low capital formation and finally, the operation of the economy at a subsistence level.

Although Schultz and other economists have doubted the possibility of disguised unemployment, it is a sure fact that the Indian economy is faced with a real managing problem. As Yamey draw our attention to the over populated areas of South Eastern Europe and Asia, where the problem is common. This has led to Meier and Baludun's contention that labour is undoubtedly the West wasted resource in under-developed economies. As Coole & Hoover point out "Experts conversant with Indian economy are sure to find a certain degree of disguised unemployment though they may differ in themselves."

ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

The bad effects of the problem are that it reduces the real income per capita, and affects the efficiency of Indian farmer thereby hindering the growth process. In view of this, no doubt the attitude of the Government underwent a great change since the inauguration of planning and various attempts have been made to solve the problem but with very little success.

The measures taken during the First and Second plan periods included expanding employment opportunities, development of cottage industries, consolidation of holdings and improvement of tenancy rights. Whereas during third plan period, rural works programmes were taken up as a useful countrywide measure to augment employment opportunities and the programme of rural industries project was launched to have an overall development of agrobased industries.

But inspite of all these measures, it is interesting to note that our Fourth Plan starts with a backlog of fourteen million unemployed, the fulfilment of which is a matter of anxiety.

MINIMUM OF TAKE-OFF

From the point of view of growth, the situation of our economy is alarming. Because, the minimum that the take-off must accomplish is the elimination of unemployment backlog besides absorbing the additional labour force that emerges as a result of yearly growth of population.

Judged from this, our goal is receding. The achievement of our Plans show that they have done very little to overcome the problem as they mainly aim at absorbing new entrants leaving the existing number of underemployed unchanged or increasing. This is a really sad commentary on the development of the economy.

SUGGESTIONS TO OVERCOME THE PROBLEM

Prof. Hendricks and Wilox have suggested remedies which are more or less similar to those of G. C Mandal which go a long way in providing some solution They are:

1. Increasing the efficiency of the farm.
2. Farm enlargement programme.
3. Provision of alternative employment for displaced agriculturists.

The first can be enforced by giving more incentives to produce and taking away the conservative nature of our farmers. The second remedy lies in the rise of holdings since this would facilitate technical improvements and enhance productivity.

Finally there is a question of providing alternative employment and this is emphasised by most of modern economists as this proves to be a second line of defence to the Indian farmer and enhances the total productivity.

Prof Gadgil recommends social overheads, industrialization, soil conservation programme and stress on animal husbandry to overcome the problem (D. Gadgil: Planning and Economic Policy in India).

His view on industrialization is justified since its expansion would reduce the problem to a great extent. Prof. Nurkse on the other hand holds that control of population is the only method of controlling the problem. No doubt it is true. But as we are more concerned with the problem of growing unemployment it can be said that a lasting solution to this deep rooted malady can be provided only with the rapid progress and industrialization of our economy.



Indian Periodicals

The rioting which has rocked a score of American cities this summer has "come as no surprise. Sociologists and journalists have predicted massive civil disorder if the deep problems of the Negroes were not solved, or at least slightly improved. Even official government reports such as the controversial Monahan Report, have analysed the problem of the urban Negro ghetto, and have made suggestions for reform. Yet, nothing substantial has happened except political rhetoric. And even the speech-making has made things worse, since the Negroes have been led to expect improvement because of the impressive slogans of the Kennedy-Johnson "War on Poverty." It is especially ironic that the very same week that the army was called into the city of Detroit with tanks and armoured cars, the U.S. Senate rejected a proposal which would have allotted the relatively small sum of \$10 million to the eradication of rats in urban slums, a problem which causes suffering to slum dwellers.

The riots which have taken place are political as well as social dynamite. And no section of the country is immune to them. Traditionally quiet cities with only small Negro minorities are as liable to rioting as are the powder kegs of Chicago and New York. The major political outcome of the rioting is likely to be a substantial reactionary swing among the white middle classes in the towns and cities. Whites are simply afraid of the Negro. The slogan of "Black Power" which is much misunderstood in the United States, sends whites to stores to buy guns. The massive television coverage of the rioting has increased the fear. The white "backlash" of the 1964 elections, which was

relatively limited at that time, is likely to become much more important in the crucial elections of 1968. In the last elections, in 1966 Ronald Reagan, the Governor of California and the most important spokesman for the right wing in America, won the election on the basis of a reaction to the Watts rioting and the Berkeley student revolt. "Respectable" elements in California were afraid of both the Negroes and the radical students and voted Reagan to power.

The 1967 summer of unrest will have a much more widespread political impact, and it will be in a similar reactionary and rightist direction. The resentment and fears of the whites will be translated into conservative votes at the polls. President Johnson is in a particularly difficult position at present. He cannot spend the millions of dollars necessary to make a beginning at solving the problems of the Negroes and of the cities because of the Vietnam war, and pressures toward fiscal conservatism by the Republicans in Congress. Yet, he cannot take a strong anti-Negro stand because of his traditional support from the Negroes and the white liberals. As a result, he has been limited to calling for law and order, and promising new programmes which are clearly not going to be implemented.

DILEMMA

In the social sense, the rioting makes a good deal of sense. There are deep conflicts in American society, the most open and serious being the racial situation. For these conflicts to explode into violence is not entirely unexpected. The rioting does indeed dramatize the dilemma

of the Negro in an affluent and white dominated society. It has been said that the standard of living of the Negro is above that of many of the nations of Asia and Africa. But this is not a relevant comparison, since the American Negro sees the affluence, and what is more important, the social mobility which is possible in the broader American society, and this is denied to most Negroes. Yet, in terms of politics the Negro does serious damage by rioting, since almost inevitably more conservative forces will come to power in the United States as a result of the riots.

President Johnson is faced with two major problems over which he has relatively little control—the Vietnam war and the Negro issue and these problems may well bring him to ruin. It seems impossible for the United States to substantially improve its position in Vietnam before the November 1968 selection regardless of the increase in the number of American troops. It

also is impossible to stop the unrest among urban Negroes except by massive programmes of aid to the slums, and this seems beyond the power of the Administration. It would seem likely that a candidate who promised to bring swift victory in Vietnam, if necessary by the use of nuclear weapons, and possibly against mainland China, and who promised to restore "law and order" to the cities, would get a lot of public support.

The rioting of the summer of 1967 is an indication of deep and serious troubles ahead in American politics. The riots symbolise some of the deep social problems inherent in American society, and it is likely that the situation will become much more serious before it improves. And a conservative Administration in Washington could make both the situation in Vietnam and the internal conditions in the United States much more serious.



Foreign Periodicals

HE RAN THE COURSE

Harry Robinson Luce, founder—publisher—editor of the TIME-LIFE Inc. group of Magazines, which in the area of newspaper-magazine publication have rightly earned the appellation “prodigious”, passed away after a very brief spell of indisposition earlier this year of a coronary occlusion at the comparatively early age of 68. Harry Luce and his co-founder and partner who had passed away decades earlier at a very young age, had made an impact upon the business of newspaper publication which can only be described as truly “phenomenal”. The following excerpts lifted from the TIME about the life and work of Harry Robinson Luce should present something of a picture of the dynamic and restless life that made the TIME-LIFE Inc. and continued to inspire and drive it :

At last, after a year of preparations and frustrations, the first issue of TIME, dated March 3 1923, was going to press. Soon after midnight, with Briton Hadden in command, almost the entire editorial staff was transported in three taxis from East 40th Street to the Williams Press at 36th Street and Eleventh Avenue, New York. There, until dawn, we stood around the “stones” (tables) of the composing room. Under Hadden’s direction we wrote new copy to fill holes, we rewrote to cut and to fit, and everyone tried his hand at captions. It was daylight when I got home

and went to sleep. That afternoon, I found an uncut copy of the little magazine in my room. I picked it up and began to turn through its meager 32 pages (including cover) . Half an hour later, I woke up to a surprise : what I had been reading wasn’t bad at all. In fact, it was quite good. Somehow, it all held together, it made sense, it was interesting.

That description of TIME’s birth was the last piece Harry Luce wrote for publication. And his matter-of-fact summary of what he found in the first issue was what might be said about his own life : it held together, it made sense, it was interesting.

Luce’s life was marked by an extraordinary inner consistency. His profound curiosity seems to have been with him from the start. His intellectual style, the way he arrived at ideas and put them in to a process often awesome in its intensity—hardly changed over a career that spanned 45 years. Even what he wrote in college rang no note of dissonance with the utterances of his later life. His deeply felt views about religion, country, freedom and society, though they broadened and became more complex, seemed to be present in microcosm during his childhood.

The son of Presbyterian missionaries, the Rev. Henry Winters Luce and Elizabeth Root Luce, he was born and spent the first 14 years of his life in Shantung, the home province of Confucius. From his parents, he absorbed the Calvinist faith and the love of his homeland that were to influence his whole life. Before he was six, he stood on a stool in the mission

compound and preached a sermon to the assembled amahs and their children. He later said that he could never remember a time when he did not know all about the U.S. Constitution. He first saw the U.S. at the age of seven when his parents came home on furlough. At 15, after several months' wandering around Europe, he returned to attend Hotchkiss. He was one of the most traveled but shiest boys of his age.

ROLLING-EYED GREEKS—At Hotchkiss Luce met Briton Hadden, a fiercely competitive boy from Brooklyn. Hadden became editor of the school Paper; Luce (he tried to shake off the nickname "Chink") took charge of the literary magazine. Both excelled in Greek, and Hadden's fondness for such Homeric epithets as "rolling-eyed Greeks" and "far-daring Apollo" prefigured his later introduction of such bouble adjectives into the young TIME. The two boys did not become close friends until they reached Yale; where Hadden became chairman of the Yale Daily News in his sophomore year. an unusual honor prompted by the call of war for his seniors. Luce joined the News' board. But the war intervened, and both were shipped off to Camp Jackson S.C. as student officer instructors to the draftees then flooding into the ranks.

It was at Camp Jackson that the idea for TIME was born. There Hadden and Luce, emerging from the sheltered and privileged enclaves of Hotchkiss and Yale, met the rank and file of America for the first time and discovered the huge gap between those who kept up with events and those who did not. That set them to thinking about getting news and knowledge to a wide variety of people. One night they took a long walk through the drill ground and the piny woods beyond, alking about "the paper" that they might some day found. As Luce later said: "I thnk it was

in that walk that TIME began. On that night there was formed an organization. Two boys decided to work together".....

The "paper" that they had discussed at Camp Jackson still remained a vague and undefined objective. Luce sailed for England to study history at Oxford; Hadden went to work for the New York World.

A year later, Luce returned from Europe with a mustache, a cane, a pair of spats and two dimes in his pocket. He managed to land a job on the Chicago Daily News as an asslstant to Ben Hecht. Hecht was a raffish columnist (and later a playwright) who used Luce as a legman to supply suggestions and information about such people as snake charmers and blind violinists. Among the paper's reporters and editors, Luce was considered something of a dandy and a dilettante. Dressed to meet his girl, he ran into the managing editor in the elevator one day. The M.E. looked him over head to toe, then said with withering scorn: "Ah, Luce, a journalist, I see." Luce later said: "I have sometimes said to myself that the one thing I was determined to do was to make 'journalist' a good word. And today it is a good word".

WHAT MONEY CANNOT BUY----Luce and Hadden got togther again as reporters for the Baltimore News, but their stay did not last long. They began talking again about "the paper" and finally decided to act. Both 23 they took off for New York with some crude typewritten dummy sheets for a newsmagazine. Setting up shop in an old remodeled house on East 17th Street, they began to write a prospectus. Luce later recalled that going home one night on the subway "my half-glazed stare fell on an advertisement with the headline, TIME To Retire, or Time For A Change. I remember the name "Time' occurring to me."

It stayed with me overnight, and when I went in next morning, I suggested it to Hadden and he accepted it immediately."

"People are uninformed because no publication has adapted itself to the time which busy men are able to spend on simply keeping informed," said TIME's prospectus, TIME is interested not in how much it includes between its covers but in how much it gets off its pages into the minds of its readers. To keep men well-informed—that, first and last, is the only ax this magazine has to grind." Even so, declared Hadden and Luce, "the editors recognize that complete neutrality on public questions and important news is probably as undesirable as it is impossible, and are therefore ready to acknowledge certain prejudices." Among them: "Faith in the things which money cannot buy; a respect for the old, particularly in manners; an interest in the new, particularly in ideas."

Luce and Hadden decided that they needed \$ 00,000 to start TIME, but after a grueling year of canvassing friends and relatives, they could raise only \$ 86,000. They went ahead anyway and somehow, with a small but aggressive staff of writers, turned out the magazine's first issue. An extraordinary number of prominent men plunked down the \$5-per-year price to receive TIME, including Theodore Roosevelt Jr. Walter Lippmann, Herbert Bayard Swope, Edward W. Bok, the Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore and half a dozen college presidents.....

TIME's first months were rough, but circulation gradually rose until, in 1926, it had reached 118,661. In 1925, TIME moved briefly to Cleveland, where it first used color on the cover and adopted the red border. Hadden did not like Cleveland, and the magazine was back in New York a little more than two years later. Hadden and Luce agreed to alternate as editor

and business manager, each doing his job for a year. Then, on March 11, 1929, the partnership ended in tragedy. Hadden died, at 31, of a strep infection. TIME was just six years old.

BANANA PEEL----Editing TIME during 1928, Luce, who had an early bias in favor of the activist and the entrepreneur, became especially engrossed in American business. Feeling that press covered the field inadequately, he assigned a staff to explore the idea of a business magazine. Five months later, he decided the time was opportune. Among the names considered were Power and FORTUNE. Luce picked the latter because it appealed to his wife, the former Lila Ross Holz of Chicago. They had married in 1923 and had two sons: Henry III, a Time Inc. vice president and the head of the London Bureau, and Peter Paul, a management consultant on Long Island.....

SMASHING---SUCCESS. In early 1929, Time Inc. launched a new project that had an extraordinary impact on radio broadcasting and later on movie news reporting: The March of TIME. Put together by Roy Larsen, TIME's vice president (now chairman of the Time Inc. executive committee), The March of TIME could fairly claim to have been the precursor of the TV documentary. Under the aegis of Larsen de Rochemont, it produced hundreds of provocative films for 15 years before being phased out in the face of TV in 1951. In addition to its value to the art of cinema documentary, it heightened Luce's already considerable interest in the place of pictures in journalism. "Pictures cannot tell all," Luce wrote in launching THE MARCH OF TIME. "But what pictures can tell (with the help of a word or two), they tell with a force, and explicitness, an overwhelmingness which reportorial words can rarely equal. "Recognizing that photojournalism was

not merely a sideline of journalism but an independent branch of the craft, Luce decided to start a picture magazine.

LIFE was such a smashing success that it nearly smashed Time Inc. Its first run, Nov. 23, 1936, was 46,000 copies—but that was far from enough to meet demand. Succeeding issues of higher runs were similarly grabbed up. LIFE's advertising rates had been set for the first year with the expectation of a small and slowly growing circulation. When the demand for it went beyond the capacity of the presses to print, advertisers swarmed abroad for a free ride, while the bills for paper and ink alone swallowed up the magazine's revenues—and then some. Before launching LIFE, Luce had declared: "It can be safely assumed that \$1,000,000 will see LIFE safely through to a break-even 500,000 circulation or to an honorable grave." Yet Time Inc. spent \$5,000,000 to keep LIFE from dying of success before the magazine finally turned the profit corner in 1939, when its circulation had reached more than 2,000,000. LIFE, which hardly needed extra attention, nevertheless got it when it published a frank and explicit (for that day) photographic account of the birth of a baby. Roy Larsen, who had moved to LIFE, submitted to arrest to test a ban, was acquitted in court....

TIME's growth—its circulation in 1938 had reached 829,670—had its effects on both the magazine and the country. From more or less a pastepot operation in which its writers clipped from newspapers and magazines to sift and organize the news, TIME developed its own news service (its first Washington stringer: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.), began to be served by the press associations, built up a morgue and reference library, and increasingly depended on its writers' own knowledge for special information and judgements. It also lost some of its early brashness—though not its freshness

—as the times became more serious and its influence grew.

The Luce-Hadden invention exerted a great influence on the nation's newspapers, which borrowed (in return for their clippings) some of TIME's style and mode of presentation; the news review section, now a common feature, began to proliferate. A whole generation of young newspaper reporters rebelled against city-room shibboleths, experimenting outside the routine who-what-when-where-why....

In February of 1941—well before Pearl Harbor—Luce published his famous article on *The AMERICAN CENTURY*, urging full entry into the war. He prophesied that the U.S. would enter the war eventually, win it, and thereafter assume worldwide responsibilities, including the supplying of vast quantities of food to millions of hungry people around the world. When the U. S. was forced to go to war only a few months later, Time Inc. sent correspondents to the battlefields. TIME got a new dimension from the original war reporting of such men as Robert Sherrod, Charles Wertenbaker, Theodore H. White, Noel Busch and John Hersey. Both TIME and LIFE began following U.S. troops and civilians abroad with a number of special light-weight "pony" airmail editions.

In the years during and after the war, Luce played an active part in the editorial direction of the magazines, sitting in frequently as managing editor of TIME. Time Inc. emerged from the war with a team of correspondents who eventually became the TIME-LIFE News Service, the world's largest magazine news-gathering operation. It set up a TIME-LIFE International division to publish both magazines abroad.

PAINFUL DECISION----Luce's greatest postwar sorrow was the fall of China to the Communists in 1949, A staunch supporter and friend of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Luce

nonetheless seen the Red handwriting on the wall. In 1946 he visited Nanking while the mission of General George Marshall was trying to effect a peace between the Kuomintang and the Communists. There, he went to see Chou En-lai, who was then the head of the Chinese Communist mission. Over steaming cups of tea, Chou professed to be weary of the negotiations, said that he would like to visit the U.S. "to study your impressive techniques of modern production." Wrote Luce later: "I must record the utter confidence as well as the good humor with which Chou En-lai spoke to me. While he didn't say so in so many words, I had the chilling feeling that he expected soon to be in control of all China. At the end of my stay, I figured he was right. I knew the Marshall mission had failed." Just before his death, Luce was attempting to get into Red China to try to interview Chou again.

In 1952, Luce—who had supported Republican Thomas E. Dewey for President in 1944 and 1948—was for Dwight Eisenhower both before and after the Republican Convention. Both TIME and LIFE supported Ike's candidacy. Luce went to Paris to look Ike over before the general came back to seek the nomination, and was impressed. "As for myself," Luce wrote later, "I had to make a decision which was personally painful. I respected Taft—as who did not? But I decided I must go for Eisenhower. I thought it was of paramount importance that the American people should have the experience of being under a Republican Administration so that they would not forever associate Republicanism with Depression or with isolationism. I was sure that Eisenhower could win. I was not sure that Taft could."

During the middle, 1950s, Luce spent much of his time in Rome with his wife Clare, who had been appointed Ambassador to Italy by President Eisenhower in 1953. The Italian

government gave him an honorary rank, the ambassador's consort, immediately behind ministers plenipotentiary. But Luce kept discreetly out of the limelight, proudly leaving it to Clare. He studied Italian, roamed through Rome (he liked to show visitors the zoo, where he usually fed the animals), and set up a separate office of his own overlooking the Borghese Gardens. From there, he sent a steady flow of memos and suggestions back to New York, including a critique of the issues of his magazines as he read them.

INTO THE STREETS,---His habit of constant questioning combined with a cub reporter's curious eye—made Luce a formidable practicing journalist. His questions about President Kennedy's reading speed, asked of the President himself and his relatives, produced the article in LIFE that revealed that the President liked to read Ian Fleming, and thus launched the James Bond boom in the U.S. He also traveled out of his way some years ago to hear and talk with an obscure young North Carolina preacher named Billy Graham, then gave him his first national exposure in LIFE. Present in Cairo when the Naguib regime was under siege by Nasser, Luce rushed out into the streets full of surging crowds and, using a terrified interpreter, filled a notebook with color, quotes and impressions that he filed off to New York.

But if there is one thing that most typified Harry Luce, it was his deep and abiding interest in religion. Luce was a religious man in the best sense of that word, without a trace of pietism or holier-than-thouism. A Presbyterian, he served on the board of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church and was active in a campaign to raise \$50 million for the church. He also served as a director of the Union Theological Seminary, where he endowed a chair. But his interest in religion was

not primarily institutional. Well versed in theology, he was comfortable with the works and ideas of Teilhard de Chardin, Bonhoeffer, Barth, Kung and Tillich. One of his closest friends was Jesuit John Courtney Murray, and he frequently attended Mass, where he was fascinated by the changes in the liturgy and delighted to find Martin Luther's "A MIGHTY FORTRESS IS OUR GOD" in the Catholic hymnal. He liked good singing and good preaching...

Some years ago, when asked about the cultural shock of adjusting to the U.S. after 14 years in China, Luce said: "I was never disillusioned with or by America, but I was from my earliest manhood dissatisfied with America. America was not being as great and as good as I knew she could be, as I believed with every nerve and fiber God himself had

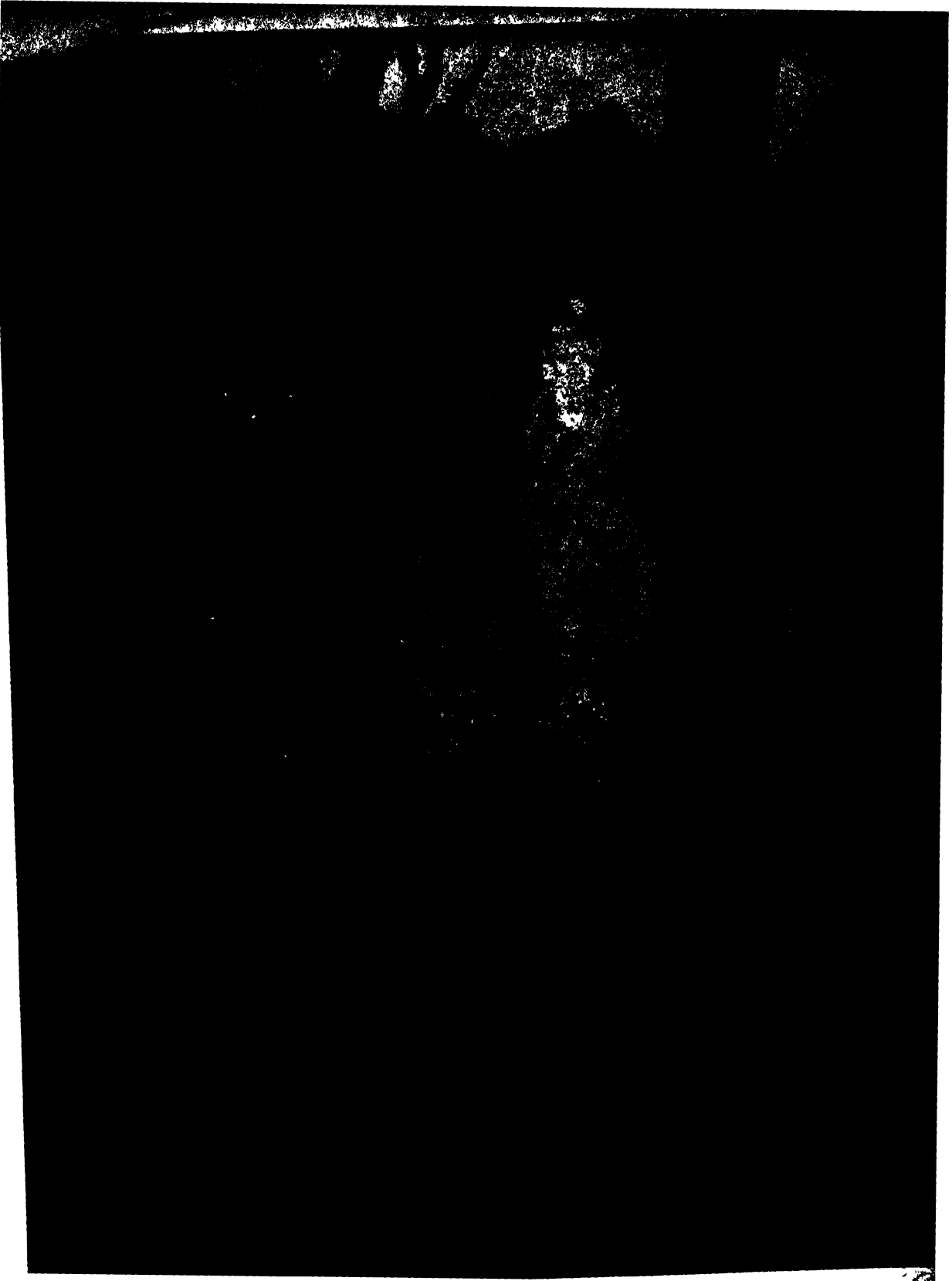
intended her to be." It was largely his desire to see his country as great as it should be that drove Harry Luce, by his rights, to want to explain it to itself and to others. Perhaps he succeeded a little.

When his good friend John Foster Dulles died, Luce went to Arlington Cemetery and watched as the coffin was lowered. "Then," he later wrote, "people started home, walking in the sunlight and gentle breeze of a May day. The hours had been hours of reverence — and serenity. The last enemy is Death, but Death seems tangibly serene when it can be said of a man: he ran the course, he kept the faith." So, whatever his triumphs and failures, did Henry Robinson Luce.



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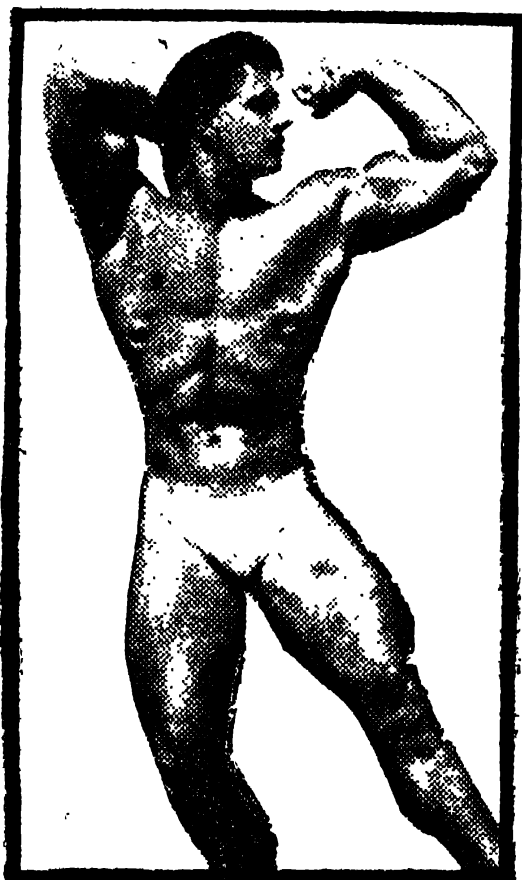
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NOTES

Hindi-English War

When one fails to dislodge an enemy from a strong position by direct frontal attack, one seeks indirect and subtler methods of achieving that objective. One method is to stimulate the growth of all opposing forces which may undermine the strength of the enemy by inducing desertions from the ranks of its supporters and drawing them into their own camps. Another subterfuge may be to organise indirect attacks on all those who provide resources to the target group. These indirect attacks can be so round about at times in their planning as to appear totally impossible and fantastic to the eyes of those who are not trained investigators. The current fight between English and Hindi for the place of honour in our scheme of education and communication began as a simple battle in which Hindi failed miserably to oust English from its citadel of strength. The reason was that almost all persons of importance or superior knowledge and skill expressed their thoughts in English. They also acquired and communicated their knowledge, techniques and skills through the medium of English. There are many languages in India in various stages of development and not even the most advanced among them could vie with English in point of the variety of uses to which a language can be put. English had the largest and most varied literature in the field of the human-

ities or the positive sciences. Engineering, medicine, the numerous crafts and the various arts could be easily mastered by Indians by use of English text books. Indian languages cannot provide alternatives nor compete at all with English in fulfilling such requirements. So the general staff of the Hindi Army had to think of infiltration, fifth column and other underhand tactics to effect their conquest of English. First they stimulated the various language groups to develop an anti-English attitude and guaranteed strong rear guard action by the forces of Hindi, so that the scheduled languages could go ahead to demolish the English fortifications to effect a final overthrow of that alien language. The Hindi forces not only offered to protect the flanks but also undertook to keep all lines of communication clear and safe. The various front line anti-English soldiers could always keep contact with one another through the Hindi lines.

Another *bandobast* was to make it difficult for English medium institutions to obtain State aid and to chase out foreign teachers of English on one pretext or another. One or two foreigners were found to have acted for some enemies of India. That was good enough excuse to refuse permission to scores of other selfless friends of India to stay in India as teachers and as managers of schools, colleges, orphanages and asylums. These were strategic moves by the supporters of Hindi to deprive the English teaching institutions of suit-

able personnel and to progressively push in an undeveloped and relatively useless language into the gaps created by ejecting English by unfair means. The idea being that eventually the regional languages also would have to yield place to Hindi for convenience of inter-communication between the States.

There was a canard about conversion of destitute Biharis to Christianity as a reason for chasing out foreign mission workers. Hundreds of thousands of people have been and are being converted to Mahomedanism, but no one has tried to chase out all *Moulvis* and *Mollas* on that ground. Agents of the enemies of India have been found among Consular and Diplomatic Corps personnel, but India has not severed diplomatic relations with even the two arch enemies that she has. Naga and Mizo rebels are welcome in Delhi. The politicians who are largely responsible for the troubles in the tribal areas of Assam are not *persona non grata* with the Government of India. But one bad missionary has condemned all missionaries; particularly those who have anything to do with teaching. Every State has some traitors and betrayers who act as the agents of the Indian National CIA and carry out their secret scheme. There are other hirelings of the inner circle of our National Imperialists who help these schemes to get a stranglehold on the nation by interfering with the rights of the people, their freedom of opinion and their cultural and linguistic preferences. One can understand the arguments in favour of building a classless society; but one cannot agree to any interpretation of that society as a community in which the least common factor of intellectual, aesthetic and technical development describes the character of the entire group. Equality does not mean a condition in which all persons are similarly uneducated, untrained, unqualified and unreliable. Equal opportunity also does not mean the provision of such opportunities universally and without reference to the ability of the receivers to make use of the things received. If all persons were provided with Veenas there would be no music but a total all pervading discord. If all persons were given canvases and painting equipment there would be a

hideous confusion of lines and colour everywhere. Good books, useful tools and valuable chemicals and raw materials should be given to selected persons. The question of *Adhikar* and *Anadhikar Bheda* still exists.

The Indian Nation cannot be unmade to order, no matter who issued the orders. We have had so many prophets during the last twenty years that we could hardly note down all the contradictory commandments that the gods issued through them. Generally speaking almost all the gods have been partisans looking after the narrow self-interest of small groups of greedy politicians. These petty minded persons have been breaking up the solidarity of the nation by behaving like despicable Bazar profiteers. Whatever little power or position these persons acquire regionally, they would try to cash in on at the first opportunity. So would this matter of languages be turned to some gainful advantage through the manufacture of third rate text books or the creation of prizes which would be hawked for the benefit of the exploiting coteries.

Bengalee Refugees in Dandakaranya

In ancient times people were sent to Dandakaranya for Vanabash, as a punishment or for penance. To-day the sinners do not go to Dandakaranya but they arrange to send the people they have sinned against to those dismal regions. First came the West Bengal refugees, who were driven out of their homes in East Bengal by the soldiers of the new State of Pakistan which was created by a joint agreement between the Indian National Congress, The Muslim League and the British Parliament. The people who performed this treacherous act of betrayal against millions of innocent persons in order to achieve their ambitions and fulfil their cunning political schemes are still enjoying power and prosperity while the victims of their sinful scheming are trying to build their new homes in the dense jungles or arid plains of the most inhospitable parts of India. Those who gained by the partition of India have never expressed any sympathy for those who suffered great humiliation, loss of property, physical

injury, dishonour and even death in order to make it possible for the politicians to thrive at their cost. Dandakaranya was cleared, cleaned and developed by these victims of politics who did their best to settle down where no communities had ever settled before. One may say that the Bengali refugees have earned a right to live in their own way in the Dandakaranya region by virtue of having done all the hard spade work to make that uninhabitable place fit for human habitation. Now we hear that Dandakaranya will have to accommodate certain other victims of the sins of our political leaders. The Indian leaders are very friendly with all States which arrange to chase out persons of Indian blood from their territories. Some of these persons are the descendants of Indians who had gone to those States fifty to a hundred years ago and are natural born subjects of those States. But these foreign states can just do what they like to any person who has any Indian connection, for the reason that the Indian Government meekly tolerates all insults meted out to Indians of any description. If Burma pushes out "Indians" who have spoken Burmese and lived in Burma for three or four generations, the Indian Government goes out of its way to make it easy for the Burmese Government to carry out their unlawful and unjust plans. If the Ceylonese try to push out Tamil speaking persons from Jaffna where the Tamils have lived for two hundred years, the Indian leaders go to help the Ceylonese get rid of their Tamil speaking nationals for no reason tenable at International Law. And when these Ceylonese Indians are dumped down at Calcutta or Vishakhapatnam these generous politicians immediately try to shove these refugees into Dandakaranya. This becomes a wrong done to two communities. The Bengalis are the first sufferers because they will have to suffer an intrusion from people who are not similar to them. The Ceylon-Tamils will also suffer because they would hardly feel at home among Bengalis. The only people who would feel no dissatisfaction would be the Ministers at Delhi. For they measure the excellence of their management of India's administration by the size of the troubles that arise out of their actions.

Rationing Should Be Abolished

We have pointed out on a previous occasion how all this hoo ha about food supplies to the people of India by the Government relates only to about 6½ per cent of the total requirements of food of the Indian nation. The Government handles food supplies only for the big centres of population and industry and these regions contain only a small minority of the total population. These people are also relatively much better off compared to the really poor people of the villages. So that if rationing were abolished the persons affected would not die of starvation. They are even now supplementing their meagre rations by purchasing extra food from the black market. They would buy all the food they required, if rationing no longer remained in operation, from sources that existed already or would come into existence out of necessity. Cooperatives and free fair price shops could easily procure food material from the rural areas and arrange to sell the same to the people at a reasonable price. Imported food also could be sent to these cooperative stores for sale or given out to the fair price shops. The difficulties of maintaining the limited ration system make it necessary either to expand it to its fullest possible dimensions or to abolish it altogether. The present system has created the black market in food. The abolition of the restrictions brought about by the system adopted by food departments would open up the markets and make them free. The people of India may not be able to buy 6½ per cent of their food requirements at a subsidised price; but that would hardly matter. For if the urban areas obtained food at prices prevailing in the rural areas in a free and competitive manner the position should be better than what it is now.

Congress Attempts Come Back in Bengal

There are many members of the Congress whose love of the Motherland is unquestioned and who have served the country selflessly and without scheming for depriving their countrymen of their personal and social rights and privileges.

There are other Congressmen who have not been so selfless and carefully conscious of the rights of the people. Unfortunately the leading members of the Congress had not been able to control their immediate followers who had been somewhat authoritarian in their dealings with the State and the people and whose actions had caused great suffering and loss of personal rights to the people of the country. The Congress therefore fell in the estimate of the thinking as well as of the less politically conscious public and it lost power in several States. In Bengal the Congress lost its absolute majority and had to hand over power to a Coalition which had some political parties in it which have been notorious for the anti-national views and activities of some of their members. The Bengal Government, immediately after its assumption of power, began to function in a manner which cannot be called steady and orderly. The State was plunged into unruly Trade Union and Student-Teacher Union demonstrations and the day to day life of the general public was upset by these stage-managed disturbances in which certain members of the government took active part. The Coalition therefore was discredited. The Congress thereafter perhaps began to weigh relative demerits and came to the conclusion that its leaders were not quite so bad as some of the Coalition leaders. The Congress therefore decided to stage a come back: if not for obtaining power of control over government, at least to keep the picture of the Congress untainted before the public. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda was brought from Delhi to meet all Congress leaders of Bengal and to decide upon ways and means to achieve this objective. Shri Nanda saw various people and suggested the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee to reorganise the Congress in Bengal. This Ad Hoc Committee would have some Congress leaders in it and others would be left out of it. Shri Atulya Ghosh did not approve of the idea, probably because his name was left out of it and Shri P. C. Sen's name was included. Shri Kamraj asked Shri Nanda to hold back the formation of the Committee and thereafter probably waited for an opportunity to discuss the matter with Sm. Indira Gandhi. It had therefore assumed the nature of an all-India ques-

tion of power allocation in Bengal, which may have its effect on the all-India power politics of the Congress in which Messrs. Nanda, Kamraj, Morarji and others are involved. We do not hope to see any good coming to Bengal from these policy making moves of the Congress High Command. The Congress is slowly becoming incapable of managing the affairs of the country.

China Testing India's Defences

Some time ago the Chinese attacked India's border outposts near the Nathu La pass leading into Sikkim. The Chinese have massed men and arms in the narrow triangle of Tibetan territory separating Bhutan and Sikkim and their experimental bombardment of Indian positions in Sikkim must have been inspired by their doubts as to the strength of the Indian defences. The Indians fired back and probably fought back too when the Chinese infiltrated into Sikkimese territory. That there were skirmishes on both sides of the Sikkim-Tibet frontier was quite obvious from reports, but no soldiers penetrated to any great depth into the territory of the opposite side. The fighting began suddenly without notice or provocation and stopped equally suddenly in an inexplicable manner. That was of course typically Chinese, for they have always specialised in fighting their friends and currying favour with enemies. The Russians are considered to be the arch enemies of the Chinese, by the Chinese, simply because all China's industrial and military progress has been achieved with Russian aid. The Indians allowed the Chinese to occupy Tibet without opposing their blatant violation of the established international practice of honouring the sovereignty of other nations; and the Chinese repaid India by occupying 20,000 sq. miles of Indian territory. Of course the Indian Government did not uphold the highest principles of political morality in condoning the crime of China against Tibet, and probably got what they deserved for associating with unprincipled marauders like the Chinese Communists. Now that the Indian Government have come to a better realisation of the facts of international relations, they are on the way to develop a sound

policy in that field. But quite a lot has been left undone yet.

United Front

For sheer disunity it is hard to beat the United Front of West Bengal. There are some in it who are case hardened Congressmen, but have lost faith in the present leaders of the Congress and are therefore trying to set up a new party with the same sort of negative virtues as the Congress. Non-violence, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, non-member of military blocs, non-believer in drink, dice and a dozen other vices and a store house of never ending non-realizable schemes and plans of the none-ever-before class. After that we have others who are sworn believers in the wisdom of Karl Marx reincarnated as Mao t'se Tung. These are the people who are against almost everybody and everything. It is a difficult attitude of mind to maintain for any length of time without facing the dangerous antagonism of subtle enemies. Ministers with portfolios which require clever management of public relations cannot afford to be fanatics. And much of the difficulties that the U. F. Government are facing have come from that general declaration of war by the Mao-Marxists against all others. The Karl Marxists who call themselves Right Communists are fighting a losing battle in so far as they believe in forgotten truths and dead ideals. Then we have little coteries with fancy names which want victory for their many diminutive groups without reference to the facts of the States' politics. Many processions come out everyday in the streets of Calcutta. Given a chance each one will produce a political party with its own ideology, creed and faith. At present they have contact with this party or that; but that cannot satisfy their growing consciousness of their own particular rights and demands.

So, there are numerous parties in the United Front and all are putting in their ideas into the great complex which is a superimposed pattern of extraordinary contradictions. The disunity of the Front is so complete that no party of the group dares to mention its faith. They carry on their

pretence of Unity without seeing, hearing or saying anything. While this supreme reticence lasts the Front shall continue to exist. The United Front will not survive if the members engage in free exchange of ideas and expression of beliefs and faith.

Processions and Demands

We have no first hand knowledge of what is going on in places outside Calcutta; but we believe processions, strikes and unlawful detentions of persons connected with manufacture or social institutions are being organised everywhere by so-called trade unionists who may be employees of factories or just students, teachers, service holders or political party volunteers. There is a lot of furore over demands which may have no basis in economics, social ethics or legality. We do not think that the economic gain achieved by those who are engaging in these demonstrative activities, when accounted for at a man hour rate of gain, will come upto even ten paise per man hour spent. So that economically these activities are not worth engaging in. But the people who are thus wasting their time will say they are acting for establishing social justice. If they are and if they really wish to see social justice established, they must try to achieve their objective in a more fruitful manner. The disruption of traffic, the discomfort caused to numerous persons who have nothing to do with the demands of the demonstrators and the general loss of value caused by these activities outweigh the material and the theoretical gains in a manner which condemns these activities. Even the call of social justice cannot wipe out the social injustice of preventing people from earning a living by attending to their work effectively. Then there are the questions of the work of education being carried on smoothly getting sick people treated by timely visits to hospitals or clinics, the regular supply of goods required by various people for various socially essential purposes, the recovery of dues and the payment of bills in time and so forth. It must be realised first that the demonstrations constitute only a very small percentage of a

total population. They are also quite high up in the economic scale of earnings, that is, they are not the poorest nor the most unjustly treated persons that live in this country. Their only advantage in creating disturbances lies in their nearness to political leaders and the V.I.P.s of industry, universities and other important institutions including government offices. Leaving aside these attractive and opportune facilities to be heard, seen and brought into touch with those who can perhaps do good to demonstrating persons, we find no particular social advantage in making these obstructive gestures. For if we must suffer inconvenience and losses, that must be for the greatest good of the greatest number and not just for the satisfaction of a handful of persons, who are neither the poorest nor the socially worst treated and placed people in India. The table given below will show the factual position of different groups of workers in the country.

whom the demonstrators claim to represent would not exceed 2 per cent of India's population. For, 75 per cent of India's factories do not engage more than 9 persons and are not factories proper according to the Indian Factories' Act. About 75 per cent of the factories do not use any power. In 1958-59 when money had much more purchasing power less than 5 per cent of middle class urban family groups had monthly incomes of less than Rs. 100/-. Those families which had monthly incomes between Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/- accounted for more than 50 per cent of the families in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. The students, teachers and service holders mostly came from these groups. Working class families whose incomes are now much more than in the 1958-59 period were earning as follows in 1958-59 : Rs. 90/- to Rs. 120/- per month : 25.82 per cent in Bombay, 22.95 per cent in Calcutta, 35.48 in Delhi and 33.86 per cent in Madras. Rs. 120—

According to Last Census Records

Total population	13,92,35,000	Manufacture	79,76,000
Total workers	18,86,76,000	Construction	20,60,000
Cultivators	9,96,21,000	Trade	76,54,000
Agricultural Labour	3,15,21,000	Transport	30,20,000
Mining, Fisheries, Animal Husbandry	52,21,000	Other services	1,95,82,000
Household industry	1,20,31,000		

Out of the total number of workers the largest number are cultivators. Next come in order numbers Agricultural Labour, Other Services, Household Industry, Manufacture, Trade, Mining, Fisheries-Forestry etc., Transport and Construction. Since the last census was taken India's population has gone up by about fifteen per cent. Even if industrial workers have increased in number proportionately and also service holders, students and teachers, who are so spectacularly dissatisfied with our national allotment of advantages, privileges and wages; the total number of persons concerned with the alleged injustices would not exceed the number of workers, students, teachers and political party volunteers in the urban areas where these demonstrations take place. A lavish estimate totally favouring the persons

Rs. 150 : 29.31 per cent in Bombay, 13.02 per cent in Calcutta, 15.65 per cent in Delhi and 13.80 per cent in Madras. Rs. 150—Rs. 210 : 17.52 per cent in Bombay, 8.20 per cent in Calcutta, 11.68 per cent in Delhi and 16.60 per cent in Madras. Those families of workers which had incomes of Rs. 210 or more per month were 12.77 per cent in Bombay, 2.77 per cent in Calcutta, 9.60 per cent in Delhi and 5.15 per cent in Madras. Considering that the average income of a family in India in 1958-59 was about Rs. 600 in one year, that is Rs. 50/- or less per month the urban people were much better off, generally speaking. Such injustices as have been in existence should have been rectified by legislation and not by disorderly demonstrations. Why the externally socialistic Governments did not arrange this is not known to us.

About Students and Teachers

The students class in India claim to suffer from many disabilities which the students say should be put right either by the universities or by the boards of management of the educational institutions and the Government. In fact as the students of the big cities lend themselves to political parties for non-educational political propaganda and agitation, one finds it difficult to judge whether the students were justified in making the demands they made. Generally speaking a study of the student class in the sphere of education would reveal certain facts which all people should know. In India there are over 700,000 educational institutions with over 7 crore students and 20 lakh teachers. The figures are impressive; but on analysis show how most of the educational work is extremely elementary in nature. This means that the students who create all the disturbances in the urban areas constitute a very small minority of the student community and that their demands are perhaps not known to 90 per cent of the students of India. The teachers too are perhaps so widely scattered all over the country in numerous small schools accommodating about 50,00 pupils on an average, that they cannot by any stretch of the imagination take part in any mass agitation of a representative character. The students and teachers, therefore, as found in processions and demonstrations, are party members of political organisations and their actions are planned entirely by the political parties.

Out of the 7 crore students more than 5 crore study in classes I to V. More than 1 crore study in classes VI to VIII. Classes IX to XI have only about 60 lakh students in the whole of India. The students at the university stage would not number more than 14 lakhs. Students of the age group 17 to 23 are about 2 per cent of the Indian population. So that those students who join agitations in the big cities of India cannot be considered to be the true representatives of the student community of India. They are rather student volunteers of the political parties indulging in agitation according to the directions of their party leaders. The direct expenditure incurred by the State in pri-

mary and secondary education in 1962-63 was Rs. 239.52 crores. This money was perhaps properly utilised in imparting education to willing learners. The money spent on vocational training and higher education viz., (1962-63) Rs. 16.46 crores and Rs. 74 crores was largely wasted on account of the unwillingness of senior students to imbibe useful instructions and their habit of creating disturbance on all possible excuse. More than Rs. 90 crores have been spent for the education of the students of the senior most type. Whether this money could have been better spent by increasing assistance to institutions which had the least number of days of disturbance and disorder should be considered by the authorities. For money spent on institutions which do not function in full is money wasted at least to the extent of the days of study lost. We are a poor nation and we cannot afford to throw away money, no matter what grievances some people have. We cannot also afford to lose production due to the presence of complaints and demands. Government should make arrangements to assess the losses incurred by the nation due to the actions of particular persons and thereafter try to make those people at least suffer a loss of income by imposition of fines. Genuine disputes can be settled by the statutory provisions of the I. D. Act. Other disputes too can be settled by specially appointed arbitrators. We cannot tolerate losses caused by unruly sections of the workers, the students or the public. Punitive measures must be taken to put a stop to these suicidal activities. True complaints must be heard and settled too by the Government.

The Chinese Defy Indian Government Orders

The Chinese can always reach newer heights of bad manners whenever they have any dealings with other governments. At home they grant hospitality to foreign embassies and then proceed to break into those embassies, assault, insult and harass the foreign diplomats in total disregard of their diplomatic immunity. Such behaviour has now become a part of Chinese manners and custom of the post cultural revolution period. W

are not experts in Chinese culture nor are we qualified to say what a revolution may or may not produce. But we suppose the meaning of culture is artificial and acquired ways of behaviour as against what comes naturally to people. A revolution also is a state of affairs in which everything could be upside down. A cultural revolution, therefore, can produce fantastic types of ill mannered behaviour as it has in Mao t'se Tung's regime in China. The Chinese, however, do not approve of similar bad manners in others who may think of reciprocating in a Chinese way to the Chinese. In Peking the foreign embassies cannot invite people without the approval of the Chinese Government. Similar rule was made in Delhi for Chinese Embassy; but the Chinese did not like it. They defied the rule and sent out invitations without reference to the Indian Government. We do not know what the Indian Government will do about it. They may stage a little cultural revolution and arrange to break into the Chinese Embassy and set fire to it, after destroying all furniture and assaulting the inmates. But the Indian Government are seldom capable of quick retaliatory moves particularly when it involves beating up the Chinese or the Pakistanis. They begin to think of all kinds of impossible developments, like a change of heart or the growth of a conscience in a Pakistani, a Chinese pro-Marxist or a Naga hostile. The age of miracles never passes for some optimists and the Indian politicians are for ever in a fairyland of idealised hopes.

These Fire on Indian Guards

The Chinese think that they have a right to point their guns at others and to fire them off at any time they feel like it. They have done this many times and again from the Tibet side of the Himalayan frontiers of India at the Indian frontier guards. These irresponsible, shameful and incredibly arrogant actions have caused the death of many Indian soldiers. Chinese soldiers have died in the skirmishes that have naturally followed. The Chinese have also a bandit's outlook about other people's property. They occupied Tibet by

citing the ancient rights of the Imperial Mings and they occupied about 20,000 sq. miles of Indian territory, partly by just occupying the lands and partly by negotiation with Pakistan, knowing full well that Pakistan had no rights over those territories. We do not know whether Mao t'se Tung has unified the ideas of banditry with that of lawful sovereignty; but Chinese actions point that way without doubt.

Although certain principles of conduct followed by so-called Marxists have nothing to do with the great teacher Karl Marx, we have to call all those peculiarities of behaviour by the common generic name of Marxism, knowing that such nomenclature is a slander. The behaviour of the Chinese makes things even more difficult for the Marxists, who desire to be known as the prophets of a new type of social morality. The Chinese have glorified all the vices of the ancient and mediaeval tyrants by practising them as the virtues of Communism. Looting, expropriating, violating the sanctity of established institutions, forcible conversion of unwilling persons to a new creed, ignoring all rules of conduct and enforcing the will of an *el supremo* ruthlessly and in an utterly violent and unprincipled manner; are all symptomatic of old time tyranny. Propaganda cannot make evil things good. A vast organisation in which all persons have to surrender their free will and personal rights to a dictator cannot be good for human progress. Where men have no freedom to express their views or to criticise persons in power and where all persons have to work, live and mould their private lives according to the dictates of a ruling clique, there can be no question of developing a civilisation. Even if the material needs of existence are guaranteed by such a dictatorial State, and if the existence of emotional and spiritual needs is denied, there will even then remain wide gaps in the inner humanity of the people of such a State. The people may be very well trained and efficient in warfare and industrial production; but that will not make them fully developed human beings for the reason that their thoughts and emotions will be controlled by a central agency and their actions will be mechanical and automatic.

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

P. RAJESWARA RAO

It is nearly two decades since Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, the high priest of Indian Art, passed away from mortality to immortality. In order to have a comprehensive view of his eminence it is necessary to look at his life in the proper perspective. This son of a Ceylonese father and English mother born on 22-8-1877 inherited an Oriental imagination and Occidental thoroughness. His father Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy Mudaliar was a scholar and a barrister coming from an ancient Tamil family. He was also a member of the Legislative Council in the middle of the last century and he was the first knight in Asia. His mother Miss Kentish belonged to a notable English family. Thus in Coomaraswamy the idealism of the East and the intense practicalism of the West were harmoniously blended. Though he returned to Ceylon at the age of 25 as the Director of Mineralogical Survey, he quickly discovered himself and his mission.

Till then he had no idea of the Oriental heritage. His upbringing and education were out and out Western like that of Sri Aurobindo. He was well versed in Greek and Latin long before he knew Sanskrit and Pali. He got a Doctorate for his researches in natural science (Botany and Geology). In spite of this unhelpful background—he made up the leeway in colossal strides. He clearly perceived the damage caused to Oriental culture by the indiscriminate imposition of Western civilization. His conviction cost him his career. He gladly gave up his jobs and spontaneously and wholeheartedly devoted himself to the serious study of Indian art culture, literature and philosophy. His first wife Ethel Mary, was a marvellous companion in work. His monumental work, "Mediaeval Sinhalese Art", was produced with her co-operation. His second wife Ratnadevi did the work on Indian songs. Srimati Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy, a

savant from Argentina who was more a chela than a wife, assisted him in his latter day work with sympathy and co-operation. In this civilization takes two to make marriage successful. Evidently children are not enough.

Besides, he was an accomplished linguist well versed in English, French, German, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Pali and Hindi. He also knew something of Italian, Spanish, Icelandic, Dutch, Persian and Sinhalese. Above all he had a long vision, a keen perception, rare balance of judgment and an impersonal attitude towards things. Gentle in speech, perfect in manners and unruffled by any hostile criticism, tall, of aquiline features and of distinguished bearing, he wore European clothing, but always with a turban. His thoughtful eyes, his impressive beard, his sensitive nose and fingers, all these symbolised the scholar. He lived a pucca Hindu life in America. Not a day passed without his brow being adorned by the brilliant sandal paste and kumkum. Thus he chose to reside in a Western land to serve the East better.

He saw around him a hybrid culture fast taking root and transforming the fair East into a colourless Eurasia. In this connection he travelled extensively in Europe and Eastern countries gathering material for his life-work. In 1917 he was appointed a Research Fellow of Indian, Persian and Muhammedan Art at the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston and later became the Curator of the section of Indian and Far Eastern Art, where he remained as such till he retired a month prior to his passing away on 9-9-1947.

Before he came on the scene, Indian Art was a curious mixture of indigested archaeology, pedantic views and a Western approach to thoroughly Indian concepts. He laid stress on the symbolical

metaphysical and aesthetic background without a knowledge of which it is almost impossible to comprehend the subtleties of Indian Art which is associated with the Indian way of life. He was justly regarded as one of the greatest scholars in that field. Under his guidance the Boston Museum acquired choicest collections of Eastern Art, which have come to be regarded as the most important in the world. With his convincing logic and careful analysis he succeeded in putting Indian art in the rank of the great arts of the world.

His mission was to interpret the Hindu civilization of old to modern Hindu society so that it could help its cultural revival. While E.B. Havell spoke in terms of abstract philosophy and Vincent Smith was only a dry chronicler. Dr. Coomaraswamy was the real esthete (Rasagna) of high order. With his persuasive art and forceful style he turned apathy and hostility into sympathetic understanding.

While supporting the Swadeshi Movement he pleaded for revival of our ancient arts and crafts and pleaded for avoiding cheap imitation of Western industrialism. He put forth a strong plea for National Education and invariably stressed on spiritual and cultural values. He advocated a principled, orderly and integrated life of joy and beauty and praised development of personality over acquisition of knowledge. Thus the Indian Renaissance was completely summed up and expressed in him.

Referring to the Brahminical caste system he dared to maintain that "it is the nearest approach that has yet been made towards a society, where there shall be no attempt to realise a competitive equality, but where all interests are regarded as identical" To those who admit variety of age in the human souls this must appear to be the only true explanation. One cannot alter suddenly his subconscious heritage. Democracy is not standardising of every one so as to obliterate all distinction. We cannot put our souls in uniform. Freedom consists in making the best of what we have, our parentage, physical capacity and mental

gifts. Evidently, "the institution of caste illustrates the spirit of comprehensive synthesis, characteristic of the Hindu mind with its faith in the collaboration of races and co-operation of cultures," as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan epigrammatically put it. Though it developed later into an instrument of oppression and intolerance and tended to perpetuate inequality and developed exclusiveness, originally it was the out-come of tolerance and trust.

He deeply deplored that "A single generation of English education succeeded in breaking the threads of tradition and created nondescript and superficial beings deprived of roots—a sort of intellectual pariahs belonging neither to the East nor the West, the past nor future." He even warned that "Our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Maccaulay could have wished them to be, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect, because they have yet to 'discover India; they have not realised that the modern world has no longer an integrated culture, but an organised barbarism and political pandemonium." Though Maccaulay's method of education has come to its natural end, it will take many long years yet for Indians to recover their spontaneity. He emphasised plain living and high thinking. Easy and pleasant life made possible by modern times is not the essence of civilization. It is a living spirit and not a mechanical apparatus. He has shown how absurd it is to exalt the economic man by ignoring the common man in every man, how very suicidal to attempt to live by bread alone and how disastrous to embark on a rudderless voyage under the illusion that it is progress. We are not a rootless people deriving fickle inspiration from transient fashions. Nations like individuals become great not by what they gather but by what they give away. When the culture that we know and propose to restore was alive, learned men of foreign countries came in large numbers even though the communications were primitive and the means of transport almost none to study in India. Therefore, "the measure of our culture", as Dr. Coomaraswamy observed, "is not that of our ability to learn new tricks but that of

what we have to give." He insisted on adherence to tradition with a capital "T".

He regarded Indian woman as the best conservators of our culture since they have not yet been brought up to date. His observation that "literacy in the modern world of Magazines, Newspapers and Radio is no guarantee of culture whatever, and it is far better not to know how to read and hear than not to know what to read and hear" is significant. Indian woman well versed in the lore of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* working selflessly for the joint family, may be unbettered but are not uncultured. Literacy is not education and education is not culture. Writing on the future of Indian women he pleaded that, "it would be worth while to pause before we make haste to emancipate, that is to say, reform and industrialise the oriental woman. For it is not for Asia alone that she preserves a great tradition in our age that is otherwise preoccupied. If she should be persuaded to expend her powers upon externals, there might come a time on earth when it could not be believed that such woman had ever lived as the ancient poets describe. It would be forgotten that woman had ever been unselfish, sensuous and shy."

Born with a keen aesthetic sensibility and a discerning appreciation of beauty in life and art and seeing so much of the beauty of the old world all about him in ancient monuments, decaying arts and crafts and in the art traditions of his people, he felt an irresistible impulse to devote his life and talents for their regeneration and survival. It is his intuition that enabled him to see the spirit and meaning behind the forms of Indian Art. His critical studies of the various aspects of the Indian Art have depth of knowledge, a penetrating mind and an understanding of high order.

His contribution to the elucidation of the various facets of Indian Art was monumental. We have no doubt a good number of artists and art-critics, undoubtedly famous, great in their own way, but small in stature when compared to Dr. Coomaraswamy. "Occasionally" says the Italian historian Vasary, "Heaven bestows upon

a single individual beauty, grace and ability so that whatever he does, every action is so divine that he distances all and clearly displays how his genius is the gift of God, and not an acquirement". It was evident in Dr. Coomaraswamy whose genius could not be exaggerated and whose abilities were so extraordinary that he could readily interpret every aspect of Indian Art in the most original way.

Reading his last work, "Why Exhibit Works Of Art" (published in 1943) one realises with what concentrated enthusiasm, immense patience and profound scholarship he applied himself to his self-imposed duty of interpreting Indian thought forms. He saw beauty and the form of God in beauty. As a great man he saw many things which others did not see. When one reads Coomaraswamy one feels like listening to the voice of a Socrates, a Plato, a Vyasa or Sankara. He took no sectional or compartmental view of life or the achievements of mankind. He did his life work at a Yogic level and the gain to India in the world's eye has been immense. As a connoisseur he did open a new vista by revealing the past achievements of the ancient masters and also showing the way to the younger generation to discriminate art objects in their proper light and spirit. The art of India before his time was covered under the debris of age-long indifference, ignorance of its own people and its tradition and ideals were as good as dead. If today Indian art has become not only a great asset of the nation but is one of the cherished possessions of a civilized world, it is mostly due in a large measure to his genius and efforts.

The tremendous upsurge of awakening of art and thought in India had its impetus from him. He was actively associated with a number of learned bodies in the East and the West. He urged the Indian students going abroad for studies not to lose their culture, tradition and individuality; but to act as the accredited representatives of their country. His contribution to Indian Renaissance was unique and can be favourably compared with the combined contribu-

tions of Western savants, like E. B. Havel, Ferguson, Sir John Marshall, Percy Brown and others. He was without a peer as a scholar among Orientalists. It would be a discovery if one could find another like him any where whose studies and publications covered as wide a range and at the same time as numerous in quantity, as excellent in quality. His interpretation of the various facets of our heritage was classic alike for imagination, originality, dignity of phrasing and loftiness of thought. He took no sectional or compartmental view of life. He was noted for creative thinking and there was invaluable matter in whatever he said. He combined in himself the dignity of a master and the humility of a disciple.

We are told that when the springs of experience dry up culture becomes an affectation, belief a dogma and behaviour a habit. But he had the faith and the vision to apprehend spirituality in our heritage. He did not hesitate to subordinate intellect to intuition, inspite of the fact that he was brilliant beyond words. He preferred inward realisation to outward experience. He demonstrated that our beliefs primarily intended to foster and promote spiritual life are in accordance with nature and the laws of the world of reality. His theories are not so much dogmatic dicta as transcripts from life. He was truly a perfected soul and reminds us of Valmiki, Vyasa, Vachaspati and Vidyanaraya the greatest savants of antiquity. Above all, his interpretation was inspired. He became for Vedic religion and philosophy what once Philo of Alexandria had been for the religious thoughts of the Jews.

While alive he secured a place in history. For the fourteenth edition of the Encyclopedia Britanica he contributed eight articles on Oriental Art. Up to its thirteenth edition this publication ignored Indian and Asian Art. He was also invited to write to the National Encyclopedia of America on Eastern Art. In the fitness of things he was called upon to edit "Words of Indian Origin" for Webster's New International Dictionary. He produced the monumental work "Myths of Hindus Buddhists" in collaboration with Sister

Nivedita. He wrote his earliest work on Indian Dancing "Mirror of Gestures" with the help of Andhra Ratna D, Gopalakrishnayya. He covered Oriental Art and Culture region by region, period by period and piece by piece. It is no exaggeration to say that he reigned supreme in the realm of Oriental Art with regal dignity and utter simplicity. His supremacy had something like the authority of a natural element. He was the finest flower of Oriental culture and radiated fragrance far and wide. It is no wonder that the whole world bowed in rapt veneration before him.

Dr. Coomaraswamy was so immersed in his work, that he never expressed himself in a reminiscent mood and indeed very little is known to the outside world about his private life. He was modest to the point of self-effacement. His stock reply to any enquiry about his personal life was, "anything personal, anything to do with my own life must not intrude in my work, it would be 'Aswargya' to allow such things any space. Not I, the I that I am, but He, is the part in me that should interest you". It may be of pathetic interest to note that Narada his son by Ratnadevi who showed signs of becoming a great novelist was killed in an aeroplane crash. His daughter Rohini who is an expert musician is lost to the East being under the spell of the West. Fortunately his widow Mrs. Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy, proved to be a true Ardhangi and a veritable sahadharmacharini. In the fitness of things she has undertaken the task of editing several books that Dr. Coomaraswamy had almost finished and are nearly ready for publication. Their son Rama who had his early education in the Gurukul University at Hardwar after specialising in Surgery at the Albert Eienstein Memorial Hospital in U.S.A., is now a full blown Physician and Surgeon in New York. He is married and has a child.

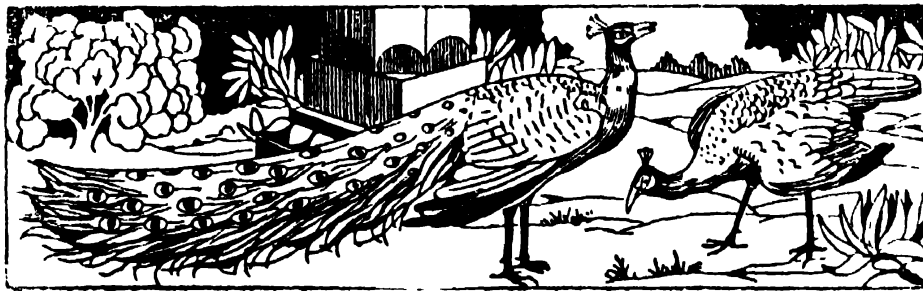
Though Dr. Coomaraswamy was no politician in the usual sense of word, he closely followed India's fortunes with interest and scrutinized the currents and cross-currents of her political activities. His classic contribution to our political

DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

thought is contained in his thoughtful and thought provoking monograph entitled "Temporal Authority and Spiritual Power in the Indian Theory of Government" published by the American Oriental Society. He was guided by the lofty idealism reminiscent of a happy combination Mazzini and William Morris.

He lived to witness the dawn of Indian Freedom and even expressed a desire to retire and lead a Vanaprasth's life in Tibet or at the foot of the Himalayas. Besides, he left instructions to take his ashes to Benares to return them to holy Ganga. His widow Mrs. Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy came to India in 1964 with his ashes and fulfilled his desire. Though he is

physically no more, he will live long through his writings and generations yet unborn will cherish his memory with pride and pleasure. His books and booklets, monographs and monumental works number nearly sixty. Incidentally his mission came to an end with his attaining the Biblical age of three-score of years and ten. In his death India and the East had lost the ablest and the best exponent of Art, Literature and Philosophy. His death can justly be classed as a national calamity since his guidance is most needed at this juncture. The best and quite appropriate way of honouring his memory would be to get all his works translated into the principal Indian and Asian Languages and endow professorial chairs on Art at the various Universities.



GALSWORTHY : A CRITIC OF HIS AGE

SUKHARANJAN CHAKRAVORTY

Galsworthy was the only man of letters who emerged out of the late nineteenth century's romantic parlour to the wide hall of the people, to speak on their behalf. He did not usually like romance and sentiment, glamour of illusion and respectability. He bade adieu to so called utopianism and idle imagination. Flowers, frolics and fairies, one would hardly discover in the whole range of his creations. He did not, like his predecessors, draw a sentimental veil, a painted-scarf over the disreputable and the unpleasant. Nor did he prefer the glamour of gaberdine and gold flakes to unshrinking veracity in facing unpalatable facts. He did not wish to go unrewarded by the tense of human sorrow or the comic catch at the merry medley of life. At least studying his dramas and the novels we do not find him ever feeling afraid of responding to the full throated shouts of life. Rather he is admirably sincere in illustrating the general tendency. And to do so, he had normally to become a critic—a critic of the social and economic problems of his age.

In the whole range of Galsworthy's works, it is never a difficult task to feel us fallen in the vortex of economic and social problems of his age,—the burning issues of the time. He, like many another, never evaded the naked realities of life. Life vile and life victimised, butchered and committed, was his choice and his whole works are the faithful echoes of actualities.

And if the portrayals of actualities pass on for criticism, I maintain without the least ambiguity, Galsworthy was a Critic.

Equally in his dramas and novels some sort of social and economic problems were entered and it seems, as if, Galsworthy could not write without problems. Issues, minor or major, whatever might be their magnitude, were always his attraction. So, in his dramas, starting from the 'Silver Box' right upto 'Loyalties', we find him dealing with these problems. Excepting some minor works, I mean many lesser works, most of his dramatic works exhibit the omnipresence of fundamental social problems and the men affected in such problems are not men in Hamlet or Macbeth or Ibsen's idealistic dramas. Galsworthy's men are all ordinary, common place beings whom we meet every now and then. Unlike Shaw he did lean towards modernity and cynicism could not enter into his mind. As a social critic, Galsworthy perhaps thought of responsibilities. Consequently, he could neither leave any issue to providence ruminating on the strange mutability of men and mortals nor could he stop muttering some excerpts like some peculiar metaphysicians. He also suggested and showed means to solutions. While he had told with full conviction what the things were, he did not hesitate to tell at the same time what the things should be.

His first drama "Silver Box" deals with

the old adage that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. "Strife" depicts the problems of labour unrest. "Justice" reveals the problem of captives and treatment in prison. "The Pigeon" shows the problem of the tramps and the poor. "The Eldest Son" speaks of the problem of morality as applied to the rich and the poor. "The Fugitives" treats of woman's position in the social scale. The spirit of the crowd and their idealism dominate the "Mob". "Loyalties" is a study of racial pride and social convention. "Skin Game" treats of the problem of upper middle class aristocracy.

We see, therefore, without a sense of paradox and with our sight clear of illusion that in all his dramas Galsworthy dealt with peculiar and manifold problems. But these problems are not individual psychological problems. These are typically social and economic problems. Galsworthy's problems were exclusively his own, narrowly of his age, free from the lift and wash of eternity, devoid of the gift and endowment of the transcendental.

His novels and fictions are not stripped bare of problems. Problems impinge there also. The whole of Galsworthy's novels can aptly be termed as epitomising problems of the middle class life. The picture of life which his novels reveal is, in fact, a narrower picture than that of the great Victorian novelists. His novels lay bare a close view of a singularly important section of society. And this society abounds in various social and economic problems and, belatedly, the political problems rushed in. Moreover, in his novels religious problems were also ushered in.

In the "Freelands" and In Chancery" we

find him treating with the religious problems. In "Maid in Waiting" he dealt with peculiar religious problems and God had been defined as "perpetual motion in perpetual quiet", but not as a God of mercy in the ordinary sense, or as not of much immediate use to mortals. "Man of Property" is also not free from problems. His entire Saga i.e. "The Forsyte Saga" is a troubled land of problems.

Age was the theme of John Galsworthy. Age was his premise. He worked on and with the problems of his age. But he was simply not a critic. He did not declaim as an irate and errant reviewer of the society. Neither was he a very pungent and uncompromising judge nor did he look down upon the social maladies or hate the the misanthropes and the criminals. We, therefore, seldom find satire and innuendo in his writings. He did not, however, speak of anything like an extremist social renovator. He was out and out an artist, considerate and compassionate and always finding halfway reconciliation between extremes. As a critic he was creative. Analysis was not his attraction and usually he was in favour of maintaining status quo. He believed that the existing anomaly must go. And to make it go nothing reactionary would be adopted. Appeasement and understanding must be slogans in every crying need. Speaking of the English novel :—"He believed that life is a mess and that we should be kind ; and this, say the authoritarians, is not enough".

Galsworthy criticised social problems not merely for criticism. He was, in my opinion, throughout his literary career, telling us of an inferno blazing and violent, side by side with a heaven ushering through gradually clearing smoke and smut.

PROSPECTS OF AFRO-ASIAN DEMOCRACY

Prof. BHASKAR CHANDRA DAS

In the world balance of power, there is the emergence of the Afro-Asian Bloc, and this fact creates a measure of growing public awareness both of strategic importance and of the success of democratic institutions in these countries. The combined forces of war, nationalism and revolution have started gathering momentum in Asia and Africa, the last great colonial domain of the Western powers and where Britain, France, Belgium Portugal, and Spain etc. are facing the colossal task of controlling and guiding the forces of nationalism and social revolution. In the African continent, there is a triangular struggle between Nationalism, Communism, and Western Imperialism, although this is not in such an advanced stage in Asia. The Dark continent has thus emerged from a deep slumber with exaggerated speed into the embrace of the modern times and is springing in a step from black magic to modern civilization. Its people, backward, illiterate and poverty stricken, want better education and technology, better modes of life and standards of living and freedom from domination and exploitation. The great desert of Sahara divides the African continent into two parts which are quite different from one another, although disease, poverty, difficulties of communication, lack of road and highways, unnatural political frontiers, narrow familistic loyalties, a general restlessness and discontent are the common denominators.

The Africans are breaking the age-old shackles of slavery and are becoming free from Western domination. This movement for self-government has for its object more than the attainment of an independent political status. The First world war introduced a change, and as the economic possibilities in Asia started diminishing the Europeans started looking more and more to Africa. The Second World War intensified the economic problems of the West by revealing and discouraging inadequate domestic supplies. A wind of change is blowing over the Afro-Asian countries. As Chester Bowles remarked, the future history of the world will be written in these areas.

The progressive disintegration of the traditional society of Africa is unloosening new political and social forces. An intense nationalism is sweeping over the continent. All these backward people have been subjected, in greater or lesser degree, to the same cruel discrimination and this has naturally led some of them to see the desirability of uniting against a common enemy. Thus nationalism in Africa is not merely a protest against their economic conditions and their political dependence, it is also an expression of a desire to play a befitting role in world politics. The nationalist leaders are non-traditional leaders and come from

the newly created intelligentsia, the lawyers and doctors, shop-keepers, civil servants and trade union leaders who have been produced by European training. Democratic rights and freedom have greatly stimulated this spirit of nationalism. The leaders in the movement are modernists and hence they believe in a liberal democracy.

Then, throughout the course of history, the control exercised over a relatively undeveloped country by one more fully organised, has invariably left the imprint of the latter on the political institutions of the subject people.

The upsurge of Afro-Asian nationalism is overlaid with the strong relations of Europeans against the potential menace to their material and social life. The ideal solution might be for the existing colonial powers to encourage the local population to adjust their shares to be taken in the government by the communities concerned. Our hopes must rest on the development of a spirit of accommodation between the communities, and it is easy between the communities which are by nature homogenous. But now, the political barometer makes singular territorial variations in the atmosphere of accommodation between the Afro-Asian communities.

Anyway, a democratic order is necessary to provide for and guarantee those freedoms necessary for popular government in the modern State. On the other hand, political parties are necessary for popular government to provide leadership and to facilitate a periodic choice of representatives by the common man. In short, political parties and democratic government presuppose; and

require each other. Consequently, final African self-determination and the extinction of European pressure are to be carried on in the light of real racial composition of many of Africa's emergent political units. The influence has encouraged and stimulated emulation of Western political patterns or stressed the supremacy of certain values realizeable only through democratic institutions.

This attraction of parliamentary democracy has been, and is, opportunistic. It was not only possible but also easier and quicker to gain their ends—freedom for their peoples, welfare, personal aggrandisement or whatever the case,—if they worked within the evolving political structure sanctioned by the colonial masters. In that way, it encountered less impartial resistance. In short, constitutionalism paid greater dividends. Secondly to the extent that opportunism has been a factor, this channelizing of nationalist energy into constitutional political parties demonstrates in striking fashion the powerful influence of colonial institutions upon the political patterns of the emergent African States.

Modern nationalism, wherever it appears carries with it certain strong democratic complications because of its reference to the people. In a colonial atmosphere it tends to be ultra-democratic. Because, western colonial powers are most vulnerable when confronted with the contradictions between democratic pretensions and the inescapably paternal character of a colonial system. Thus the new elites are the leaders and the prisoners of both nationalism and democracy. In

a democratic order, political parties are not only useful instruments for acquiring power, they are also the only legitimate and respectable vehicles for pursuing power. However, Western imperialism has tended to perpetuate nationalism and enabled nationalism to become institutionalized without losing its élan. Broadly based nationalist movements have become political parties commanding large parliamentary majorities. because such parties are the carriers and symbols of an overriding group consciousness referred to loosely as tribalism, regionalism and in certain contexts, communism.

Thus the channelizing of legitimate political activity through the traditional structure, had several interesting and important consequences. The result was an unprecedented political awakening, a mobilization of groups previously untouched and progressive democratisation of the local councils. Fairly widescale popular participation has been enforced by the structure of the political process during the formative stages of these emergent States.

The key to this system in its ideal form, is the presence of a free, responsible and reasonably united group prepared to become the government of the day. Thus democracy provided ample opportunities for leadership.

However, the experience of the working of democratic governments in the West reveals that democratic institutions can emerge, work smoothly, and acquire stability under certain conditions. It will, therefore, be necessary to see what these are, and also to find out to what extent they are

pertinent to the Afro-Asian countries—the set of conditions associated with the finding out of social, economic, cultural and political factors common to those countries of the West where democracy has functioned and functioned successfully. This inquiry leads us to examine the factors of political stability, economic standards, educational advancement, social structure, tradition of democracy, administrative organization, political consciousness of the people, economic development, national integration and such other related features.

It is necessary to observe that nationalistic ideas in Asia operating on traditional civilization and cultures are as old as those of the western countries. African revolt, therefore, is not so much a demand for freedom from poverty and disease. Secondly, African nationalism is face to face with European nationalism. While the fear of European nationalism in Africa is that the five million whites will be swamped and overpowered by the Africans, African nationalism is generated by the struggle against colonial rulers who treat them as inferior and who preach the political doctrine that the children of the soil shall forever remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. But in the West more than anything else, it is social homogeneity and cohesiveness which have helped democracy to survive and flourish there. In its absence, adherence by all sections of society to the decisions taken by the government would not be possible. When the sections and groups in a society resent the decisions taken by the government, it would not be possible to induce

their ready acceptance. When the sections and groups in a society have very little in common and represent diametrically opposite interests, the victory of one group comes to be regarded by the other groups as a threat to their very existence, and to the values they cherish. Consequently such groups will not hesitate to resort to all kinds of drastic measures in seeking to retain or secure office. The case best illustrating the point is the revolt of the Colonels in Indonesia in December, 1956. The people look upon the Government as an instrument to defend and protect Javanism, which they believe to be a new form of colonialism. Such a situation could have hardly helped in encouraging all sections in the country to follow peaceful democratic procedures. In the Western countries, all major cleavages, whether ethnic, religious or economic in nature, have either been removed or greatly reduced. "In any vote, the majority would tend to consist of the same kind of people, with the same tastes, traditions, and outlook as the minority." This is also true of many countries in the West. There exists thus a correlation between social homogeneity and democracy. The more homogeneous a society the greater, it seems, will be the chances for the survival of democracy. Social homogeneity denotes not total absence but the existence of common interests other than differences of class, religion, race, language etc. These interests must be such as to replace, to a large extent, parochial loyalties and narrow considerations as the basis of individual and group political action. Further, it also implies the narrowing down

of the vast gap between the rich and the poor in a society.

But the conditions which keep the group conflicts within reasonable limits are among the key requisities for a democratic political system. Among the most important homogenizing factors in Western countries was authoritarianism. By extending the activities of central governments establishing control over all parts of the countries and reducing the citizen directly, it created the physical basis of unification. The authoritarian set-up was especially suited for fighting Church and feudalism which had claim to the loyalty of the citizens. One wonders if in the Western states unification could have been brought about under a democratic constitution. The only Western country which attempted unification was Germany but it failed and then it was Bismarck who succeeded in bringing about unification through military force. In the Afro-Asian states the task of national unification is proving to be a great load on democratic institutions. This is clearly illustrated by the example of Ghana and Indonesia. More than a decade after, the Central Government at Djakarta is still faced with the problem of establishing effective control over all the three hundred and odd islands comprising the Republic of Indonesia. In its efforts in this direction it has found Western types of democracy unsuitable and has replaced it by a virtual rule of the Army. Neither has the Nkrumah Government been particularly enthusiastic about political rights and freedom. Other Afro-Asian countries have also found it necessary to resort to some of the methods adopted in Indonesia and Ghana to secure national unification. It

looks as if democracy, wherever it is imposed within this area, will suffer heavy damage under the strains and stresses engendered by the process of unification. However, the degree of deviation from the democratic path in these countries will, to a large extent, be determined by the number and the nature of obstacles in the way of unification.

As indicated, political parties are regarded as institutions characteristic of modern democracy, indispensable for its success and survival—to provide guarantees for the freedom necessary for popular government, and for providing leadership to the popular government, as well as to facilitate a periodic choice of alternative by the common man. In short, political parties and democratic governments presuppose and require each other. This existence of political parties has contributed to its success; firstly, by serving as institutional channels for the expression of political opinions and secondly, by acting as a check on power. Unfortunately, in these Afro-Asian countries we find divergent patterns and levels of political evolution. Due to Western influence and gradual realization of social unity, political parties are in the process of emergence, being forces of modernity. The presence of a politically conscious and clamant alien group or groups due to special historical and climatic reasons is an obstacle. Secondly, due to the prevalence of certain democratic assumptions and institutions to a greater and more meaningful degrees than elsewhere on the Afro-Asian continent. But the early emergence of an uprooted and clamant minority, the absence of a dominant alien community, and the pre-

valence of certain limited freedoms and adaptable political institutions—helped to provide a setting—conducive to the emergence of organized nationalist movements. These influences have encouraged or stimulated emulation of Western political patterns, stressed the supremacy of certain values realizable only through democratic institutions. Another factor facilitating the emergence of parties was the very considerable organizational development that occurred prior to and during the second Great War. This backlog of organizational experience was very important in the development of a political party system, in many instances cultural organization or nationalist movements simply assumed the character of a political party, in which cases there was continuity both in personnel and in organizational structure. But in many Afro-Asian countries we find either there are no political parties or that a single party is dominant in the political scene. In countries like Thailand, Pakistan, Iraq and Sudan where, in place of political parties there existed little knots of politicians, each held together by one leading person's influence, the weakness of the party system has led to the entry into the political arena of the army which was the most organized, well-knit and effective in action among the institutions that existed in those countries. In countries where a single political party dominates the scene, the absence of a formidable opposition party capable of displacing the party in power has created a situation in which the governments tend to disregard democratic norms, restrict freedoms and generally behave in an authoritarian manner. Then parliamentary

democracy is "basic" in Pakistan, it is "guided" in Indonesia and is living on oxygen in Burma. But in Western democracies, the existence of the opposition parties convinces the party in power that its term of office is not unending and that if it misuses power the opposition will win the next election. It is the logic of history and grammar of politics that parties must rule alternatively, hence opposition is the government in reverse (also in reserve). This is an incomparably efficient brake on the government of the day and this alternation is regarded as essential to the proper working of democracy. But when there is only one party, democracy may still have a fair chance of survival provided such a party has a leadership which is wedded to democratic ideals,³ treats the opposition with consideration and attaches more weight to its opinions than is due on the basis of its numerical strength and, thirdly, it promotes intra-party debate. Thus an inquiry into the prospects of democracy in an Asian or an African state will not only involve the determination of the number of parties existent in a country and their relative strength but will also include a study of the attitudes towards democracy of the leaders and the activities of the party or parties concerned, and their organizational structure and practices. When political parties and modern democracy require each other, it is not simply the existence of parties that is important; rather it is the existence of a structured party system functioning in what has been called a "Climate of political party government." The transcendent importance of the institutional frame-work is to

be realized. Therefore, Carl J. Friedrich rightly points out in his monumental work on constitutions :-

"Party development appears...gretly affected by the policy of government in the period of the begining of parliamentary representative Government." In the fashioning of new political institutions during this crucial gestation period it is vitally important that the constitution makers realize the creative nature of the tasks upon which they are engaged.

Any study of the problem of democracy in Asia and Africa will have to take account of the economic conditions in the countries of this area. It will be necessary to examine the prevailing standards of living, the difference in incomes of rich and poor, the nature of the economy and the prospects of economic development and industrialization. Economic advance in the Western countries also resulted in the elimination of profound economic cleavages. A country divided practically into two nations, the rich and the poor, can hardly be considered suitable for democracy. In such a country the impoverished masses will have little patience or respect for peaceful democratic methods. Only economic development, and higher education for the masses will permit those of the lower strata to develop long peiod perspectives and will enable them to better appreciate the slow and complex working of democratic institutions. Belief in secular reformist gradualism can only be the ideology of realtive will. without the acceptance of such an ideology by all sections; the adherence by the "outs" to

decisions made by the "ins" and the recognition by "ins" of the rights of the "outs" which is essential to the proper working of democracy, will not be possible. That is why from Aristotle down to the present day everyone agrees :—

"That more well-to-do a nation the greater the chances that will sustain democracy". Hence the need of capital formulation and rapid industrialization."

With industrialization, education is closely related in promoting democracy in the West. The better educated the population of a country, the better the chances for democracy. In none of the leading democracies of the West the literacy rate is less than 96 p.c. The Latin American countries with a literacy rate below 50 p.c. are invariably undemocratic and dictatorial. Even among the Afro-Asian countries there are countries with fairly stable democratic governments viz. Lebanon and Philippines. But it does not necessarily follow that democracy will flourish whenever there is a high percentage of literacy. In Germany, for instance, it failed inspite of wide-spread education. It is not enough for education to be wide-spread, it is the quality of education that has a greater bearing on the prospects of democracy. In Germany the content of education was such that it crushed democratic instincts and promoted a sense of loyalty and absolute obedience to the state authority. German education was disciplinary training rather than personal development. John Dewey was convinced that increased education of the right kind

is a basic requirement for democracy. Studies of individual behaviour reveal that education engenders support for democracy. The higher one's education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values and support democratic practice. Thus education is a necessary though not a sufficient condition for democracy. In the Afro-Asian countries, except Lebanon and the Philippines and Japan, the rate of literacy is extremely low. India, the more stable of Afro-Asian democracies and with more educational institutions has a literacy rate of only 25 p.c. Education in these countries would firstly give to the masses of the people what Panikkar calls the "apparatus of judgement" without which they cannot participate usefully in the democratic process. Better treatment of the subject population at the hands of the West was a kind of "sentimental reparation". Some of it may have rejected the idealized view of Afro-Asian society that was fashionable some years ago. Education being a process for the manifestation of perfection of interest in man, will broaden their outlook, enable them to understand the need for forms of tolerance, restrain them from adhering to monistic doctrines and increase their capacity to make rational electoral choices. Secondly, it will provide enough people to run the representative institutions, establish and activate the function of political parties and voluntary associations and man the administrative organization of the state and industry which are ever-expanding. Finally progress in the field of education will mean more technicians and skilled personnel without whom the economic revolution, which is so essential

for the survival of democracy is impossible. In the absence of technical personnel and knowledge of general know-how even foreign aid cannot be of much use. Otherwise the old drama of foreign intervention in the internal affairs with ideological affiliation shall be staged. The Afro-Asian countries face a tremendous task in the educational field. Unfortunately most of them either do not appreciate its importance for democracy or if they do they have not done much to improve the situation. Only a few of them have made significant attempts both to spread literacy and to promote higher education with particular emphasis on natural sciences.

Political democracy postulates social democracy. In the West full fledged political democracy could only be established after a democratic social structure had come into existence. It is within such a democratic social structure that the evolution of institutions of political democracy took place. In the Afro-Asian states political democracy is being artificially grafted to a society which is far from being democratic. It is not being developed within the process of social evolution as it did in the case of the West. Such an imposition from without has given rise to conflict between the system of Western political values and the system of traditional social and religious values creating a condition of instability and threatening the existence of democracy. In many of these states democratic ideals are being opposed voluntarily by all those interests and groups which enjoy privileged positions within the traditional social order. For instance

in some states the social structure is tribal ; in others resistance is being offered by feudal interests or religious interests as in the case of Pakistan, Indonesia and Ceylon. In Ceylon Mr. Bandarnaike was assassinated by a Buddhist monk because of his unwillingness to go as far as the Buddhists wished in the direction of Buddhist fascism. In India also untouchability and the caste system, marriage and divorce laws, the inheritance and property system, that form a part of the traditional society, appear to be in direct conflict with the system of political values which are being adopted. That is why there was strong opposition, for instance, to the Hindu Code Bill in India. However in our country, we have been able to eliminate to a significant extent conflicts of this kind. So long as a synthesis of the two is not achieved democracy will have a precarious existence, because a conflict between democratic values and the primary values of the people will be unavoidable particularly in countries where social institutions, especially law and custom, have the sanction of religion and are considered part of religious life, whereas an integrated value system, wherever it exists, will lend a strong justification and propriety to political institutions in support. Therefore, it will be necessary to find out how far the democratic system is compatible with the system of social and religious values in the Afro-Asian states. That is, it will be necessary to the extent to which a society has become democratic. Again, to be taken into account is the degree of legitimacy enjoyed by the democratic regimes in the Afro-Asian states. Legitimacy means the capacity of

a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate or proper ones for the society. Effectiveness, no doubt, is necessary for the survival of a political system. But no system can remain effective at all times and under all circumstances as, for instance, during a period of an economic crisis or a lost war. In the U.S., England and Sweden, democratic systems possessed legitimacy and that is why the crisis of effectiveness created by the depression did not result in its overthrow. It must be realized that in many of the Afro-Asian countries where conservative groups and institutions have generally worked and where the nationalist movements have almost always been militant and progressive, it becomes extremely difficult for the leaders to permit the continuance of such groups and institutions even when these have been divested of all powers. Compelled by the peoples' government, many of the Afro-Asian countries have had to move against all such groups and institutions as soon as freedom was achieved. And invariably the conservative interests so attacked have fought back making it difficult for the country concerned to achieve political stability. Again it is essential that all major social groups should be given access to the political process. Otherwise those denied such access will never approve of the political system under which they live and will be only too glad to get rid of it.

Anyway, democracy is not a "push button" system so that we can "push" the button and can enjoy the beautiful light of democracy. Even in those Western countries

where democracy has functioned successfully, it did not come into existence overnight but developed into its present form as the result of long experience of working of representative institutions. Significantly enough, it has been less stable and secure in France, Italy and some of the Roman Catholic countries where it had a deeper theoretical foundation and no equivalent tradition to nourish it. However, the presence of a tradition of representative government is not the only reason for the qualified success of democracy. For a democracy to operate the mechanism of constitutional government, it must have attained a certain degree of political experience and knowledge. There must be a awakened and informed public opinion. In a modern democracy, it is public opinion which ultimately controls policy, whether in external or internal affairs, but there is a wide gap between the expression given to public opinion and definite formulation of policies. "Eternal vigilance" is said to be the price of liberty. There must also have developed those definite conventions and usages which preserve the equilibrium of the system and militate against any successful coup d'etat. The methods and practices by which Government is operated must have become largely a matter of tradition and have secured the sanction of well organized principles. The only way of achieving this is to have a tradition of representative government. The cake of tradition being based on human wisdom, is perfected by long standing practices. Unfortunately, if there is anything which the non-Western countries miss, surely it

is experience and tradition. This has created two serious problems for the Afro-Asian states. The absence of representative governments in these countries in the past also developed in their peoples an attitude of hostility towards the foreign government. Alienation between the government and the people is marked especially in countries where government experienced by the people was imposed by right of conquest. A people coming into independence from a colonial past faces a task of correcting this alienation between the two. Here is another obstacle, in the way of establishing democratic institutions.

Though the experience of representative government has been longer in India than in most other countries of Asia and Africa, yet we cannot be sure if we have been able to develop among the people confidence and respect for parliamentary government. In our society exist today certain forces which may deliberately or unwillingly undermine the faith and respect people have for representative institutions. Two such forces are Religio-communism and Bhoodan. The first has manifested itself as a remedy for impatience with democratic ways. The second has become a threat to democratic government in many ways as it implies distrust of politics, and says that the marks of evil are upon the politician preventing an identification between the people and the government.

Then the Afro-Asian states except India had only a bare skeleton of the administrative organization when they became free, conse-

quently the government have not been able to improve the lot of these people. The people are getting increasingly dissatisfied and restless and are gradually turning towards and seeking those who promise efficient and effective administration even if backing them means the dissolution of democratic institutions. Again the shortage of administrative personnel is almost universal among the Afro-Asian states, because, many of the countries were in the tribal stage when they were colonized, and did not have an indigenous bureaucracy. If they had an administrative organization it generally confined itself to a few functions. In the past when a Sultan or a Raja exercised despotic powers he did so only within his palace and perhaps in his capital. Apart from occasional military expeditions, his ability to affect the daily lives of his subjects was severely circumscribed by the inadequacy of transport and by the universal rule of traditional law and custom. But even this small administrative apparatus was destroyed by the colonialist who established in its place an organization manned by personnel from the metropolitan country. When independence came, Afro-Asian countries found that almost all important posts were occupied by foreigners. The problem of shortage of trained administrators has been further aggravated in many of these countries by the decision of their governments to launch a programme of economic reconstruction and to establish a welfare state. Now the problem is replacement of foreign personnel and provision for an expanding administrative apparatus.

A satisfactory solution will be possible only on expansion of educational facilities. Low efficiency and corruption of the civil services are yet another problem of the Afro-Asian states to tackle. It will be tackled: (1) by improving the general economic conditions as the wealth level of a society will to a large extent affect the standard of performance and honesty of the civil servant, and (2) by evolving a fair and competent method of services. A properly trained bureaucracy can exercise a substantial check on the executive in a democracy.

Above all, it is effectiveness which helps a political system to secure legitimacy. In the modern world, effectiveness mainly means constant economic development. In these under-developed countries, economic revolution ought to take place for the survival of political institutions. Regarding the bearing of the international situation on the prospects of the Afro-Asian democracy, firstly foreign economic and technical assistance which these countries need badly will not be forthcoming in sufficient magnitude till discrimination is not eliminated and the political issues between the East and the West are settled peacefully. Many of these countries have followed the policy of non-alignment in their colonial past and imperviousness to unawareness of the dictates of history, geography and economics etc. To follow one only is to desert the company of the other and thereby to create enmity; so that there is gain in being friend of all and enemy of none for their progressive self-development.

Finally, it will be an incomplete analysis if we omit the role of communism in

these countries. Communism does not play such an important part in the African national revolt as it does in Asia and the Far East even though the social structure in both cases is plural and the socio-economic problems are of a similar pattern. The reason is not far to seek. This is because, with few exceptions there is no traditional problem of landless peasantry being exploited by a wealthy land owning class. The problem is not so much landlessness as it is of the low productivity of the soil itself.

The African peasants, therefore, are not likely to be caught by the slogans of land distribution, or nationalization except in Egypt and South Africa. The African peasant unlike the peasant in China is conservative in political outlook, and communism has no strong appeal for him.

Communism appeals to the de-tribalized natives in industrial and urban areas where a proletariat is coming into existence. It is true that the communist doctrine of self-determination and their well thought out theory of autonomous rights has a tremendous force and pertinence in the entire colonial world. To the European the challenge of Africa is as the challenge of communism. But since most of the Afro-Asian countries find themselves within a radius of 1,000 miles or less from the frontiers of the communist nations, the chances of the progress of democracy will be jeopardized if suspicion, mistrust and bickerings increase and take the place of friendship between them.

In such a situation the Afro Asian countries will naturally be inclined to con-

centrate on the development of the defence potential at the expense of allround economic development which is so essential for democracy and which India has realized only recently because of the circumstances created by the Chinese aggression. Much therefore will depend on the attitude of the communist countries towards countries in this region. The future of democracy will depend on the attitude of the powers and ultimately on the consciousness of the voter. In Africa, the forces of discontent prevail and the forces of nationalism are gathering strength, and colonialism is on the retreat peacefully, but the racial discrimination practised in many parts of Africa lends a bitterness which centuries will not be able to wipe out. For this challenge, what is needed is statesmanship and magnanimity. What Africa needs is freedom, peace and economic development. It also needs help; who does not? To help Africa is no mere charity, it is also expediency. By helping Africa to freedom, the West would help itself. Political repression and racial discrimination will close all doors of reconciliation. This can be the meaning of humanism.

Democracy as a way of life might be successful in the countries of the East, but as a political doctrine it has certainly failed to inspire the people of the region. The modern age is an age of grim tests and ordeals for democracy. Like many other political and economic needs it is on its touchstone. Either its salient principles be translated successfully into native practicality assuring the people or it must automatically wither away.

Democracy—meaning and concept

Modern States with large populations

and complex organizations face the problem always: how the rule of the people should function in practice. Lincoln said government of the people. The problem is how to select persons through whom the people will assert themselves in the government of the state and in its complicated affairs. If they do not speak the people's will—it is obvious that revolutionary upheavals will be the consequence. The fundamental requisite for the success of democracy are:

1. Mass-education or mass literacy
2. Enlightened public opinion
3. Economic minimum among masses; where the people are illiterate and uneducated judicious use of the franchise is impossible.

The role of leaders is of cardinal importance. Men praise themselves to leadership on false pretences by raising people's emotions to a high pitch with false promises and betraying them after power has been grasped through their help.

In Asia there has been the tendency of the revival of the cult of dictatorial leadership; liquidation of democracy in Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq or Syria are instances of this revival. Ayub and Col. Nasser, Hitler, Mussolini, were popular leaders but by democracy they destroyed democracy; but they had democratic governments.

Democratic Dictatorship

Dictatorship is the fetish worship of one man. Today most dictatorial leaders are applauded as saviours of the masses from the jaws of cruelty and party politics. This is because there is no genuine kind of democracy in those areas in Asia. When dictatorship replaced democracy, these common people heaved a sigh of relief and welcomed the

change, At times self interested and opportunistic leaders create simply hell in these countries.

Masses in these countries are psychologically convinced that the so-called democracy was out to destroy them politically as well as economically. They had a deep rooted notion in their mind that their leaders were concerned only in their game of party politics and not in the welfare of the masses. They think that all social evils and economic exploitation which burden their lives with the "black market", profiteering, jobberies and many other scandals, are the creation of these democratic leaders.

To save democracy from its death-pang it must be nourished and nurtured with utmost care and caution. Modern society is developing under complex conditions.

Democracy can succeed only if it can help the masses to keep the wolf of hunger and deprivation out of their doors. Unless there is economic satisfaction

no political or social reformation can be acceptable to the masses.

1. The working of human relationship is difficult to forecast.

2. In Political science it is always risky to speculate. Democracy as a way of life might be successful in the East but as a political doctrine it has certainly failed to impress the masses.

3. The prospects will depend on the criteria of democracy that the people perceive and the choices they make.

Judged by the above criteria there is no cause for complacency, nor, however, for despondency either.

The institutional forms may differ due to different historical situations and cultural traditions. The future will depend on the attitude of the powers and ultimately on the consciousness of the voter. Its future is certainly a bit uncertain but not, as yet, quite dark.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR FOOD PROCUREMENT POLICY

Prof. CHITTAPRIYA MUKHOPADHYAYA

The federal character of our Constitution,"assuming new dimensions after the last general elections,-has imposed on the Centre as well as on the constituent states a new set of responsibilities in respect of a really 'national' food policy. During the two-decade period of one-party rule at the Centre and in the states, there grew up all sorts of inter-state restrictions on food movements bargaining between 'surplus' and 'deficit' states and all the rest that undermined a comprehensive, unified food policy. It is yet to be seen if there would be re-orientation under the new political set-up.

With a given level of administrative efficiency and also of determination, the state governments can tackle a considerable part of the present, and short-period,-distributional aspect of the problem. More fundamental problems,-the monetary policy, population growth rate and the positive policy in respect of population control, increasing cost of bringing 'marginal land under cultivation and the rest,-naturally call for a more comprehensive and long-term policy on the part of the Centre.

Within the framework of these basic problems, the ultimate success of the food policy would depend on the ability of the Centre and the States to draw in, what is broadly termed as the 'marketable surplus' for the increasing number of urban or non-agricultural population.

Side by side with such measures that help increasing agricultural production,-better irrigation, more of seeds and manures, credit and marketing facilities etc,-the government may so fix the 'floor price' of agricultural products as would result in turning the 'terms of trade' in favour of the agricultural sector. The expectation would be that; if it could be combined with assurance about abundant supply of all sorts of consumer goods to the agricultural sector, this would draw in enough of 'marketable surplus.' This would enthuse the agriculturists to direct their production programme in such a manner as would enable them to give all such agricultural raw materials as the non-agricultural sector would require for industrial expansion.

This course would surely presuppose, amongst others : (a) an all round increase in agricultural prices; (b) encouragement to the industrial sector to invest its capital for all such consumer goods for which there is an insatiable demand in the rural agricultural sector.

Raising of agricultural prices, possibly to the *relative* level that prevailed during the 'normal' years of 1925-29, would surely bring in several pertinent questions:

i) what part of the additional increase in price will ultimately flow to the agriculturists themselves? Is it likely that, as at present, the beneficiaries will be those who,

though living in villages or in small towns, have quite a big stake in the trading and other non-agricultural activities? Land distribution pattern being what it is, will this higher price only help to widen the cleavage between the few 'big rayats' and those 'under-rayats' or landless labourers who form a formidable majority in the agricultural sector? Small cultivators, who *individually* do not have enough of 'marketable surplus' but have to rush to the market just to have enough cash to liquidate debts to the 'big rayats' may not (state of co-operative purchasing centres notwithstanding) have the benefit of the higher price.

If the increased profitability of agriculture leads to larger flow of capital from the urban sector for investment in land, what steps would have to be taken to stop large-scale transfer of land (perhaps not 'legal' but 'de facto') from small cultivators to 'big rayats' (or even to Joint Stock Companies)?

It may be argued that such shift in land ownership would eventually lead to better productivity and larger productivity and larger production. Marginal cultivators, instead of having the doubtful satisfaction of working on their own ill-maintained land, would work as wage-earners on the same plots of land and would get higher remuneration. Apart from the political and social effects of such a pattern of land-ownership and of agricultural practices, this would,—unless it is deliberately guided and controlled by the state with a definite goal in view,—no doubt put the clock back in terms of emancipation of the millions to which the country is committed.

(ii) On the other hand, quite varied, and even opposite reactions may be evident among

the sixty million cultivating families to an upward revision of price. Some cultivators, particularly the 'big rayats' and those caste-groups with less inhibitions about the social constrictions, may be enthused to produce more, others may, with their usual reluctance to work harder, just remain satisfied with whatever higher price they may get out of their existing level of production. As a consequence there may, as it happened in the early phase of the NEP in the USSR as well, be an actual decline in the flow of 'marketable surplus'.

(iii) A price rise for agricultural products, in absence of a definite policy for pegging the industrial prices and for restraining the profit policy of the organised private sector, react immediately on the already inflationary price structure. If the basic commodities of the agricultural sector receive a further premium in price vis-a-vis non-agricultural products, this would invariably recoil on the prices of industrial goods.

On the other hand, if industrial prices are sought to be kept down by coercive methods, this may, as things stand at present, lead to labour unrest, and also perhaps to eventual 'flight' of capital away from the industrial sector. Alternatively, this may encourage introduction of further 'labour saving' devices and monopolistic concentration resulting in shrinkage in the rate of absorption of additional labour force in industries.

(iv) Assuming that the government, in order to induce agriculturists to put in more of their produce on the market, would be willing to allow scarce real resources to be diverted to the production of more of consumer goods then, apart from the slowing

down of the rate of building up of the capital base, there would be the need for mopping up a much larger share of the income from the agricultural or rural sector by direct as well as indirect taxes. Extension of direct taxes has its obvious limits in the agricultural sector, and indirect taxes, already sufficiently iniquitous, would have to be used with caution to avoid further inter-sectoral income disparity.

The government would naturally see reason in all these arguments and would itself put forward other arguments too.

In its anxiety to feed the growing urban population, it might not feel inclined to depend only on what would turn out to be just a modified version of the market economy; floor price bring pitched high by decree only may not be effective if the remaining part of the operations is left to the age-old practice of price-mechanism.

Nor would the government like to allow, for obvious reasons, all the scarce resources of the country to be diverted primarily for the production of consumer goods in order to lure agriculturists to produce more for the non-agricultural industrial sector.

In absence of a very rigid control over (a) either acreage limitation for different crops (b) or floor ceiling prices of all major agricultural products or over (c) the market operation itself by acting as wholesale and monopoly buyer of foodgrains and important cash-crops, the government may decide, in the over-all interest of 'planned' growth to impose 'levy' on a more extensive scale than at present.

Simultaneously, it may deliberately fix agricultural prices, particularly of major food-

grains, at a low level vis-a vis non-agricultural prices in general.

The counter part of this, in the urban non-agricultural sector, would not only be continuance of rationing on a wide-scale, but also a clear direction to the industrial establishments not to fritter away, at least for some decades to come, the real resources of the country in manufacturing low priced consumer goods, a large part of which would be marketed in the agricultural rural sector.

The argument would possibly be that, as in all developing countries, (particularly such ones having, not a *total*, but a *regulatory* planning), we must have to channelise almost the entire resources for making capital goods so that the next generation may reap the benefit of our present sacrifice. If this means some 'tightening of belt' in the agricultural sector in particular, we should have to take it as the price that a developing country like ours, suffering from particularly low proportion of cultivable land per capita, demands of us.

If 'levy' is nothing more than a mandate to the agricultural sector to deliver a certain quantity of its produce at the *prevailing* market rate, the state, in that case, is nothing more than a *wholesale buyer*, with the over-riding power to take from the cultivators what it requires for the non-agricultural population. There is no deliberate tampering with the market economy, or price-mechanism, as such.

If the government has the satisfaction of not depriving the cultivator of what he would otherwise have received in the market, this is perhaps also true that the government is then concerned with nothing more than an

assured procurement for the urban population only. The other side of the shield, the overall problem of feeding the 'have-nots' in the vast agricultural sector itself remains obscure.

Here the government is more or less in the role, not of the agent of a Welfare State, but of the more articulate urban population on the one hand, and of the 'big rayats' on the other. The urban sector would get its quota of ration (at a 'subsidised' rate or at the 'cost plus' rate) and the 'big rayats' would get their 'reasonable' market price.

This would end the responsibility of the government. After fulfilling this role, it would think of giving 'doles' to the famine-stricken population, the 'weaker section' of the rural sector. The role of the government as the mobilizer of the savings of the people for going ahead with a pre-determined long-term economic plan would naturally recede to the background. The basic problem of an *overall shortage* of food, if not for the present generation then for posterity, would thereby invariably get blurred.

And this is exactly where we have been standing all these years. We are satisfied about the 'levy' collections (or, if that is not forthcoming, about supply from either the Central Pool or even from the PL 480 despatches...), and in the same breath, we express concern over the widespread distress of the people in the rural sector.

Levy, when accompanied by a deliberately low price of grains (which cuts down the purchasing power of the cultivator in order to fulfil a long term objective of the state) carries with it an *element of coercion* and aims at by-passing the market mechanism.

This, with its counterpart in the calculated siphoning off of the resources in the non-agricultural sector towards creation of the capital-base of the country, presupposes a determined role of the state in *sacrificing the present* interests of *all* sections of the existing generation for some time to come.

By keeping down the price of agricultural commodities that would flow to the market, the state might also aim at keeping low the cost of production in the industrial sector. In a country where food items constitute the largest proportion of family budget, low price of grain, under a given set of conditions, keeps down the wage-cost and consequently strengthens the hands of the government in pegging the prices and profits of non-agricultural products.

With this would accompany a definite industrial policy for the widening of the capital base; luxury consumer goods would be kept in the background for production of such goods that would go to make the backbone of the country stronger. This would carry, however, a call for 'tightening the belt' not only for the agricultural sector but also for the urban non-agricultural population.

But the element of coercion that this policy presupposes, cannot naturally be popular in a country where 'total' planning is not preferred and various 'pressure groups' tend to gather strength under the impact of growth. Moreover, as people make some sacrifice for the planned growth, they have expectations for having a share of the benefits that accrue.

To expect, therefore, that the agricultural sector, because of its vastness (vast-

ness of what?—of size or of poverty?), would make the sacrifice by continuing to receive unremunerative prices, would be rather too unrealistic.

Moreover, asking the agriculturists to deliver grains in plenty at a price much below the average non-agricultural prices would, in a democratic set-up, lead almost invariably to shrinkage in the flow of 'marketable surplus'. Simultaneously, agricultural raw materials for the industrial sector would also tend to shrink. On the other hand, demand from growing urban populations may also lead to diversion of land from grains to more remunerative items like milk, meat, vegetables etc; while, this in itself may bring in more income to the agriculturists (or some of them), this would, in aggregate terms, mean decline in the production of basic food items required for the larger but poorer section of the population.

If, on the other hand, in order to supply grains to the urban population, we convert our country into a 'police state' (as some states actually did during the last procurement season), even then, in absence of a more comprehensive plan, a continuing or permanent solution would not be in sight.

Success of the 'levy' system, which in effect would mean 'confiscation' in a restricted sense and payment of a particularly low amount as price or compensation for a year or two, may arise for a combination of reasons.

The 'big rayats' have raised, during the short period of boom in agricultural prices in the immediate past, their total requirement of cash to a high pitch. Educating the son in the college, constructing 'pucca' houses,

buying more land (perhaps as 'benamder') from small cultivators, investing money in business and in landed property in the towns nearby, possessing radio, cycle, watch, which were once considered the exclusive possession of the 'urban' gentry—all these may continue to intensify their cultivation efforts so as to derive the maximum cash they require.

But, will this be the general trend under the present social and economic structure? Perhaps not. And if this proves to be a permanent and general feature, it would possibly mean further transfer of land from cultivators to the 'big rayats'.

It might be argued that, as at the time of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain, agriculture should pass on to wealthier people who should 'mechanise' agriculture; the 'Rural Exodus' that would then take place would pave the way for future industrialisation through the tears and toils of the residents of the hovels and slums of big industrial cities. This may have its arguments; but our declared policy is certainly not consistent with a growth pattern of this type. 'Agricultural Revolution' must surely precede 'industrial revolution', or rather these should go together. But the ways must be different; or, that is what is being professed by our framers of the Plans.

Our objective of planning being what it is, what sort of economic relationship do we want to establish between the vast, but dumb agricultural sector, and the comparatively small but articulate non-agricultural sector?

Experience of the last decade and a half have shown that while the *per capita income* in the *secondary/tertiary sectors* has, without

interruption, increased by more than fifty per cent, that of the agricultural sector has erratically moved up and down several times and has registered an increase of no more than sixteen per cent. The gap in income between primary sector on the one hand and the two sectors on the other, has considerably widened. The oft-repeated slogan, "produce or perish" has proved to be the wrong slogan for the agriculturists; they find that being tagged to a market economy that is predominated by forces beyond their control, they only "produce *and* perish".

And now, in more recent years, as population pressure mounts up, employment opportunities fall behind, monetary policy tends to create a 'runaway' inflation, and the 'generous' flow of PL 480 food-aid shows signs of drying up, agricultural sector is being gradually subjected to pressures from the government to produce more (or, in any case, to deliver more of grains for the rationing system of the urban sector).

What measures should establish a more lasting and healthier relationship between

the two wings of the economy which have a common goal in view? If the agricultural sector is expected to play its role as an equal partner with the non-agricultural sector, what incentives and help does it require from the stronger partner?

It is needless to add anything to the almost endless pool of literature on the institutional and technological reforms that the agricultural sector requires so that it can contribute, on a more enduring basis, to the national wealth. Under the new political set up, that our country has got after the general elections, the Central Government as well as the constituent states (both the 'surplus' and 'deficit' states) would have to put their heads together for evolving a 'national', and not zonal or regional, food policy. The deficit state of West Bengal, which has to suffer the brunt of a high pressure of population and a host of other 'man-made' problems, would have to suggest ways not only for its own population but for other deficit states of India.

COLONISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

S. K. SACHDEVA

One of the most outstanding features of the 15th and 16th century Europe was the spirit of adventure and exploration which inspired the people of the continent. This spirit drove many a bold and fearless adventurer to see and made them undertake perilous voyages in search of new and strange lands. The predominant motive behind this effort was the vast riches of India and China which excited the imaginations of the Europeans and beckoned them to the East.

India had been known to Europe since time immemorial, and there had been intimate commercial intercourse between the two. What then was the necessity to reach India and other eastern countries by sea? About the middle of the 15th century, the Ottoman Turks, captured Constantinople and blocked the land route to the east. They were a martial people and had little interest in trade or commerce. Nor would they encourage others to take advantage of the lucrative trade with eastern countries. Moreover, the relations between the Turks and the Europeans were far from cordial. So, with the hostile Turk standing astride the overland route to the east, the Europeans had no alternative but to find out some other way to reach India.

The Portuguese and the Spaniards were in the van of this effort to reach India by sea. The belief that the world was round and not flat, as was generally held in earlier

days, had been firmly established by then. Acting on this belief, the Spaniards tried to reach India by going west, while the Portuguese tried by going east. The latter made a great advance in 1486, when a Portuguese Bartholomew Diaz, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the southern-most tip of Africa. It was an important discovery, because it threw open the way to India, and, over a decade later, Vasco da Gama, taking advantage of this discovery, reached the western coast of India.

En route to India lay the continent of Africa, which had been known to Europe since the dawn of history. Even so, because of its inhospitable climate and the forbidding nature of the coast, it failed to attract the Europeans. But in the 15th century, the obsession to reach the 'golden' east by sea changed the situation; it rendered the exploration of the African coast essential, because it was not possible to sail eastward unless the continent of Africa was rounded. The Portuguese, although far ahead of other European nations in the exploration of the African coast and first to reach the Cape of Good Hope, made no attempt to establish themselves on the continent. And it was left to the Dutch, who later supplanted the Portuguese in the East, to found a colony in the Cape region in 1652. Even the Dutch had no intention of settling there; the colony was meant only to serve as a port of call for the

Dutch ships going to or coming from India or other eastern countries.

The embryonic colony set up by the Dutch grew in course of time, but the growth was extremely slow—so slow that even after 10 years of its establishment, the population was not more than 250. During the closing years of the 17th century, however, the population growth received some impetus as a result of the immigration schemes introduced by Simon Vander Stel, the Dutch Governor of the colony at the time. These schemes were followed up by his son, W. A. Vander Stel, who succeeded him as Governor in 1699. When W. A. Vander Stel retired in 1707, the population of the colony was a little less than 1800. After the Vander Stels, no special efforts were made by the local authorities to bring in immigrants, and the population grew, in the main, by natural multiplication, touching the 15,000 mark in 1795.

The immigrants constituted a heterogeneous mass, belonging to different nationalities and religions, but the overwhelming majority comprised the Dutch and the Germans. They also included a handful of French Huguenots—that is, the French Protestants—who had fled the country in order to escape persecution. These immigrants became completely out of touch with their motherlands, and gradually, with the passage of time, their national traits were rubbed off and other differences more ironed out. The mass of diverse human beings was thus fused into one homogeneous people, who regarded Africa as their only home. They came to be known Afrikaners, their language, which was a hybrid dialect composed of bits from

the speeches of different language groups among the immigrants.

The closing years of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th formed a most turbulent period in European history. There was the French Revolution, followed by Napoleonic wars, and England and France were engaged in a life and death struggle. The last decade of the 19th century saw the fall of Holland and a republic being established there by the French the Prince of Orange fleeing the country and taking refuge in England. With a change in the fortunes of Holland, the fate of the Cape Colony was bound to be affected. Fearing that the Colony might be taken over by France, and in order to prevent this potential eventuality, England forestalled France by capturing the Colony in 1795, ostensibly on behalf of the Prince of Orange. Thus the Colony passed under the control of England.

Naturally enough, the Africaners did not take kindly to the British rule. Being conservative by nature and firmly anchored to their own political and social institutions, they resented very much the changes introduced by the British from time to time. They disliked the policy of progressive Anglicisation of the Colony on which the British had embarked. In 1820, as many as 5000 British settlers were brought from England. This was obviously meant to tighten the British grip over the Colony, and as such aroused much resentment among the Africaners. Matters came to a head 10 years later, when the British Parliament abolished slavery. The Afrikaner

farmers—commonly known as Boers, a Dutch word meaning ‘farmer’—were hit most by this reform. Slave labour was the chief instrument through which they worked their farms, and the abolition of slavery threw their whole economic system into disarray. Exasperated beyond measure, they decided to leave the Colony rather than live under the ever-intruding British. In this way began what came to be known as the Great Trek.

Leaving their ancestral homes and villages, carrying their belongings and urging their cattle before them, nearly 7,000 Boers set out for an unknown destination. They went in small parties and in different directions. A great mass of them settled in the great plains between the Orange and the Vaal rivers, and beyond the latter river. Some of them drifted into Natal, from where, however, they were driven out by the British. The settlements in the Orange river valley and in the plains beyond the Vaal river grew, and, in course of time, developed into the free and independent republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal.

The Boers had left the Cape Colony in order to get rid of the British, but they were not going to have this riddance. Soon the Boer Republics attracted the attention of the British, who began to eye them hungrily and look for an opportunity to swallow them. An opportunity presented itself before long. There was some internal trouble in the Republic of Transvaal. Although the British were in no way concerned with it, yet, since it fit in with their plans, they decided to make it an excuse for picking up a quarrel with the Transvaal and annexing it. But the Transvaal proved a hard nut to crack. The Boers refused to

accept British authority and rose in revolt against them. In 1881, they inflicted a severe defeat upon the British at Majuba Hill, thus compelling the latter to come to terms with them. As a result, the British withdrew from the Transvaal, declaring it an autonomous state under their suzerainty.

The defeat of Majuba Hill was no doubt a disastrous one, but it failed to deter the British from pursuing their expansionist policy in South Africa. About this time, or a little earlier, the commanding figure of Cecil Rhodes, who later became the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, appeared on the South African scene. A staunch imperialist of the type India had seen in Robert Clive, Cecil cherished the dream of bringing the whole of South Africa under the British sway. He organised the British South Africa Company on the lines parallel to those of the East India Company. Largely through his efforts and those of the Company he organised, Bechuanaland, a vast region south west of the Transvaal, and southern Rhodesia passed under the British domination. With the British acquiring these new dominions, the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were hemmed in on all sides by the British territory, with the exception of a small portion of the Transvaal border touching Mozambique, a Portuguese possession.

Meanwhile, developments in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had been giving a fresh turn to the situation in these Republics. In 1869, diamond fields were discovered in the Orange Free State, followed a little later by the discovery of the fabulously rich gold fields at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. These discoveries no doubt had important economic consequences, but of much

more far-reaching character were the political consequences which flowed from them. With a prospect of becoming rich over night dangling before their eyes, scores of adventurers and fortune-hunters, mostly from the Colony, rushed to these places, and huge settlements sprang up. Among these newcomers or 'Uitlanders', as the Boers called them, the British predominated. The Boers naturally did not like these people, and the relations between them far from cordial. It was particularly so in the Transvaal, where the 'Uitlanders', inter alia, nursed the grievance that they were being treated as political out castes. Their grievance was not wholly devoid of truth; they contributed the major portion of the state revenue, and yet they had little or no share in the administration of the country. This state of affairs could not last long and was bound to precipitate trouble. Matters grew worse and came to such a pass as to compel the British Government to intervene.

The British intervention could not but lead to war. The Orange Free State threw in her lot with the sister Boer Republic, and hostilities broke out in 1899. The British had the full support of their home country, who helped not only with money but with men and material, sending nearly 10,000 troops at the very out-set of the war, the Boers

had no such support, and they had to fight single-handed. Another factor of far reaching consequences giving the British an edge over their rivals, was that the land-locked Boer Republics were almost surrounded by the British territory. Under these circumstances, British victory was not only obvious but inevitable. The war raged for two years and a half, ending in the victory for the British, who forced the Treaty of Vereeniging upon the Boers.

The Republics lay prostrate; the way for the creation of a union of the South African colonies was now clear, the dream of Cecil Rhodes was going to materialise. The British set about the whole business very carefully and cautiously. With the eventual end of creating a union in view, the railways and the customs of the South African colonies were amalgamated. An English education system was introduced. Wisely enough, the vanquished Boers were treated most liberally, and every efforts was made to win them over. Having thus prepared the ground, the British Parliament passed in 1910 the South Africa Act, which gave birth to the Union of South Africa, comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEADLOCK

S. K. CHOUBA

Considerable attention has, understandably, been given to the recent Supreme Court judgement (February 26, 1967) on the Golaknath case which has created a constitutional dead-lock and, possibly, has complicated the lifting of emergency. The last session of Parliament also had a discussion of the problem on a private member's bill. Outside Parliament, however, four alternative remedies to this dead-lock have been suggested :

(1) The Government of India may wait for a reversal of the verdict passed by a simple majority of one, till another case of a like nature comes up before the Supreme Court.

(2) The President may make a reference to the Supreme Court of the same question through which a reversal of the verdict may be brought about.

(3) Parliament may convert itself into a Constituent Assembly, on occasions, to amend the provisions of Part III.

(4) Parliament may use the provisions of Art. 368, which have been debarred from jurisdiction over Part III of the Constitution, to amend Art. 368 itself in order to authorise the said article to cover Part III expressly.

This article is intended to examine these suggestions. There is a preliminary objection to the first two suggestions from the point of judicial independence, as in both the cases the Government will expect a certain kind of judgment from the Supreme Court. The waiting implied in the first suggestion, moreover, will involve an unnecessary time-lag.

The suggestion of Presidential reference also appears inadequate as the Supreme Court's opinion on such reference is purely advisory and can neither bind any court nor supersede a verdict. A salient example of the weakness of this sugges-

tion is the Keshav Singh case in which the Supreme Court gave an opinion which was not given due cognisance by the Allahabad High Court when the latter finally disposed of the case. The Keshav Singh case has left the possibility open for supersession of an advisory opinion of the Supreme Court by a High Court or even the Supreme Court itself.

The third suggestion is of converting Parliament into a Constituent Assembly. The Supreme Court itself has admitted that there is no express authorisation of the Constitution for the convention of a Constituent Assembly by Parliament. The suggestion, that item 97 of List I of the Seventh Schedule should be explored for such authority, is clearly uncalled for, as the said item has merely given the residual powers in the matter of ordinary legislative distribution of powers between the Union and the States. (The majority, here, has shown an astounding reliance on an implied power, with a strenuous imagination). It also impairs the federal principle, which has been at least partially adopted in respect of certain Articles of the Constitution that require to be amended with the concurrence of the majority of State Legislatures. The majority, further, did not take note of the fact that item 97 is not operative in the Union's relations with the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The suggestion, therefore, has a dangerous implication in that once a Constituent Assembly is set up, there will be no limit to its powers and respect for the States' opinions may easily be thrown into the sea.

Hence, there appears to be no alternative to an amendment of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has laid down that Art. 368 only prescribes the procedure of amendment and does not carry any authority for the same. Thus, in view of the judgement, an authority for amendment has to be given to this Article. Such authority has been

given in some foreign Constitutions in the following ways :—

U.S.A. (Art. V) : “The Congress,..... shall propose amendment to this Constitution..... which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified.....”

Australia (Section 128) “This Constitution shall not be altered except in the following manner.....”

Eire [Section 16 (1)] : “Any provision of this Constitution may be amended, whether by way of variation, addition or repeal in the manner provided by this article”.

There is, under the present political set up, a possibility of delay, if not an element of uncertainty, in the proposal for amendment of Art. 368 which requires the support of 2/3rds of the mem-

bers of either House of Parliament and the concurrence of at least one-half of the State Legislatures.

The possibility of amending Art. 13—the key point of the verdict—may, therefore, be examined. The Supreme Court has decided in this case that “amendment is ‘law’ within the meaning of Art. 13”, clause (2) of which forbids the State “to make any law which takes away or abridges” any of the Fundamental Rights. Distinction may pertinently be drawn between a constitutional law and an ordinary legislation. Hence the word ‘law’ in Article 13, clause (2) may be substituted by the word ‘legislation’ with a suitable definition of the latter added to, and necessary alterations being made in, clause (3) of the same Article. Such a change will not need the ratification of one-half of the State Legislatures.



COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT—TRENDS AND TENDENCIES

Dr. B. S. MATHUR

It is a well known fact that the cooperative movement was ushered into India by the Government in the year 1904. The movement was introduced with high hopes and lofty aspirations. This laudable measure was hailed as 'a turning point in economic and social history by Henry W. Wolff the great cooperator and "the way from poverty to plenty" by Sir Daniel Hamilton, an enlightened administrator. From the times of Mr. Nicholson to Mr. Mirdha almost all the committees and commissions have reiterated their abounding faith in the efficacy of the movement as a lasting solution to the problem of rural economy in general and agricultural credit in particular. In a country like India which is wedded to democratic planning on socialistic lines, such an institution can play a singular role in the formulation and implementation of our plans. This is the main reason why our national Government has accorded it such an enviable position in our plans. It is now regarded as an indispensable instrument of planned economic action and not as a species within the private sector.

In order to extricate the movement from the rut of passivity and stagnation, the Government has provided massive assistance in the form of loans, share capital, subsidies and grants. The role of the state has undergone a radical change from a mere onlooker to

that of an active partner in the field of cooperation.

PHENOMENAL PROGRESS

The liberal aid provided by the state has considerably accelerated the pace of the cooperative movement. During the last decade it has grown by leaps and bounds. It is now a mammoth organisation which covers 85 p.c. of our villages and 33 p.c. of our rural population. The number and membership of all types of cooperatives have increased from 1.8 lakhs and 1.37 lakhs in 1951-52 to 3.42 lakhs and 3.78 lakhs in 1964-65 respectively. The proportion of agricultural credit supplied by the co-operatives has moved from 3.1 per cent in 1951-52 to 25.9 per cent in 1961-62. The amount of loans disbursed by the agricultural credit societies increased from Rs 23 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 331 crores in 1964-65. Every state has now an apex bank which is supposed to act as a balancing centre, clearing house and the highest financial agency for the cooperatives. The basic principle of one central cooperative bank for each district has been followed in most of the states and wherever more than one bank or banking union existed, the same has been amalgamated so as to form one strong and viable unit for each district. For providing long term finance to the farmers, 19 central land mortgage banks with over 800 pri

to proceed on a uniform basis. There is a marked regional disparity and unevenness in its growth. This would be sufficiently borne out by the fact that while in the States like Punjab and Madras more than 80 per cent of the rural population has been covered by the movement, in other States like Assam, Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar not even 20 per cent of the people have come within the cooperative fold. Even within the same State considerable discrepancy is discernible. In Rajasthan, for instance, one third of the cooperative societies are concentrated in the the four districts of Ajmer, Jaipur, Kota, and Bharatpur, while the remaining ones are scattered in other 22 districts. In Andhra, the movement has achieved greater success in coastal districts than in Rayalaseema or Telengana.

MARKED REGIONAL DISPARITIES

The positive aspect of the cooperative movement has, however, thrown up some very striking trends and tendencies. In the first instance, it is quite evident that the cooperative movement in India has failed

TABLE 1

PROGRESS OF COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

Types	Number		Membership		Working	Capital
	1957-58	1963-64	1957-58	1963-64	1957-58	1963-64
			(In lakhs)		(In crores)	
CREDIT SOCIETIES :-						
1. Agricultural	166543	211361	44.08	241.08	37.25	142.29
2. Non-Agricultural	10430	13279	21.78	56.92	57.78	217.27
NON CREDIT SOCIETIES :						
1. Marketing	1899	3165	5.4	17.84	N.A.	40.93
2. Farming	3637	3180	1.90	8.33	4.16	6.21*
3. Weavers	9514	12598*	4.09	13.1*	14.60	26.34*
4. Other Industrial	10117	22164*	6.20	11.22*	8.19	21.09*
5. Consumer stores	9745	9883	18.45	19.32	N.A.	12.57
6. Housing	4172	9885	2.48	5.23*	32.42	77.98*
7. Transport	N.A.	1013	N.A.	0.46	N.A.	5.78
8. Labour construction	N.A.	3953	N.A.	2.55	N.A.	3.45

* Figures are for 1962-63

Another significant feature of the present day cooperatives is the increasing number of dormant and moribund societies. About one-fifth of the agricultural credit societies are lying dormant or dead in the villages. In the industrial sector also the problem of dormancy has assumed dangerous dimensions. About 30 per cent of the khadi and village industries were reported defunct in 1963-64. A scheme of revitalisation and reorganisation of the existing societies launched in 1958 appears to have failed to improve the situation. The "Viability surveys" conducted in Bihar have disclosed that not one of the nearly 20,000 societies can be retained in the present size while in Uttar Pradesh about 30,000 of the total of 46,000 societies are non-viable units. It is now a moot question whether it would be expedient to revive these moribund societies or to face the unpleasant fact and wind them up. The Mirdha Committee has rightly pointed out that a genuine self-reliant cooperative movement cannot grow unless this widespread problem of dormancy affecting the viability of the primary credit structure is effectively dealt with.

ABSENCE OF SELF-HELP

The basic principle of cooperation is that people with limited means should come together and pool their resources to avail of the facilities denied to them individually. Judged by this standard, it cannot be denied that the cooperative movement has failed miserably in spite of its more than 60 years' existence. Self-help and self-reliance, the chief characteristics of the co-operative movement in the West, are conspicuously missing in our country. The movement has rather

failed in the important task of inculcating the habit of thrift and mobilizing savings of the rural areas. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that deposits constituted 6 per cent of the total working capital of the agricultural credit societies in 1963-64. The deposits per member were only Rs. 12. Even some of the central and apex banks have not been able to attract sufficient deposits from the public. They are simply acting like conduit pipes transferring funds received from the Reserve Bank of India to the primaries.

It is largely true that in an inhospitable environment the cooperative movement cannot flourish without external aid from the Government or the Reserve Bank of India. And yet, if it is to substantiate its claim as a voluntary movement it must sooner or later become dynamic enough to stand on its own legs by parting with such aid. It is indeed a sad commentary on the working of the co-operative movement that even after 15 years of sustained and concerted effort it has neither shown the élan and vitality which are essential attributes of real progress nor has it come of age to dispense with the Government aid. On the contrary, with the passage of time it is showing greater and greater appetite for the doles and administrative help, the very anti-thesis of a genuine cooperative movement.

FACTORS RETARDING GROWTH

The cooperative movement has not achieved the desired degree of success as a very large number of primary societies, the edifice on which the whole super-structure is based, are weaklings and non-viable units. Most of them have poor membership, inadequate work-

ing capital and have a poor and low volume of business transactions. It is futile to expect these feeble units to achieve the main objective of intensifying agricultural production and rebuilding our rural economy.

The expansion of cooperative marketing and processing has proceeded at a snail's pace with the result that not much progress has been gained in the field of forging credit with marketing. Most of the marketing societies are contented to confine their activities to the distribution of fertilizers and other controlled commodities. The intention that cooperative credit should be "production oriented" and "market-realised" has remained only an evasive illusion in practice.

The working of the cooperative societies has suffered grievously on account of the dearth of trained and qualified personnel. In fact, most of the general ills from which these societies have been suffering from in most states such as lack of proper accounting, irregularities in the holding of meetings, delay in disbursement of loans, maintenance of records, besides inefficient management, are largely due to lack of trained and qualified staff. No attempt has so far been made to create a cadre of secretaries,

Procedural defects have also stood in the way of speedier growth of the cooperative movement. The loan policy and procedures have not been formulated in accordance with the much publicised crop loan system which forms an important part of the integrated scheme of rural credit.

The introduction of democratic decentralisation in most States has, contrary to expectations, not proved conducive to the

development of the cooperative movement. It has been noticed that neither the Panchas nor Sarpanchas (nor even Vikas Adhikaris) show sufficient interest in the development of the cooperative movement. Most of the Panchayat Samitis have become hot-beds of politics and the officials and non-officials of the Panchayati Raj institutions are reported to be interfering in the working of these voluntary organisations.

HURRIED EXPANSION

A study of the cooperative movement during the last decade would reveal that societies have been organised in far too great a hurry. In an attempt to achieve the targets, there is a race in various districts for inflating the number of societies. The inevitable result of this haste has been a number of still births, a high early mortality and a large number of derelicts. This would be apparent from the fact that during the period 1950-51 to 1962-63, about 27813 societies were liquidated, 24,733 were pending liquidation and a large majority of C & D class societies are on their way to liquidation.

These unpalatable facts demonstrate that a cooperative society is a human institution and it cannot grow as an exotic plant grafted from the top on a soil which is not congenial to the roots. A society should have its roots in the will of the people and must grow out of their felt needs. It is suggested that in our zeal for statistical achievements, the spirit is not sacrificed. The policy of deliberately accelerating the pace of the movement is hardly in keeping with the spirit of the cooperative movement. The

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

success of the movement, after all, cannot be assessed on its numerical strength. In the ultimate analysis, it is the quality and not the number that is the acid test of its success.

RIISING OVERDUES

Another disquieting feature of the cooperative movement in the country is the incidence of ever-increasing overdues. The rise in the overdues is not restricted to a particular State. There is an unmistakable trend of rising overdues in most of the States. Even in some of the highly advanced States like Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Kerala and Maharashtra there has been a substantial increase in the volume of these overdues both in absolute and relative terms. The all India percentage of overdues to outstanding loans in case of agricultural credit societies was 22 in 1964-65. The overdues of the central cooperative banks increased from Rs. 27.43 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 61 crores in June 1965. The proportion of the same to outstandings moved from 12.5 to 16.4 during the same period. In the case of non-credit sections also high overdues are rising rapidly. In case of farming societies, for instance, they formed 39 per cent of total outstanding loans while in case of non-agricultural non-credit sector this percentage was 28 in 1962-63. The position of the overdues, however, becomes worse when account is taken of the fictitious transactions and book adjustments which are not uncommon in many a state.

In some of the States like Assam and Rajasthan the situation of the overdues has

reached such an unsafe level that if the menace is not stemmed it would bring about the collapse of the whole cooperative structure. These alarming high overdues show the peril of pouring unregulated and unsupervised credit to the peasantry who lack the essential virtues of thrift, foresight and self-help. This shows the imperative necessity of training people in the use of credit before they are entrusted with it.

VESTED INTEREST

The most disturbing trend, however, is that the cooperative movement is increasingly slipping into the hands of the vested interests. The leaders of the movement in many a State are busy politicians, traders, money lenders and ex-jagirdars who are not genuinely inspired by the cooperative ideals. The following illuminating though pungent remarks of Shri S. K. Dey, former Minister of Cooperation and Community Development, amply bear testimony to these unhealthy traits:

"The cooperative movement, with notable exceptions, had grown to be the preserve of many vested interests. All types of people, from the saint to the villain, had rushed into the cooperative movement. Control in cooperative organisation from the ground to the national level continues to be vested, with notable exceptions, in a narrow circle which cannot be dislodged, however hard one may try. There are outstanding examples of service. But also, the instances of exploitation are far too many in comparison. What is worse, the needy rarely get the help meant for them"

Even in Maharashtra the vanguard of the cooperative movement in India, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, has spoken of "big" industrialists in the cooperative sector and the abuse of the trade credit by the traders. The sugar cooperatives, the blazing example of the value of cooperation, are increasingly becoming a hot bed of internal strife and discord. Electioneering and intrigues and pressurising for office are reported to be rampant in these units.

Only a few years back a conference convened by the Reserve Bank of India had gone on record with the finding that the members of the cooperatives were mostly "passive cooperators and unscrupulous self-seekers". In one of the States the Governor had issued warning against politicians "harnessing cooperatives for serving personal and party interests." In another State the Minister for Cooperation confessed in a conference that people were joining the movement with the sole object of grabbing money. The recommendation of the Committee on Cooperative Administration "to ensure that extraneous forces, political or otherwise, are not allowed to influence the working of cooperatives" has thus in practice remained a pious hope.

One is constrained to comment that the sound and healthy growth of the cooperative movement in India has been retarded due to gross mis-management and misuse of cooperatives. The working of some federal cooperatives in States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi has done greater harm to the cause of the cooperative movement than all the opposition of the private sector put together. In the coope-

rative sector the enemy from within is more pernicious and parasitic than the enemy from without.

COMMON MAN NOT BENEFITTED

It would not perhaps be impertinent to observe that concomittant with the spurt in State aid a certain quantum of honesty and fair dealings is also called for on the part of the cooperatives. The experience, on the other hand, has been that these large scale subsidies, loans together with other concessions in matters of sales tax, income tax, stamp duties, preference in matters of allotment of quota of controlled commodities etc, are tantalizing and alluring the unscrupulous opportunists to form societies which are nothing but pseudo-cooperatives. The only thing cooperative about them is that they are registered under the Cooperative Societies Act and the word 'cooperative' is associated with their names. The International Team of the Ford Foundation was not wide off the mark when it reported that "spoon-feeding would mean kiss of death" for the cooperatives.

It is indeed distressing to note that the cooperative movement has not largely benefitted the small farmer, the small artisan and the small man of limited means in whose name the taxpayer is made to pay taxes. In 1954 the Rural Credit Survey Committee revealed that a large slice of the cooperative finance was availed of by the big and large cultivators. Since then there seems to have been no material change in the situation. A recent survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India has further brought to light the fact that the facilities provided by the coopera-

tives are reaped largely by the well to do sections of the community. It is pertinent to note that 13.3 per cent of the total household whose assets are valued at Rs.10,000 or over got 55 per cent of the share of loans from the cooperatives, while 53 per cent of the total households with assets of less than Rs. 9500 got only 10.8 per cent of such finance. Even in Maharashtra according to some surveys, cooperative credit, which is being given on a massive scale, mainly reached wealthy and middle class farmers. It is quite obvious that in the cooperative world in India the balance is still tilted in favour of the haves against the have nots.

SUMMING UP

The widespread extension of cooperation appears to be the expedient solution of the

problem of agricultural credit and other chronic ailments of the vast majority of the rural folk. What is urgently needed is bold and dynamic approach so that the movement may captivate the mind and imagination of the masses. It is quite obvious that cooperation cannot develop by an appeal to the sentiments or through slogans but by the efficient working of the cooperative institutions. The movement calls for a complete reorientation without further delay. On being purged of feeble and stagnant units, it would be able to render yeoman's service to our hard-pressed and much exploited sons of the soil. Cooperation holds out a bright future if its control is in the hands of selfless, devoted leaders who are prepared to work with a missionary spirit and zeal.



CURRENT AFFAIRS

KARUNA K. NANDI

THE VIETNAM STALEMATE

The situation in respect of the Vietnam war appears to have been undergoing rapid changes in both content and outlook during the last one month. At the beginning of September the U.S. President authorised extension of the area of bombing in the North into the region within 20/30 miles of the Chinese border which was, until then, considered out of bounds for the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam and there was considerable step up in both the fierceness and concentration of attack. There were also repeated attacks on the Demilitarized Zone on the Mekong Delta on the plea that this jungle infested swamp was being repeatedly used by the Vietcong for guerrilla attacks on U.S. military installations near the region. At the same time the repeated proposals for a U.S. bombing pause as a precondition for attempts by neutral nations to persuade President Ho Chi Minh to come to a conference table for a negotiated peace with the U.S. were consistently ignored. All this seemed to indicate that the U.S. hoped for an expeditious military decision on the Vietnam issue.

But the September Presidential elections in Vietnam created obvious embarrassments for President Johnson and his Administra-

tion. It was insistently alleged that under U.S. military protection and with the connivance of the U.S. Government, the ruling military junta of South Vietnam were creating insuperable difficulties in the way of the civilian candidates in their electioneering campaign. American public opinion took this accusation very seriously. It was alleged by South Vietnamese civilian leaders that the action of Thieu-Ky administration of South Vietnam were reducing the elections to a farce and a fraud. Some very prominent U.S. legislators took up the cause and demanded that the U.S. Government must ensure conditions under which alone a free and fair election could be held. When, however, the result of the election was announced and Thieu was declared elected as the President of South Vietnam, it was taken as indisputable evidence that the allegations of the South Vietnamese civilian leaders were fully justified. This has apparently caused a measure of criticism of and opposition to President Johnson's Vietnam policy on the American continent which the President could no longer ignore with impunity. Especially so, because among his present critics of his Vietnam policy are included such stalwarts who, until only a little while ago, were his staunch supporters.

Under the U.S. Constitution the President is invested with unlimited authority to con-

duct his country's foreign affairs, including the conduct of a war so long as Congress had authorized the war itself; Congress cannot direct the manner in which the President and his team of executives and advisers should go about the matter. This authorization, so far as the Vietnam war was concerned, was given to the President in 1964 via the now notorious *Gulf of Tonkin resolution* and short of rescinding the resolution, Congress can do nothing to limit his discretion in the matter. Nevertheless, with the Presidential polls due next year and with Johnson's desire for a further term of tenancy of the White House, he is virtually under pressure to abide by public approval of his actions and from opinion poll surveys recently carried out it appears that public approval of Johnson's conduct of the Vietnam war has been fast waning.

The reason for this change of atmosphere—if not quite change of opinion—appears to be, first, that the American public are increasingly coming to realise that the present military government of Vietnam under Thieu and Ky are, in effect, merely puppets of the U.S. military administration stationed in Vietnam and could not have existed without the latter's support and approval. The current South Vietnamese elections, they seem to be coming to realise were, indeed, reduced to a fraud and a farce as alleged by the civilian leaders of South Vietnam and that undoubtedly with the connivance and assistance of U.S. military personnel in Vietnam. This would seem to blow the lid off U.S. claims that it had been fighting this war in Vietnam so that democracy might survive in South East Asia. Secondly, in spite of the dimensions of the

fresh escalation of the Vietnam war by the U.S. the end remains as far beyond sight as ever it was. Indeed, the doubt is becoming widespread if at all any kind of military decision of the conflict will ever be possible. Such a view of the matter is reinforced by the increasing despondency about the outcome of the war even among certain members of the Johnson Administration and, generally, among some of his erstwhile supporters.

All this would seem to have been putting their respective pressures upon the Administration and the increasing anxiety of the Johnson government to persuade third-party nations to intervene with a view to creating the necessary preliminary basis for opening negotiations with the North without wholly sacrificing U.S. prestige, would seem to be indexed by the U.S.'s recent moves for inducing the Soviet Union to take the initiative for reconvening the Geneva Conference in this connection. The Soviet Union, however, seems to be reluctant, if not wholly unwilling, to oblige the U.S.A. in this behalf.

U.S. public anxiety appears to have been recently stimulated to a pitch of frank nervousness on account of the recent decision by Secretary McNamara to extend the area of heavy U.S. bombing in the North to the region within 25 to 30 miles of the Chinese mainland borders already referred to earlier, and which were hitherto directed to be off the beat of the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam. The Administration has taken pains, no doubt to make it very clear that the extension of the area of bombing raids in the North did not mean any attack upon mainland China but U.S. public opinion does not seem to

be wholly convinced that the Chinese Government may not construe these raids as a sort of undeclared war upon itself.

In the meanwhile certain very prominent U.S. Senators and Representatives who have previously continued to lend their unqualified support to the Vietnam policies of the Johnson Administration, have been becoming acidly critical of current Vietnam issues and some of them have even been going to the length of publicly suggesting that the Administration should divest itself of the responsibilities and obligations of the Vietnam war, taking the whole issue to the United Nations and *leaving it with them*.

Latest developments would seem to indicate that President Johnson, despite his stubbornly tough stand only a few weeks ago, appears to have suddenly become tired of the issue and would now be glad of any opening or opportunity of dumping the war on other shoulders than his own. A very recent news despatch is purported to report that the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Goldberg, has now been instructed to take the matter before the U.N. and seek its intervention in bringing the matter to a satisfactory and honourable settlement. It is reported that he has been instructed to frankly admit that in the view of the U.S. Administration and its latest assessment of the situation, no early military solution of the problem is in sight and it would therefore like the United Nations to explore ways and means for its resolution by mutual negotiation and agreement under U.N. aegis. In short, the Johnson Administration appears now to have arrived at the

realization that not a military decision but only a political settlement on the basis of mutual agreement was the only possible means of bringing the present armed conflict to a conclusion and re-establish peace in South East Asia.

To what extent this realization has been assisted by the rapidly declining public support to Johnson's Vietnam policy with which is linked up his prospects at the next year's Presidential election, or by a sincere reassessment of the actual war situation in Vietnam, it is not easy to determine. Perhaps a little of both have gone to the ultimate decision to take the matter before the U. N. so that the U. S. may now slide out of its direct and overwhelming obligations in this regard. The widening budget deficits in U. S. Federal revenues may also have had something to do with it, for, clearly, the President's recommendations for a fresh 10 per cent income tax surcharge has proved, as it could only be expected, to be extremely unpopular. But whatever the reason for latest U. S. anxiety to now slide out of its Vietnam commitments, so long as it is achieved, it will be bound to be regarded as a good thing not merely for the U. S. herself, but also for peace in south East Asia and, generally, for the cause of world peace. It may, however, prove quite difficult at this stage for the U. S. to persuade the U. N. to take over its responsibilities in Vietnam. The U. S. S. R. has already made known its opposition to thus allowing the U. S. to slide out of her difficulties in this regard which, very legitimately, the former considers to have been of the U. S's own making, despite

wiser counsels to the contrary from other uninvolved nations of the world.

SWARAN SINGH AND THE UAR-ISRAEL CONFLICT

India's present external Affairs Minister, Swaran Singh, appears determined to prove once again the truth of the old English adage about fools rushing in where even Angels would fear to be seen. On the eve of his departure for the U. S. to lead the Indian delegation to the ensuing sessions of the U. N. General Assembly, he was reported to have announced that he would now take a hand in mediating the Israeli-UAR conflict to a satisfactory settlement. It could not have been unknown to him that earlier attempts in this direction had already been abortively made by leaders of other nations who could certainly claim a measure of world stature. One of the latest in this direction had been Yugoslav President Tito's recent tour of Egypt and the Arab countries and the proposals towards a settlement. He was reported to have been circumspect enough to avoid including anything in his proposals which would be likely to offend either side. His proposals, in effect, were simple enough; Israel should restore Arab territories it had over-run and now continues to occupy in return for international guarantees that its own borders will remain inviolate in future and that Israel should be allowed *innocent* passage for its shipping through the Suez and across the Gulf of Aquaba. President Tito was careful enough not to include among his suggestions the proposal that the Arab countries should accord formal recognition to Israel, a matter

on which the Arabs have been highly sensitive. He was careful not to include among his suggestions any question regarding the status of the old city in Jeruzalem, so that no provocation to Israel was offered. Nevertheless he was unable to please either side. While Nasser, in his habitual moderation might not have been entirely unwilling to concede Tito's proposals provided the other Arab nations agreed, the latter's reactions were quite violent. They were not prepared to concede anything which might have been looked upon as a virtual, if not quite *de jure* recognition of Israel and, in their view international guarantees of Israel's borders with the Arab countries and conceding innocent passage to Israeli shipping through Suez and across Tiran with Arab consent would mean just that. They would rather think of ways and means of shutting off Arab oil to Europe for the latter's implied support to Israel, rebuilding the UAR Army and equipping it with matching modern sophisticated arms, so that they might settle their issues with Israel on the battlefield as early as possible. The Israeli reaction to Tito's proposals were reported to have been equally tough and negative. Israeli government spokesmen were reported to have summarily rejected them without even stopping to consider their merits on the ground that Israel did not desire any third-party mediation. Any settlement that the Arabs might wish to arrive at with Israel must be arrived at by direct negotiation between the belligerent parties without any outside intervention or mediation. The Arabs, Israel claimed, have already learned their lesson

during the June war; it was necessary now to ensure that they did not forget it in a hurry and it could only be ensured if they directly sued Israel for settlement and peace.

All this was public news quite a while before Sardar Swaran Singh was reported to have announced his decision to assume the dubious role of a mediator. It should be quite clear that he was not likely to have a more purposeful hearing than Tito had earlier; nor that Israel, with whom India's relations have always been marked by cordial distrust and suspicion, was likely to be more indulgent when he took up the mediator's role. Elementary political sagacity would have warned him that all that he possibly could succeed in achieving through such a foolish attempt would be to make his country a laughing stock of the world community. But the vanity and the conceit of wanting to assume a major role in international affairs, for which our loquacious Sardar simply lacks requisite minimum size, are so self-hypnotising that one is simply carried away by the glamour of possible personal glory without pausing to consider the more probable and heavily expensive cost of international ridicule.

INDO PAKISTANI RELATIONS

In a recent statement ascribed to the U. S. S. R's Prime Minister Kosygin, the importance of Indo-Pakistani understanding and settlement of their outstanding disputes by mutual agreement was once again underlined with considerable emphasis. This preceded President Ayub Khan's recent official visit to the Soviet Union when he was

reported to have said that Pakistan was always eager and ready for mutual agreement with India in the spirit of the Tashkent declaration, but it was India's attitude of resistance to all reasonable Pakistani advances in this behalf and her virtual repudiation of the Tashkent spirit which has been sabotaging Pakistani efforts in this direction. By way of illustration of his point he was reported to have harked back to the so-called Kashmir question which, President Ayub was reported to have claimed, was the one item of vital interest to Pakistan, the settlement of which in a manner acceptable to Pakistan was an essential condition- precedent to complete Indo-Pakistani understanding and agreement. Incidentally President Ayub Khan was also reported to have referred to India's alleged armaments race. India, as he put it, was arming herself to the teeth and this, he claimed, constituted a threat to Pakistan which the latter country could not possibly ignore without jeopardising her own existence. Ayub Khan was reported to have added that India's action in this behalf was compelling Pakistan to deploy a major portion of her scant resources to her defence budget which she needed so vitally for the development of Pakistan's backward economy.

These statements and allegations are not new nor has any of them ever been substantiated by a factual assessment of India's position in this behalf. The Western powers, however, have always allowed themselves to be inveigled by such accusations and have provided massive arms aid to Pakistan. India, on her part, had never been a candidate for arms aid from any of the Western nations except when

the Chinese attempted to over-run her northern boundaries, The measure of aid given to India on this occasion was neither very massive nor extensive. What little India needed for her essential defence equipments, she had purchased with her own very limited resources. The arms aid given to India for the specific purpose of resisting Chinese aggression she had never used for resisting Pakistan's aggression upon India in 1965 in accordance with the stipulation that India would not use any of them against a country with which the aid-giving country was in terms of friendship. Resisting Pakistani aggression upon India was not an offensive measure taken by India; it was purely defensive and it might not have been considered any violation of the spirit of the agreement under which this arms aid was received by her if she used these equipments of warfare merely for the purpose of resisting aggression. But India chose to keep not merely to the spirit but also the letter of the agreement. Pakistan also had been receiving arms aid from the very same countries on identical stipulations, but she has again and again been proved beyond any reasonable doubt to have used most or all the weapons of aggression she had received as a gift from these countries in her attacks upon India; not merely when she invaded Kashmir in 1965, but also earlier when her army attempted to over-run the runn of Cutch. And Pakistan has always been given much more massive assistance than India ever had and the equipments she had so received included a very large proportion of very modern and highly sophisticated tools of offence. Inspite, however, of these proven facts the Western

powers' partiality to Pakistan in all of her disputes and conflicts with India have been both stubborn and notorious. As a matter of fact, for quite some time during and after Pakistan's short but abortive invasion of India, they had also frozen all development assistance to India and it was only a short while back that this was restored in a substantially attenuated volume.

What would appear to be particularly in question is that aid to Pakistan was continued even after Pakistan entered into bilateral arms pacts with People's China which was a vriiual repudiation of the country's obligations under the SEATO pact to which she was committed. Even when Pakistan gave away a large parcel of Indian territory illegally occupied by her in northern Kashmir to China obviously to spite India and to strengthen the hands of the Chinese aggressors upon India, this did not seem to have created any adverse impression upon Pakistan's Western allies. Such is the murky character of current international affiliations and alliances !

That Pakistan, additionally, has been re-arming herself with most uptodate and highly sophisticated weapons of offense, mostly of the U. S. origin, has also been a proven fact. While the U.S.A. could not afford to give these equipments to Pakistan directly without losing face with the world community, these, it was proved, were being routed to Pakistan through West Germany and Iraq and Iran. It is only very recently that the U. S. Administration appears to have been compelled by reason of the widespread scandal created by these transactions and which appear to have been causing a great

deal of adverse comments and criticisms at home that the U. S. had to intervene and take measures to stop these deliveries to Pakistan through third party sources. This, however, appears to have caused fresh pretexts for prejudice against India. In a recent debate by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on President Johnson's aid recommendations to the under-developed countries and which was reported to have been lopped by a very substantial 100 million dollars, one prominent Senator belonging to the Administration lobby was reported to have advised that such among the aid-receiving underdeveloped countries who would appear to have been increasing their defence budgets should be debarred from receiving further U. S. aid because, in his view, it was said to have been utterly wrong for a country which needed all its own resources to be deployed to the development of its economy. This, quite obviously, has been meant as a threat to India and, apparently, no consideration would be accorded to the undeniable fact that the recent increases in India's defence budget allocations have been a compulsion of the situation proceeding from the continuing threat of Chinese aggression and Pakistan's unconcealed military designs upon India.

These are all facts and factors which inevitably supervene upon Indo-Pakistani relations. President Ayub Khan's sanctimonious references to Pakistan's peaceful and non-belligerent desires and objectives in respect of India should not deceive any one. Under Ayub Khan's dictatorship Pakistan has always and consistently been

hostile to India and, it has been proved without any shadow of doubt, has constantly been looking for opportunities and pretexts for aggression. The reference to the so-called Kashmir question has always been used as an excuse for fostering and fomenting enmities against India both among Pakistani nationals and in the outside world wherever President Ayub Khan is able to obtain a hearing.

Premier Alexei Kosygin's apparently sincere attempts to persuade the establishment of more cordial relations between the two countries may have led him and his colleagues of the Kremlin to give Ayub Khan a hearing. But he has, at the same time, been very reassuring to India when he declared that President Ayub Khan's statements as well as the Soviet Union's increasing measures of assistance to Pakistan should not be construed as any breach in the long-established friendship between the U.S.S.R. and India.

India should, as she always has, continue to take President Ayub Khan's professions of potential friendship to India at their face value and continue to explore ways and means to widen the possible areas of agreement and friendship between the two countries. But such explorations should not, as they often have unfortunately been, follow lines of appeasement of Pakistan. India has very pertinently told Pakistan again and again, that there is no longer any Kashmir question so far as Pakistan is concerned. Kashmir, both legally and in fact, has become—by the voluntary choice of the Kashmiris themselves—an inalienable part of India and is now fully integrated with the Republic,

the only outstanding part of the erstwhile Kashmir question so far as India is concerned is that Pakistan continues to illegally occupy quite a large chunk of this region of Indian territory and it is, both morally and legally, Pakistan's own obligation to vacate this continuing aggression upon India. India had, no doubt, offered to enable the Kashmiris to make their choice as to whether she would remain with India or would go over to Pakistan through a plebiscite way back in 1948, provided Pakistan fully vacated her aggression upon Kashmir and enabled the Indian Government to carry out the plebiscite under impartial international auspices. Pakistan never allowed this step to be taken and her claims in this behalf have now, clearly,

been lost by default. This is a position which should be firmly and unequivocally made clear once again to both Pakistan and the outside world. There has always, and unfortunately, been an undertone of ambiguity in India's stand on the matter, possibly to avoid hurting Pakistan's susceptibilities on the question and which, apparently, was interpreted in certain quarters as expressive of India's desire to appease Pakistan. But appeasement is weakness and weakness on the part of either party always stands in the way of mutual understanding and agreement. Firmness is the only way which would be likely to yield desirable dividends in Indo-Pakistani relations.



CALCUTTA'S MILK SUPPLY ORGANIZATION

(CONTRIBUTED)

Calcutta's milk supply organization has been one of the most outstandingly ill-managed enterprises of the Government of West Bengal and has been proving itself to be one of the heaviest burdens upon the State's public exchequer. In fact, the manner in which the organization has been and is being run, one is being increasingly led to the conviction that it has developed into almost a racket.

It is possible to question the very legitimacy of the West Bengal Government's involvement in this enterprise. Apart from the fact that to enable the Organization to function as a monopoly enterprise in the public sector most alternative sources of vital milk supply to the Calcutta metropolitan area were ruthlessly eliminated thus reducing the people of the area to a state of helpless dependence upon it, the question may also be asked as to whether the Government had any constitutional right to burden the public revenues and thus all tax-payers of West Bengal for the benefit of the people of Calcutta who comprise only a microscopic proportion of the State. To the lay man like, for instance, the present writer, not versed in legal legerdemain, it appears as if the action of the West Bengal Government in this behalf should come within the mischief of *discrimination* in favour of the residents of the Calcutta metropolitan area ; a mischief which appears to have been so categorically prohibited by a certain Article of the Constitution.

It will, no doubt, be argued that the establishment of the Calcutta Milk Supply Organization was not the result of carefully thought out and positive planning, but was only incidental to the Calcutta Corporation's decision to remove the unhealthy and squalid cattle pens scattered all over the city's residential districts from the metropolitan area. Initially it was conceived as facilities to be provided to Calcutta's innumerable owners of milch cattle for housing their cattle in healthy and more attractive environs when they would be ejected from the city. For one reason or another, the facilities thus sought to be provided did not prove attractive to the cow-men, possibly because the new housing provided for the cattle were too far away from the principal market of their yield and by and by a dairy was laid down at Haringhata and a far more elaborate milk-collection and processing organization was built up with its centre at Belgatchhia and a corresponding system of transport and distribution centres in the city were organized, all under public ownership. All this was done at enormous outlay of resources and although the Government of the day declared that it would be run, just as the State Transport system in Calcutta was being sought to be run, on a no profit no loss basis, these were the two largest among the State Government's enterprises which continued to incur enormous losses from year to year. The State Transport system in Calcutta, hap-

pily, inspite of its many lacks and defaults, under the careful management of its former Chairman, Mr. J. N. Taluqdar, gradually eliminated its losses and was even able, during the last two years of Mr. Taluqdar's Chairmanship, to shew a nominal profit. The Calcutta Milk supply Organization's losses, on the other hand, continued to be on the up-grade and, it is understood, the magnitude of its losses during the last year (1966-67) have exceeded the colossal figure of rupees one and a half crores.

Two things in this connection would appear to be very significant and may, in part, explain the defaults and inadequacies of the Organization. The first of these is that in course of time the principal basis of milk supply handled by the Organization came to be the enormous quantities of imported milk powder which continued to be increasingly used to make up the milk which was being supplied to the consumers, supplemented to a comparatively lesser extent by milk collected from goals or cow-men; the yield of the Haringhata dairy was only a microscopic part of the total milk supply that was being handled by the Organization. In spite of all these elaborate arrangements and the very considerable amount of foreign exchange costs to finance the imports of milk powder used by the Organization, its total supply was never able to cover even an infinitesimal proportion of the subsisting demand. At that stage, an unofficial estimate assessed, the quantum of per capita supply offered by the Organization did not exceed half an ounce even. When, some four years ago, the Government of India were obliged to drastically reduce the Organization's foreign exchange

allocation for the purpose of imports of milk powder, its supplies faced an acute crisis and the potentials of the milk collection section of its organization and its processing facilities were considerably stepped up at considerable input of fresh capital. It was at this stage that the attention of the authorities concerned appears to have been turned to the dairy and animal husbandry division of the Organization. Haringhata dairy had, in the mean while, been reduced to a most moribund state and far greater attention had already been diverted to the development of its piggery and pork processing facilities as well as the poultry and similar other commercial farming enterprises; dairying as such has remained a subsistence (even a below-subsistence) enterprise in this country generally and, especially so with the Calcutta Milk Supply Organization, whose ineptitudes in respect of its principal responsibility have been both colossal and notorious.

So far as collection of milk for the Organization's supply and distribution programme was concerned, when availability sharply declined after the imports of powdered milk have had to be severely restricted, the whole thing was blamed on the Calcutta's milk-based sweets trade and the top management of the Milk Supply Organization persuaded the Government to ban the manufacture of CHHANA and allied products and the sale of any kind of milk-based sweets in the Greater Calcutta area. The collection immediately jumped up by a substantial quantity and although restrictions on the issue of fresh advance milk cards continued with only peripheral relaxations, so that there appeared to be such

a proportion of surplus availability at the disposal of the Milk Supply Organization that quite a substantial proportion of this essential commodity was diverted towards the manufacture of butter and ghee which, having regard to the over-all state of milk supply in the region, should be considered an expendable luxury. Funnily enough, the collection facilities at the disposal of the Organization, although substantially expanded at the outlay of considerable amounts of fresh capital resources, did not obviously include collection arrangements at the principal sources of Chhana manufacture. The inevitable result was that the milk-men in these areas were faced with a crisis of existence fullest advantage of which was taken by a class of moneyed sweets dealers who organised a brisk and a highly profitable trade in sweets in the peripheral areas adjoining the region where the manufacture and sale of milk-based sweets had thus been banned. A clandestine trade in the commodities even within the banned area also had not been wholly eliminated.

With the withdrawal of the Channa Control Order some months ago, the Milk Supply Organization's top bosses offered the direst prognostications about the inevitable reactions of this withdrawal upon its own milk procurement quantum. As events have turned out, their prognostications have been proved true, but if the whole thing were looked at logically, the results would seem to have been deliberately engineered so that those who made these dire prophecies would be proved true prophets. But what are the realities of the situation?

The Milk Supply Organization procures milk at a cost of Rs. 1.45 p. per litre. Whole and pure cow's milk in this country is said to have an average fat and protein content of respectively 3.5-4.0 per cent and 18-22 per cent. That is to say, 100 litres of whole milk would yield just about 4 litres of butter and about 22 kg. Chhana; if the residue were converted into KHOWA KSHIR, it would yield, instead 16 kg. of the material. At the average price of Rs. 10 per litre, 4 litres of butter would fetch Rs.40 ; 22 kgs. chhana at the average price of Rs.2.50 per kg.(the average has been considerably below this level during the last 12 months), would fetch Rs. 55 and 16 kgs. khowa kshir at an average price of Rs. 6 per kg would yield Rs.96. So that at the lowest retail level these milk products off a 100 litres of milk would yield a gross return of approximately either Rs. 95 or Rs. 96 in all. If a margin of only about 25 per cent (it should be considerably higher in actual effect) of the retail price were allowed to cover the cost of manufacture, cost of transportation, interest on outlay, middleman's profits etc., the highest net yield to the milk man could not have been any higher than Rs.71.25; in effect the net residual yield to the milk man would not exceed Rs.50 for a 100 litres of milk. If, on the other hand, the Milk Supply Organization paid Rs.145,-for a 100 litres of milk and a margin of 10 per cent or Rs.14.50p were to be ceded by the milk men to intermediary procurers, they would retain Rs 135.50 for their own share. It would then not be worth the milkman's while to have his milk converted to chhana and allied products; it should clearly not need

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the compulsion of a Chhana Control Order to persuade the milk man to sell his milk to the Organization as long as he was assured of a regular market here. It is only because the Organization does not have any arrangements for milk procurement at the comparatively distant but really the most important centres of chhana manufacture that this milk is not available and there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Chhana Control Order made the slightest difference so far as milk available at these centres were concerned, except that it entailed a great deal of needless loss and suffering to the milk men at these centres who had thus been robbed of their biggest traditional market.

What would seem to be most amazing is that during all these years since the Harin-gkata dairy was first started, there was not the slightest attention paid to developing its own sources of supply by the Milk Supply Organization, although it was said to have been staffed by a very lavishly paid team of alleged experts and specialists. When an attempt was made in 1965 to reorganise the Organization's own sources of supply, the so-long untenanted sheds and facilities at the Kalyani division of the State's animal husbandry unit was filled in by new purchases of cows; it was announced that the new wing of the Organization here started with an initial strength of 5,200 milch cows. The stock procured for this new unit were understood to have been mostly cows of well known Punjabi strains. But a statement by the department some time ago which was given to the press that the average yield per cow at this unit has been found to have been approximately 2 litres per cow, the suspicion is strengthened that the stock actually purcha-

sed must be of the low-yielding DESI variety although, perhaps, the price paid for them was what is generally considered legitimate for a high-yielding Punjabi cow. We noted some time ago in these columns that we had been told by a source usually considered reliable that quite a large number of new-born calves of the ages of between 2 and 4 months had been sold off at the absurd price of Rs.5 or even less because they were found to be of under-average quality. Even if they were sold as veal for the table they would surely have fetched a much higher gross price. In any case one suspects a racket in the entire Milk Supply Organization which is being run at enormous cost to the State's helpless tax payers. In a recent news item it was complained that the present Minister in charge has been putting into motion inquiries into the conduct of responsible senior officers of the Organization which was being resented and which, according to them, had been breeding both indiscipline and inefficiency among the subordinate staff. Honest senior officers should, on the contrary, heartily welcome such inquiries because if they have not been remiss, deliberately or otherwise, in discharging their responsibilities, the results of such an inquiry would only help to vindicate them and they would have nothing to loose and everything to gain therefrom. In any case the colossal losses that are being incurred by the Organization inspite of its substantial monopoly advantages, while much smaller commercial dairies in and outside the State have been making enormous profits, would demonstrate, on the face of it, that there must be something seriously wrong and the least that a responsible Minister owed it to his State and to him-

self is to order a sifting inquiry and find out where the default lies.

What we would, on our part, suggest to the Minister in charge is that if his State Organisation is not able to immediately stop the rot that appears to have overtaken the Organization root and branch, the only wise thing for him to do is to offer to hand over the entire organization to a private sector commercial enterprise of the requisite integrity ; it may even be wiser to sell out at some capital loss to the State which a fresh and impartial valuation of the assets of the Or-

ganization would, perhaps, make it unavoidable. In any case he and his Government would have no right to burden the revenues of the State with the increasing losses of the Organization whose only utility would, so far, seem to be that it provides highly paid (perhaps much higher than the normal market value of their services) jobs to an obviously incompetent and inefficient clique of senior officers and a large and scandalously underpaid and malteated lower staff whose labours alone help to carry on the provenly moribund functioning of the department.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE DRAMA OF FIJI: By John Wesley Coulter, D[.]Demy 8 vo, pp. 230, including a detailed Appendix and source references; published by Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., Rutland, Vermont, U.S.A. and Tokyo, Japan; Price \$.3.50.

Fiji Islands consist of a group of 503 islands in the South-western regions of the Pacific Ocean of which only 106 have, so far, been inhabited and comprises one among the only two remaining Crown colonies of Great Britain. Like most other territories under the administration of major imperialist or colonizing powers, Fiji also is in the throes of its desire for self-government and although it is not yet set for attaining this objective, it is only a question of time before the British Government will be obliged to concede the demand and slide out of her dominance over this colony.

The cosmopolitan nature of the population of the islands, however, make the process of transference of power to representatives of the native population one of immense complexity and complication. The non-selfgoverning territories on the Pacific Ocean have been mostly, under the tutelage of big Western powers like the United States, France, Australia, and Great Britain, some of them under trusteeship of the United Nations and some, still, as the Fiji Islands, as colonies of these powers. The trend of emancipation of erstwhile colonial possessions from the governing foreign powers started immediately after the close of the Second World War. The earliest examples of this process of emancipation from colonial or imperialist rule by mutual agreement between the ruling power and the subject people are provided by India, Burma and several other territories of South East Asia. The trend eventually extended itself towards the African Coast territories and other regions in the west. The Pacific region also has recently begun to share in this trend. In 1962 New Zealand granted independence to its trust territory of Western Samoa. A Micronesian from the Marshall Islands, part of a Trust administered by the United States was reported to have told a meeting of the U.N.

Trusteeship Council in 1960, that the people of Asia and Africa were getting their freedom and he thought that the people of the Pacific region also could provide as good an example of governing themselves as did these other people. Fiji, Gilbert & Ellis Islands and the Solomons Archipelago on the Pacific are representative British colonies; Guam is an unincorporated territory of the United States, American Samoa is incorporated. Native populations in these colonially ruled territories are now chafing at the bit of foreign domination and Fiji and others have started to push hard for a larger share in their own administration than has, so far, been conceded to them.

Fiji, as already observed, consists of a group of 503 islands on the South-western Pacific situated between Lat. 150 and 220 south of the equator; 180th meridian of longitude passes through the group, of which only 106 are inhabited. The Fiji group are scattered over about 90,000 sq. miles of the Ocean, but the actual land area of the group is just over 7,600 sq. miles. The main island, Viti Levu constitutes more than half the land area and has the largest concentration of the total population. The population of the group, according to a census carried out in 1962 comprised roughly 128,000 persons which shows nearly a 20 per cent net increase in six years since 1956 when the previous census was taken. The composition of the population shews that there were 212,828 Indians, 177,770 Fijians, 12,179 belonging to immigrant stock from other Pacific islands, 5,177 Chinese and part-Chinese, and 19,779 persons of European or part-European descent.

The European element in the population, naturally, dominate not merely the administration of the islands, but are also the dominant element in their trade and industry. So far as trade and industry are concerned, they represent a dominant element of entrenched vested interests, but the personnel themselves are of a floating nature who, mostly, leave the islands on superannuation and settle down in Australia, New Zealand or England. The Chinese immigration into Fiji started some

time around the third quarter of the last century, population of the islands; inhabitants of Indian but their numbers have considerably accelerated since the end of the Second World War; they are mostly engaged in small retail trade, shopkeeping, market gardening or pig and poultry farming. Most Chinese in Fiji own their little enterprises. Other Pacific islanders in Fiji have migrated to these islands at various periods. Before the British Crown acquired the lease of the Fiji islands, these Pacific islanders were imported to meet the European settlers' need for labour on their cane or copra plantations; they have become more or less integrated with the local population. After Britain acquired the Fiji group, European employers started to import Indian labour under a system of indenture on the expiry of which they were free to settle down in the islands in whatever occupation or profession they chose. European employers preferred Indian labour who were more steady, hardworking and comparatively more sophisticated. A great majority of these indentured labourers never repatriated but settled down on the islands; along with the Chinese they almost wholly monopolise the retail trade of the region, many among them having also entered various professions. Island born Indians, who have been there for many generations have hardly any connection with the land of their forefathers. They, very naturally, claim that they are as much natives of Fiji as people of the original Fijian stock which is predominantly Melanesian in ethnic pedigree with a variable Polynesian strain in their bloods. The Fijians are mostly subsistence farmers concerned only with the cultivation and production of food crops. They are a happy-go-lucky people with very strong communal loyalties which even extend to their occupations and means of living. Most Fijians cultivate their lands on an integrated collective basis and the sense of individual property is very weak among them if not quite absent. The Fijian population of the islands was comparatively small until 1921 when their numbers were reported to have only been a little over 84,000; in the four decades between 1921 and 1962 their number has increased by a little more than 100 per cent and they now constitute very nearly 43 per cent of the total population of the islands; inhabitants of Indian origin constituting approximately 50 per cent.

There are certain very fundamental differences between the Indians and the Fijians which, with the prospect of political independence looming ahead, the latter apprehend would relentlessly drive them to the wall unless they were careful to protect their own interests. The Indians are hardworking, aggressive, thrifty and with a strong sense of personal property. Their respective living habits are also far apart from each other. It is this undertone of relentless conflict between these two very different people comprising the polity of the Fiji islands that constitutes the *drama of Fiji* and which John Wesley Coulter endeavours to present with a sense of commendable objectivity and detachment. That the policies of the dominant colonial power contributed in great measure to the element of mutual suspicion and distrust among the Fijian and Indian elements of the society, is without question. Schooling in Fiji has been notoriously inadequate and the Government have borne only a microscopic proportion of the costs of schooling of the native Fijian (including, of course, the Indian immigrant population). Being more hardworking, thrifty and affluent, the Indians have always been able to give a comparatively better standard of education to their children than the more impecunious Fijians to their offspring. The Fijians, therefore, have remained a comparatively backward community compared to the more progressive Indian who have had the means and never neglected to share in a more progressive life. This, in itself, would have been a serious cause for natural distrust and suspicion between the two communities, because this differential in their respective standards caused a corresponding differential in their respective shares in the leadership of the community. But what far more aggravated this undesirable distance between the two communities is that schools have always been racially segregated and sequestered from one another—obviously so that the British might continue to perpetuate their rule over the community—and prevented promotion of actual understanding and good will.

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Fijian society is predominantly agrarian in structure and the future development of the islands would depend mainly upon the importation and integration of modern and progressive elements in the agrarian system. The Fijian suspicion of their Indian compatriots has, very gradually, begun to lead to a measure of emulation of Indian methods in their system of primitive agriculture. The salvation of the community will depend in very large measure upon the extent to which this effort at emulation will lead to vital reforms in the Fijian system of land tenure and in the extent to which the present very feeble trends of individual industry and ownership in agriculture will be allowed to

progress. The future of Fiji as a whole will have to depend more on integrated effort by the two major communities, of which one is very backward so far, and trends begin to show, although only very weakly at the moment, that a beginning in this direction is already on the way to being made.

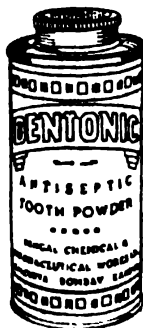
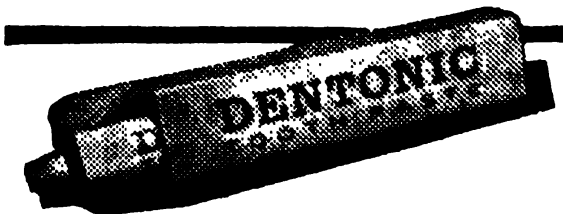
The book is honest, forthright and, what is most important in such a study, is blessed with a rare sense of objectivity which is able to bring a scientific mind to a study of the basic nuances and facts of the problem, brushing aside all biases and prejudices which would be likely to clutter up judgment with emotional overtones and sentimental rubbish.

Karuna K. Nandi

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Some Methods of studying social change

Social changes are an important factor in progress and India has, likewise been passing through changes indexing trends in current Social evolution. In any study for assessing such trends of change, the methodology applied to the exercise constitutes an important element. Prof. N. K. Bose's contributions to anthropological and demographic researches have been well known and widely recognized. His article in *Man in India* under the above legend demonstrates a depth of approach which would be found both exhilarating and inspiring.

One's purpose in studying social change is naturally to obtain as objective a view as possible ; something which will fit in with the succession of events as it develops progressively in course of time.

Social anthropologists have realized that one's judgement regarding values, which eventually springs from the world-view to which one subscribes, tends to warp the perception of social facts ; and two ways have consequently been suggested in order to minimize the error thus produced.

One of these views is that a social anthropologist should rather study societies of a different kind from one's own. In that case, many things which are taken for granted by those who live in that society would not escape the attention of one who comes from outside. This view, however, 'appears to be only partially true ; for an outside observer may as well miss some of the more important things which

matter in a civilization. For example, many European missionaries in India have tried in the past to understand Indian civilization and the manner in which society and thought have been changing here in recent times. It is not true that their findings were frequently inaccurate merely because they tended to prove the superiority of Christianity over other faiths ; there were other reasons as well why they missed some of the salient features of Hindu civilization.

When we were at school more than fifty years ago, it was usually held on the basis of travellers' and missionaries' accounts that Chinese society was extremely conservative ; and in spite of numerous Western impacts, the reaction of China was, on the whole, unyielding. Similarly, Karl Marx was of the opinion that the proletarian revolution would be ushered in a highly industrialized society rather than in one where the basis of economy was formed by agriculture. But history has had to modify both of these expectations. Of course, when the Russian and Chinese revolutions actually took place, reasons were soon discovered in order to justify what had already happened. But these reasons followed the event ; they proved that the previous generalizations about Russian or Chinese society were not quite correct. So that when an observation is made by an outsider, i.e. by one who is not involved in the movements simmering in a society, he may or may not observe just the right thing which eventually matters. An observer from outside certainly enjoys certain advantages. But that does not necessarily yield the open-sesame to an under-

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standing of a civilization, or the processes of change to which it is subject.

The second method which has been recommended for the attainment of objectivity is that of the use of mathematics. Mathematical abstractions undoubtedly clear the ground of much that is laden by value-judgements. They have undoubtedly yielded better results than by the first method described above. But then, the question is, what should one count? The unit to be counted is often hard to define. One should have an extensive acquaintance with the facts of a culture or society; and only when one has compared it repeatedly with similar and dissimilar societies, is one gradually able to discover what appears to be significant in it, and can be used for counting purposes.

In other words, before the mathematical approach is designed, one must be clear about the purpose of the counting, that is, about the hypothesis involved; for the result will eventually have to be interpreted in terms of the hypothesis.

If the scientists' observations and resulting hypothesis have been right, counting and the manipulation of numbers will add precision to his findings. And, more than that, this manipulation of figures may open up completely new avenues of enquiry and investigation. Figures are thus helpful; but one cannot start with figures. He has to make sure if the unit chosen, or the factors into which he resolves a particular phenomenon of social change, have been rightly chosen or not. And in such an endeavour, a social scientist will still have to behave more like an artist than an engineer.

Let us take an example from what is happening in modern India. During the early decades of the present century, a small section of urbanized Indians became deeply involved in the struggle for the political liberation of India. There were many more who shunned the path

of revolution, and tried to bring about political changes through the constitutional means of agitation, education and organization. Moreover, they tried hard to bring about reforms in society; to cut away the strings which held India society tied to the past. The British government had enormous resources at its command. They counted the number of revolutionists and of constitutionalists; compared their caste and social standing; and also the number of men who remained indifferent to the appeals of the urban elite. The last were in an overwhelming majority. But with changing events, suddenly the masses also began to stir from their sleep; and today the India that has come into being belies many of the expectations of the British rulers of yesterday.

Of course, an explanation has also been found for what has already happened. The charismatic leadership of Gandhi has largely been held responsible for the awakening of the masses. Some have even attributed the success of Gandhi's appeal to its essential religious, obscurantist Hindu character. But this overlooks two important facts, namely, that the Hinduism for which Gandhi stood personally was miles away from the caste-ridden, ritual-oriented forms of Hinduism; while his political and even educational endeavours were essentially of a secular character, and yet the masses responded to his call. Secondly, when he opposed the partition of India, he was left alone by the masses, and by such political leaders as Pandit Jawharlat Nehru, the socialist, and Sardar Patel, the nationalist. The masses who are supposed to have responded to him because of his religious appeal woke up, and drowned themselves in an orgy of communal warfare, or in the succeeding phase lapsed into apathy and listlessness. The charism of Gandhi obviously failed to have any appeal to either the masses or their leaders.

The point which is being made out is that many more trends may remain operative in a case of social change than appear readily on the surface. Unless we delve deeply into their intricacies, the secrets may escape us, and leave us satisfied with superficial generalities which do not give us any deep understanding and are unable to account for many of the events which actually take place afterwards.

This reminds the writer of an incident of long ago. A celebrated Indian literary figure once wrote about European civilization and the hollownesses he had witnessed in it in course of his long stay in Europe. He was conversant with several European languages, and had also established friendly contacts with men like Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland and others. In reply to his observations, Rolland wrote some time afterwards that the picture drawn by this distinguished Indian artist was of the market place only. He had wholly missed the utter dedication of many scientists and artists of Europe to the cause of Truth and Humanity. If all around them, nations had become maddened by fear and had taken up arms in order to defend what they held to be precious, the Indian had missed the inner turmoil of these scientists and artists who suffered, and would not give up their sacred trust.

What is implied is that there is no short cut to objectivity and truth in the social sciences by a simple reliance upon either mathematical abstractions, or by limiting oneself to the study of a society which is not one's own. These mechanistic ways of avoiding error keep one at a rather superficial level unless the open-sesame is furnished by an artistic perception of what really matters, and what does not, in the object of one's study.

This brings us to the view to which the

present writer has been progressively led, namely that one can best study social change in the society in which he lives and works, and which he has also been trying to change.

The question immediately arises. If he himself is committed to a particular world-view, will not his findings be also deeply coloured by it, and yield biased and selective results of what is happening today? Undoubtedly the danger is there. But just because one hesitates to dive into the sea-bottom, should one give up deep diving and remain satisfied with the currents which operate only near the surface of the ocean?

As has already been suggested, it is best for one to study the society in which one lives. He should observe its changes and for this purpose, (a) ask the least questions; (b) prepare oneself by constantly examining and re-examining his inarticulate major premises by comparing them with those of other people and of other cultures; and lastly (c) he should state clearly before his readers what those premises are, so that they can assess for their own sake the reliability of his observations. It is only thus that he can contribute his utmost to the progress of the social sciences.

Let us take the case of the caste system in India and how it has been changing in modern times. One question which has exercised the mind of many social anthropologists in India, has been this; How is it that, in spite of many revolts against it from the days of Buddha, Nanak and Kabir to Raja Rammohan Roy, caste has succeeded in maintaining, itself, and even corrupting Moslems and Christians in rural India to a considerable extent? Several answers have been furnished. One is that Brahmans so successfully indoctrinated the people of India

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with their ideas of ritual pollution, status, etc. and by their theories of Karma and rebirth, that caste held on in spite of many revolts against its authority. The supplementary explanation has also been suggested that political and economic power was added to those obtained through birth and rank ; and thus caste was reinforced firmly in Indian society.

But is that all that the social anthropologist has to offer regarding the caste system ? What are its strengths ? What were the alternatives into which people could have escaped when caste was found wanting ? Why did they not do so even when alternatives were available ? What were the risks involved ? These are questions which have yet to be answered. And our suggestion is that such questions come naturally to an observer who participates in the social system, and yet does not allow his vision to be clouded by the demands of reform. Such an opportunity usually does not come to one who does not share intimately in the joys and sorrows of a civilization. There are indeed some who, by the supremacy of their intellectual and perhaps spiritual ability, can rise above this limitation and observe and understand a civilization as if it were his own. But such identification cannot be factory-produced.

And here incidentally, we shall make a passing reference to a case study undertaken five years ago regarding the social situation in the metropolis of Calcutta. Calcutta has a large percentage of residents whose mother tongue is not the Bengali language, and yet it continues to be the nerve centre of the culture of Bengali-speaking people. The city is more than two hundred fifty years old. Many communities have lived in it together and practised common occupations which had nothing to do with caste. And yet their differences in language, custom and even interests have remained more or less separate and discrete.

An enquiry was conducted about how the residents of Calcutta made their living in the first and second ascending generations, and how they do so now. Moreover the question was asked as to how communal voluntary associations are run, and what part they play in comparison with municipal and official organizations which cut across communal boundaries. It was found that different communities in Calcutta have been very unequally affected by the city's economic and political developments. Their social responses have also been of an uneven character. Some have worked hard in order to reform and urbanize themselves ; others have clung more firmly to their original rural identities, or even the identity of kingroups.

It appears from a careful historical study that political and social reform among the Bengali residents was looked upon with suspicion, and even suppressed by British rulers during the days of their empire. New urban associations did not arise fast enough. Progress was thwarted ; not because Hindus were ritually minded, but political obstruction came from their imperial rulers.

And so when, after 1947, Indians started on a new career of their own, it was soon discovered that society was put under a heavy unequal strain because of the demands of India's planned economy. Under the circumstances, the unevenness of social change has been causing a large amount of internal stress and strain between one section of the population and another, and even between one State and another, even when both of them form parts of the same Republic.

If a villager has no hospital to which he can resort in case of illness, and if he therefore seeks the assistance of a quack, should he be described as a conservative ?

If, in a city like Calcutta, there are not enough trade unions, employment agencies or benevolent societies of a voluntary nature; if sufficient openings are in short supply—then should people be called conservative if they seek the help of their kinsmen, or their caste, or of their language-groups when they are faced by the difficulties in a metropolis where they have come to seek their fortune?

The fact is that unless we observe phenomena of changing societies in a wide historical perspective, unless we perceive sympathetically the sorrows and travail through which a society is passing, the picture we build up of social change is likely to be superficial; and it will lead us astray.

One can best study one's own society by active participation in its process of change, if at the same time he also tries to maintain an objectivity by constant comparison with what is happening in similar and dissimilar societies under the stress of historical forces.

And in course of such study, the thoughts and feelings which stir the minds and hearts of men are of no less importance than the changes which are apparent at the institutional level.

This brings us to the question of interviews designed to probe into attitudes; motives and feelings of the individuals who are involved in a particular example of social change. It has been the experience of the present writer that one has to clearly distinguish between an interviewee's ideals, and how far he has gone or is prepared to go in order to establish it in actual life. Profession of an attitude or ideal may be both meaningful or empty. And, if that is so,

it would not be fair to lump together people, for whom such profession does not mean quite the same thing in terms of responsibility. Differences have to be indicated by somehow placing them in separate classes or categories.

Secondly, the personality of the interviewer—his opinions, sympathies and knowledge of the local situation are also of very great importance in eliciting the correct attitude and feelings of the person interviewed. If the latter feels that the scientist knows practically all about the situation, and is in sympathy with his own difficulties as he works for the fruition of his ideal, then more information is likely to be made available than otherwise.

Depth interviews are thus helpful; but the preparation of the interviews must be hard, and as nearly perfect as possible. The more closely can he identify himself with the point of view of the interviewee, the more success will he be able to achieve in course of his work. And this sympathy should be genuine, arising out of respect for the other man's point of view. It should not be of the mechanical type, which spends itself in courtesy and good manners, and tries to avoid all conflicts of opinion.

The least experience of the writer has been that, even when the world-views of the interviewer and interviewee are in opposition to one another, much can be gained, not by suppressing one's inward convictions, but by discussing them openly and honestly, often the latter has become convinced that his views also are equally respected.

These are perhaps difficult attitudes to build up; but they yield abundant harvest when sufficient pains are taken in their preparation.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Pest of Glory

The U. S. A., especially since the close of the Second World War, has increasingly been intervening in other peoples' affairs. An outstanding example of such involvement where she had neither any moral nor any political right to be so involved, has been her role in what initially started as a local struggle between North and South Vietnam and which has now frankly degenerated into a war between the U. S. A. and North Vietnam, in which the so-called government of South Vietnam—which is universally condemned as a corrupt military Junta—has only an insignificant role to play. Emmet John Hughes, writing in the *NEWSWEEK* has something to say on the subject which should be both instructive to the Americans and of interest to other peoples :

The first massive American involvement in Asia came with the war against the Spanish Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. A small band of critics, unpopular but undaunted, assailed the adventure as folly. Among them there was no voice more rousing or relentless than that of William Graham Sumner, one of the nation's most famed teachers and essayists. He fired his polemics against national policy under such stinging titles as *THE ABSURD ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE WORLD OVER*.

More specifically he saw America aping the very "expansion" and "Imperialism" it professed to combat. The notion of global policeman was not in vogue, but he mourned a like image: "If the United States takes out of the hands of Spain its Mission and

attempts to be school-mistress to others, it will shrivel up in the same vanity and self-conceit of which Spain now represents an example." Yet he sadly knew the American passion for grandiose commitments. "The imperialists say that the Americans can do anything. They say that they do not shrink from responsibilities (But) there are some things that Americans cannot do. They cannot make $2 + 2 = 5$

One of the commonest forms of vulnerability of the strong is his vanity masquerading in the disguise of universal virtue. On the national scale this common weakness assumes a magnitude and a proportion which leads to all kinds of self-hypnotic fantasies. The American race of the present times would seem to have been suffering from the weakness to such a degree that it would force of itself forward as school mistress of the world and would, in pursuance of this fantasy, assume self-paralysing responsibilities and obligations. Says Emmet John Hughes :

He perceived that "national vanity" especially in a righteous democracy, must wear a mask of universal virtue. Precisely as critics the Vietnam policy in the coming century would warn against martial fantasy performed in the "name of freedom", so he cried out against the "empty and silly talk" about destiny. Icily he argued: "To invoke it in public affair is a refusal to think Destiny is a name for the connection which unites the series of consequences upon an act and . . . it is invoked to prevent us from going back to see whether the consequences do not prove that the act was wrong and foolish. "Contemptuously he

dismissed the rationales of civilizing—or escalating—zealots. “There is not a civilized nation which does not talk about its civilizing mission just as grandly as we do. Each nation laughs at all the others. They are all ridiculous by virtue of these pretensions, including ourselves. Sternly he concludes: “Hard-headed Benjamin Franklin hit the point when, referring back to the days of Marlborough, he talked about the PEST OF GLORY. The thirst for glory is an epidemic which robs a people of their judgment, seduces their vanity, cheats them of their interests, and corrupts their consciences.”

The vanity of self-righteousness from which all nations would seem to be suffering—the stronger the more so in more or less degree. It is seldom that a nation would allow its vanity and the conceit of its self-righteousness to yield to the process of cold logical reason perhaps, because, in the process, the glamour of leadership would be lost. Hughes continues to present Summe'r thesis thus:

He fiercely insisted on the right of reasoned dissent to oppose pious pretense. “The great ground for dissent from what has been done is that action did not proceed from any rational motive connected with the growth of the American people. The action was adventurous and gratuitous. A new doctrine of constructive obligation has been invented which is false and dangerous. A prominent newspaper recently argued that we are bound to protect the Chinese Christian converts, because we allowed missionaries to be sent to China. And, he warned, “This is but a specimen of the way in which false dogmas grow when statesmen begin to act from motives which are entirely foreign to statecraft.”

The imposition of the martial spirit on national life was a tragedy with which most modern

nations have now become familiar. Its brutish reaction upon national character is such that most ethical, even political and social values get suborned under its impact. The canker is slow-moving in its initial infiltration into the national system, but once it has fastened its fangs well into the flesh of the body politic, it corrupts so absolutely that seldom can any reprieve from its devastating progress be expected:

(William Graham Sumner) dreaded, above all—continues Hughes—the impact of the martial spirit on national life, as “we fly into a rage at anybody who dissents.” In the very voice of a critic of the Vietnam tragedy, he deplored “the doctrine that those who oppose a war are responsible for the lives lost in it, or that a citizen may criticise any action of his government except war. “And he glimpsed the final evil of IMPERIALISM to be this “brutish reaction on our own national character.”

Indeed, he had a devastating final word for a government that badgered its critics to set forth instant alternatives. “The expansionists ask what we think ought to be done. It is they who are in power and it belongs to them to say what shall be done. [But] they are contented with optimistic platitudes which carry no responsibility and can be dropped to-morrow as easily as CRIMINAL AGGRESSION and our PLAIN DUTY. It is unquestionably true that there is no fighting against the accomplished fact, although it is rare audacity to taunt the VICTIMS OF MISGOVERNMENT with their own powerlessness against it.”

Now, seven decades later, says Emmet John Hughes, there should be some solace in this heritage for the nation's Fulbrights and Coopers and Churches and Mansfields. Or, as Thucydides promised 2,400 years ago, “Like events may be expected to happen here-after.”

Further comment would seem to be wholly redundant and uncalled for.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Ram Monohar Lohia

Ram Monohar Lohia was born in 1910 and was only 57 years old when he died. When Pandit Nehru was taking an active part in the Kishan movement Ram Monohar was only a boy. But he emulated his own father, who was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi, and began to frequent political gatherings at a very early age. He attended a meeting of the Congress as a delegate when he was 14 years old. He went to Germany to obtain his Doctorate from the Berlin University and attended meetings addressed by famous politicians of Europe in many cities of the Continent. He was once evicted from the visitors' gallery of the League of Nations at Geneva for behaving in an unruly fashion. This was when he had barely crossed his teens. Unruly he was throughout his life, for he wanted to change most man-made rules of political and social conduct. No rule passed his critical examination, particularly those made for the convenience of men in power in the established order. "I defy you" was Ram Monohar's war cry for ever, and he defied all sanctimonious assertions, all pretension, all make-believe creeds and ideology, and all V.I.P.s who camouflaged their selfish interests by high-sounding slogans and

catch phrases of a Social Welfare and Public Good Variety. He was a critic of all political leaders who lived beyond their declared means and practised favouritism and patronage of evil men at the cost of the nation. He once declared that Pandit Nehru allowed his sycophants and official underlings to spend Rs. 25,000/- a day for making his public life comfortable, colourful, richly endowed with a lavishly maintained entourage and resplendent with costly pageant and fan-fare. He also said that the average Indian had an income of three annas a day and in a country which called itself socialistic no man should permit the utterly fantastic differences in standard of living that one notices everywhere in India. All Indians must work to see that the common people lived much better than they do now. The death of Ram Monohar Lohia removes a person of undaunted courage and great intellectual insight from the political field.

Lord Clement Atlee

Clement Atlee was an idealist. Among all those politicians of Britain during the last half a century who fought for full human freedom, equality and fellowship, Clement Atlee was an

outstanding figure. A Fabian by conviction, he believed in the development of conditions in the economy and the political organisation which would afford increased well-being to all nationals. He acted very sympathetically when India was trying to achieve freedom through negotiations. The Indian leaders who settled the terms of the negotiations with the British found Clement Atlee highly cooperative and the eventual settlement was achieved largely through his assistance. Those who felt against the terms of the settlement should remember that India in those days was a victim of party politics and if any Britisher helped some of the parties to destroy the unity of the country, Clement Atlee had no hand in making any secret settlements with any groups or gangs of political criminals. Such settlements were made by the British Empire builders who ruled India in the twenties and thirties of the century. They tried to break up the freedom movement of India and, when they failed to do that they planned to break up India by instigating communal riots and by starting a movement for a separate Muslim State. All these plans were well advanced and fully developed by the time Clement Atlee arrived on the scene. He made the best of a bad job for the British as well as for the Indians. People in India would remember Lord Clement Atlee with respect and affection.

The Truth Behind Political Ideals

Modern nations with organised political life usually have elections and political propaganda naturally comes into operation as an essential part of the nation's politics. A war of ideas naturally follows and groups and coteries come into existence. The urge to carry on effective propaganda induces the groups and cliques to think out attractive objectives for their parties and these eventually crystallise into party creed. Quite often these fundamental beliefs on which the character of the party rests remain entirely theoretical. For when the party principles are formulated no one thinks of their practical realisation and use. They have to be attractive even if

not realisable. Let us take the case of the ideal of building a classless society. No one has built one upto now and perhaps, no one ever will; but everyone will talk about the excellence of such a society. Dictatorship of the proletariat will never come into existence, for the proletariat no longer exist as defined in text books. Liberty, equality and fraternity also cannot be achieved for we do not know the true meaning of these three words.

In modern life in the political field we often hear about equal distribution of wealth, non-violence or equal rights for men and women. But, regarding equality in wealth, no one has yet been able to work out any method for controlling the value of the infinite variety of things that constitute wealth. The same articles yield different values to different consumers. Six copies of the same picture may be given to six persons of whom one may be blind; another incapable of distinguishing colours, a third devoid of any sense of art, a fourth fanatically opposed to pictorial representations of any kind, the fifth a classicist and the sixth a lover of modern abstract painting. The pictures given to these men could be of any type; but the six persons described above could never feel that they have received equal value out of the picture. One owner may sell his picture for any price while others may ask for more.

What goes for pictures go also for edibles, clothes, housing or medicines. Nothing ever has the same value to everybody. Apart from that the production, purchase and resale value of things differ widely and no distribution of wealth arranged for in any manner can assure that the values at the commencement of calculations will remain the same at a later stage. So that equal distribution of wealth, even if achieved at some stage will never remain equal for any length of time.

Non-violence may mean total abstention from the use of force for any purpose whatsoever or it may just mean a general unwillingness to kill or injure people with permissible lapses. There is a wide difference between the outlook of persons

who are strictly and religiously non-violent and that of others who argue for peace in international conferences as a sort of ethical gesture. In any case non-violence is not a clear cut objective and is therefore a political principle of a vague and 'general' type. If one attempt to make a long list of possibilities in which one has to be non-violent in specified ways; there will be no limits to the number of possible happening and the schedule will never be complete. Equal rights for different sexes, classes or groups will again require schedules and lists; for there can be no sure and certain method of measuring equality in different circumstances and in a variety of relational settings. Regarding fair and just treatment of persons or classes such as destitutes, wage earners or pension holders, one can never formulate standard rules for deciding what is just or fair. Arguments will continue and any political party principles that may be quoted will be found inadequate by some critics. Certain people will challenge something and others will accept it. Party loyalties will make things acceptable and if the spirit of the opposition comes into play, nothing will be found fair and just. It is for these psychological reactions which are always found in people who like or dislike, obey or disobey, challenge or accept according to the changing feelings that rise in their hearts without reference to the material conditions that prevail but only by their preferences for their leaders that we have successful political parties or parties that do not retain their strength. The principles that guide the various parties, cliques and coteries usually fail to acquire any material dimensions in order to leave their formulators utterly free to do as they like. They also carry on their work of managing the affairs of the people without any considerations for their material well being. This happens even where material factors are held high theoretically as the makers or unmakers of the ultimate social good. In fact, nobody knows what the ultimate social good is, nor cares to work things out. The only consideration that political party leaders keep uppermost in their mind is to manage to remain

in power by propaganda and demonstration. They have small groups of persons forming the immediate cliques and coteries of the party leaders who arrange for the creation of a proper psychological atmosphere in the country to suit the well being of the leaders rather than that of the people.

Enslavement can be called liberty and the dictatorship of one man may be received enthusiastically as the highest form of freedom, if large bodies of strongmen agree to give a new meaning to these words. A government may gain in popularity while material amenities for the people go on dwindling; provided the people agree to keep smiling at and shouting for the leaders running the government. If organised support fails, then the party falls, no matter what the people receive materially. The material interpretation of history in so far the history of modern political parties is concerned, is totally and utterly non-material. Psychological warfare is the basis of victory in the fights that political parties engage in. Indoctrination often means willing acceptance of untruths and the toleration of unjust treatment on tactical grounds. The ideologies are customarily meaningless in so far as nobody can substantiate them by any material or scientifically tenable measurements. Old religious and new political fanaticism are comparable in the manner of their growth. Faith has no logic nor any factual basis. We have to bring back into the public mind their lost sense of realities. So long as they continue to ignore facts in order to be bamboozled by persons who wish to be their rulers, there will be no good governments in the underdeveloped countries of the world. The developed and advanced countries have populations with a balanced and realistic outlook. The confidence tricks of political leaders do not work in these countries so easily.

Political Leadership in West Bengal

There are many political leaders in West Bengal as in the other provinces of India. These leaders have their inner circles of dependables

followers who do propaganda for them and against their opponents. Ideologically these leaders uphold certain political points of view which have no significance in reality, save and except that these declared faiths determine the nature of extra-provincial, or even extra-territorial loyalties that the persons concerned may harbour in the secret corners of their hearts. Mr. Ajay Mukherjee, Chief Minister, is of the Bangla Congress Party. He has been an ardent Congressman for numerous years and formed a new party only when he clashed with Messrs. P. C. Sen and Atulya Ghosh while serving the Congress in Bengal as its President. We have Mr. Jyoti Basu belonging to the Communist Party of India (Marxists) acting as Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee's Deputy. The other leaders in the government worth naming are Messrs. Somnath Lahiri (C.I.), Subodh Banerjee (S.U.C.), P. C. Ghosh (Independent), Sushil Dhara (Bangla Congress) and Biswanath Mukherjee (C.P.I.). The Bangla Congress being ideologically very similar to the Indian National Congress should have found it difficult to team up with Communists; but they have found expediency more powerful compared to abstract political ideals. The Communists, of course, are worshippers of temporary advantages and they joined the U. F. Coalition without much hesitation. One is never very clear as to what the different political parties believe in and what constitutes their programme of work if they have any. Terms like Bolshevik, Marxist, Revolutionary, Forward, Socialist and Progressive abound in Indian political circles. Nothing means what the Dictionary or the Encyclopaedia says. Yet they have some meaning which separates the different groups. They also provide incitement for battles of abuse. The only thing that one does not find in their meaning is any inspiration for enriching, strengthening, uniting and stimulating the civilising and cultural forces in the nation's life. Rather, one finds that the various ideologies are inducements for breaking away from realities and embracing utterly impossible fantasies which have no material dimensions. Certain groups behave in peculiar ways which are contrary to all ideas of

progress in the economic, political or cultural sense. Some say their actions are revolutionary. But the idea of revolution does not rhyme with the ideas of representative government and the full maintenance of its various institutions. In other words, a revolution sponsored by a government established by law, financed by taxation and protected by the police, is hardly reasonable. So that, like most other meaningless talk that the meaningless ideologies of the parties lead to, the talk of revolutions run by a "ministry of revolution" is utterly fantastic and totally capricious. In fact, where a ministry acts in a fanciful manner, there is a tendency to be authoritarian in so far as the people will tolerate the self-willed actions of ministers. One may call it a test trial of an authoritarian idea. If the people do not accept it, the ministers can always call it off in time. A make-believe trial-revolution can therefore be switched on or off as required.

The attempt made by the Congress High Command to recapture power in Bengal failed because the High Command was divided in opinion. The Nanda, Morarji, Indira group and the Kamraj led members could not work together. In Bengal too Messrs. P. C. Sen and Atulya Ghosh differed in their ideas of an *ad hoc* committee to manage the State Congress. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee did not like to plunge into a fresh battle for leadership in place of the one in which he is already involved. It would appear that the people of Bengal are now reacting in a manner to the "revolutionary" moves made by Mr. Jyoti Basu and his co-Communists, which would assure a fall in the *tempo* of the mock revolution. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee therefore has found no advantage in joining a Congress sponsored conspiracy to take over the Government of Bengal anew. His Bangla Congress may become weaker as a result of defections arranged by the High Command; but the Congress members in the Bengal Assembly may also defect to make good the losses. This is likely; for the Bengal Congress have many members who know Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee very well and like him too. They may feel that Communists in Government are better

than Communists running wild. These highly inflammable types may have discovered by now that their hopes of acting as the advance guards of a "war of liberation" are built on the quicksands of the policy of international Communism and are, therefore, not likely to be realised. Wiser Communists now out-number the fanatics in the Community of Marxists.

Names and Numbers

Whether a certain geographical area constitutes one country or whether the inhabitants of that area belong to one nation with a similarity of culture and aspirations cannot be asserted without reference to the social and political history of the area and to the mutual relations existing between the peoples of the area. The mere fact of having well defined boundaries separating an area from adjoining territories does not make it a separate country; for even if an area is bounded by high mountains and seas on all sides it may still be cut up into smaller separate areas within its larger territory. And if these sub-areas could develop into separate States the idea of the whole area being one country will quickly lose all meaning. Italy, now one country, was for many centuries cut up into different States which had their own history, problems, ambitions, friendships and antagonisms. Venice, Lombardy, Florence, Tuscany, Rome and Naples were separate countries with a great deal of similarity in language and culture. These States were at one time part of the greater State of Rome. When Rome disintegrated these States became separate. When Italy became one again, these States easily united to form a wider entity. Our own motherland India, has been one great country in the past in which were integrated many far-flung units like Gandhara, Sinhala and other places. Then for long centuries India was broken up into many separate States. The British unified India, Burma and Ceylon and the British again, at the end of their imperial overlordship not only broke up India, Burma and Ceylon, but cut India into two States.

India has been therefore one and many at different times and is just now divided into two sections. Historically, culturally and economically, this division is unwanted and unjustified. But imperial politics has made it so that the peoples of the two parts of India feel as if they had been enemies of one another for many centuries. It may however so happen that the two parts will reunite and make one India again. The present government of India has accepted this partition as an essential part of India's achievement of independence, and the idea of there being two countries where there had been only one does not appear repugnant to their sense of political verities. The same Government of India however cannot countenance the idea of there being a China on the mainland and a Taiwan in the sea. They feel scandalised at the mere idea of there being two Chinas. After all China is one, they say, and Formosa, Tibet and Chinese Turkistan are integral parts of that one China. Of course, Hong-kong cannot be China, nor Macao on account of their British and Portuguese connections. For sheer logic one will find it difficult to beat the Government of India.

Those who are idealistic like to think of one humanity and one world. In fact, if the entire world could live in peace and practice justice and fair play in a whole hearted manner there would not be much else to ask for. But there are many divisions and cross currents of mutually contradictory desires and urges. As a result of these human weaknesses we have many nations and many countries. We have, in fact, more nations and countries than there really are. West Germans, East Germans, Australians and Pakistanis are nations without really having any title to full nationhood. The Tibetan are not a nation although they are so in every sense of the term. We have therefore to discover nations and countries by reference to the credentials of all claimants. The credentials must be judged in terms of international practice. Our External Affairs Ministry will tell us which is a country and who are a nation. Other rule of thumb methods will land us in difficulties For it is only

official recognition that makes a nation a nation and a State a State. If it is officially recorded that Tibet is a part of China then Tibet has to be a part of China. If it is recorded that Pakistan is a separate country and not a chopped off piece of the body of India, then that will be so. Official recognition of *facts* are quite contrary to facts at times. Some members of a nation may suddenly cease to be members of that nation. They may be forced out of their own country and made to go over to another country. In such a case those people who have to migrate out of their own country into some other State are called refugees. The Government of India specialise in attracting refugees from Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and other places.

A Social-Purpose Gherao

Almost all the Gheraos that we have seen or heard of have been for the personal gain of those who carried out the Gheraos. At best the Gheraos were effected in order to bring about some change to the advantage of the persons who were doing gherao or for creating conditions of advantage to their friends and associates. In sort we have not heard of any Gherao being carried out for achieving an urgent social purpose. No group of persons has yet gone to the house of a tycoon, surrounded it and demanded that he pay his proper share of income tax, sales tax or any other tax. No Gherao has been organised to prevent child marriages, to induce milk men to sell unwatered milk, to stop food adulteration and all kinds of anti-social activities by the little cheats, hooligans who infest the various localities of the city. Had the Gheraos been carried out to improve the water supply, the hygienic condition of restaurants, the high fees of doctors, the high rent of tenement houses, the filthiness of taxis and buses, road hogging by lorry drivers and the general over crowding of the city by beggars, criminals and other people trooping into the city from adjoining States; the citizens might have found something in gheraos to approve of. But the idea of holding up traffic for increasing the

personal incomes of particular people did not appeal to the general run of citizens. They asked, "why should we suffer traffic jams and be made to stay in a gheraoed place for 12 hours, just because some one wants bonus or an increment in salary?" Gherao the fish-mongers and make them sell fish at 3 rupees a kilo. Gherao the Dhobis and make them wash clothes instead of destroying them. Gherao the various professional men and make them charge fair fees. The Gheraos did not have a welfare motive nor any outlook for social reform. That is why they never had any great popularity.

One could find a justification for organised demonstrations against persons responsible for allowing criminals to victimise the public by petty burglaries, robberies with or without violence, acts of lawlessness against and inroads into the rights of persons; but we would never witness any such demonstrations, as it might displease the government. There are plenty of things against government departments and institutions dealing with the maintenance of an orderly state of affairs in the country; but no efforts are ever made by organised bodies of persons to remedy such condemnable conditions. Personal gain appears to be the sole motive of all group actions.

Pre-fab Opinions and National Welfare

India is a land of ready made slogans, ideals and opinions which have been manufactured by all kinds of leaders from time to time since the dawn of the twentieth century. This process of creed making never had any wide national purpose but always aimed at the narrower interests of groups and coteries which could have come into existence for all sorts of purposes such as those of Trade Unionism, communalism, communism pure and adulterated, socialism pure, socialism hybrid, protectionism, state capitalism, bureaucratism, capitalism pure, capitalism exploitative and so on and so forth. In the past our slogan sellers did their work within the country; but since independence they go out to foreign countries and talk which creates national involvements which the

nation cannot carry easily. Thus, in the recent past, a few men have gone out of their way to hang ideals round the neck of the Nation, which later became liabilities or just dead weight to be carried about at a sacrifice. We have been given many international duties of keepership of ideals in this way, which the vast majority of the people of our nation do not much care about or even understand. In this way national policies and programmes have developed with the spiritual collaboration of foreign groups for which the Indian nation are not really responsible. Those who created these creeds, faiths and outlook for the nation, never took the nation into confidence before they went in for their idealistic adventures in the name of the Nation.

This sort of thing is on the increase now. Our leaders shoot out of this country and land elsewhere in a few hours, without any real necessity and start telling the world how India feels about anything or everything. Generally speaking Indians have no feelings about these things. Through this sort of announcements our Nation has vicariously expressed views about Arabs, Israelis, Africans, Cubans, Russians, Vietnamese, the U.S.A., the Peoples Republic of China and numerous other subjects about which, at least, our alleged representatives were hardly competent to talk. Nor did they have any authority to make such announcements. There is a vulgar expression about people giving out uncalled for opinions. It is that whenever they open their mouths they invariably manage to put their foot in. We have, through the uncalled for views expressed by our unauthorised leaders, antagonised most nations and created no friends. Of course, our radio broadcasts have announced the growth of new friendship all the time. But *Akashvani* seldom makes any solidly mundane contacts which pay any dividends through the growth of active international relations.

So that, not laying any undue faith in the airy messages that are sent down from the sky by *Akashvani*, one may naturally wonder why India remains so very isolated in spite of all words and gestures of friendship that gush out of the various

air ports of the world whenever our leaders choose to land in them. Our foreign trade is an index of this isolation. No nation buys any Indian goods if it can help it. No Indians can travel abroad if the Indian Government can help it. They say this is for conservation of foreign exchange; but, in fact, the shortage of foreign exchange is caused by cutting off contacts at all possible points which the Government of India so ably achieve. The numerous government sponsored visits to foreign countries by V.I.P.s really create no economic contacts of any value that is reflected in the statistics of our foreign trade. They create news which one has to read or listen to quite uselessly. All countries, at least many of them we are told, love and adore India; and, India loves and adores many countries. But all this love and adoration have only a high and exclusive spiritual significance. Those who are not government sponsored visitors but are moved ideologically, achieved nothing any better.

Our ministers and members of officially approved delegations, together with all those who have visited Moscow, Peking and other ultra-socialist cities, have not been able to rouse any real three-dimensional stir in the heart of foreigners during the twenty years that they have been throwing themselves at the peoples of the world. When we think of the earliest Indian visitors to Europe and America we naturally remember what a stir Raja Rammohun Roy made in Britain. Then come Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda. Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Jagadish Chandra Bose, C. V. Raman and others consolidated India's prestige in the outside world. Subhash Chandra Bose managed to organise an army of liberation with foreign help. We can discover numerous visitors to foreign countries who did things beneficial to our country as well as to other countries. Very few of them were sent abroad by the Government of India. It is high time that our Government stopped interfering with the freedom of the people to travel as they please. They may have saved few thousand rupees worth of foreign exchange by their interference; but they have certainly

broken up the nation's natural foreign relations which would have normally yielded millions in foreign money, through contacts which develop naturally and humanly. Our officially deputed visitors merely spoil the natural and normal growth of these human contacts. But only these naturally developed contacts are worth having for their cultural, economic, and social potentiality. Official reciprocations are by nature somewhat unamic and tentative. They do not take root nor spread out in healthy growth. What is arranged to-day stops functioning to-morrow. International relations that develop out of many individual friendships and numerous free exchanges of thoughts and ideas have a vitality which one does not find in officially instituted arrangements. That is why free and widespread contacts between numerous individuals of different nations bring about a vigorous growth of their economic and cultural relations. Pandit Nehru once said to the Indians living in Britain that they were the real cultural ambassadors of this Nation in foreign countries. And our Government have just done everything possible to obstruct the development of healthy international relations. There is time even now to rectify the mistake; but our leaders will not admit this and change their policy.

State Missionary Corporation

The Indian Government have developed an uncanny sense of discovering business where apparently there is none. That is how they have

got involved in all sorts of non-productive, unprofitable and even non-existent enterprises by forming a number of national corporations one after another for the exploitation of economic potentials wherever they are suspected to be lurking in disembodied shapes. Recently there has been a lot of talk about removing foreign missionaries from competing against Congress preachers who wish to make ethical communication a national monopoly. It has been found that the way to the purse lies through the soul and a spiritual approach therefore provides the shortest route to all surplus values. Foreign missionaries being foreign are considered to be the greatest obstacle to the establishment of the proposed State monopoly. Though to the untrained eye, the average foreign missionary appears to spend his life in educating the young, in running leper asylums and in helping the helpless destitutes who abound in this Secular Democratic Republic, the investigators of the Congress have discovered their secret abilities in the sphere of managed economic activity. They, therefore, are now planning to set up a State Missionary Corporation which will catch all aborigines young in order to convert them into dynamic producers of surplus values which the Corporation will easily lift and, put into their coffers. It is said that this Corporation will be an unregistered body like the various Congress groups and cliques which make money for the State without divulging their secret to the Finance Ministry.

FLOWER OF HUMANITY

SISTER NIVEDITA

JYOTSNA JOSHI

"I love India as the birth place of the highest and the best of all religions, as the country that has grandest mountains, the Himalayas. The country where domestic happiness is most to be found, and where the woman unselfishly, ungrudgingly serve the dear ones from morn to dewy eve. India is above all the land of great women. Where ever we turn, whether to history or literature, we are met on every hand by those figures, whose strength she mothered and recognised, while she keeps their memory eternally sacred.

What is the type of woman we most admire? Is she strong, resourceful, inspired, fit for moments of crisis? Have we not Padmini of Chetore, Chandbibi, Jhansi Rani? Is she saintly, a poet and a mystic? Is there not Mirabhen? Is she the queen, great in administration? Where is Rani Bhowani, where Ahalyabai? Is it wifehood in which we deem that woman shines brightest? What of Sati, of Savitri, of the ever glorious Sita? Is it maidenhood? There is Uma. And where is in all the womanhood of the world shall be found another as grand as Gandhari?

—*Sister Nivedita.*

Young Mary Noble was feeling anxious before the birth of her first child. Like all religious women she vowed that if her child was born safe, she would dedicate it to the service of the Lord. And the great Father from heaven wanted to send His angel to work for the human race through the dear child of Mary and Margret Noble, known to us in India as Sister Nivedita was born on October 28, 1867. She lived a great life of consecration and earned the name Nivedita—the dedicated—from her guru, the great son of India, Swami Vivekananda. Her father, Sammuel Richardson, was a minister of an Irish Church. And so from the very childhood a religious heritage was rooted deeply. She was seeker of truth. She had one deep rooted trouble, namely the growing sense of uncertainty and despair in regard to religion. By

nature she was passionately religious, since her childhood she had come under various religious influences, none of them could satisfy her, and by the time she was 18, her quest made her doubt the truth of the Christian doctrines, and the popular presentation of Christianity lost its appeal to her. The study of Buddhism held her mind for a while, but it could not give peace to her troubled mind. It was at this time that she met Swami Vivekananda in London in 1859. His teachings lighted up all her previous experiences and gave her a new life with a new meaning. To quote her own words about her experience as a seeker of Truth, in a lecture, she delivered in Bombay in 1902, she said: "I was born and bred an English woman and upto the age of eighteen, I devoutly worshipped the child Jesus, loved

Him with my whole heart for the self-sacrifices, but I could not worship him for His crucifying Himself to bestow Salvation on the human race. But after the age of eighteen, I began to doubt the truth of the Christian doctrines. For seven years, I was in this wavering state of mind, very unhappy and yet very very eager to seek the Truth. Just then I happened to get a life of Buddha. The dear child took a strong hold on me. And now came the turning point for my faith.... The Swami I met was no other than Swami Vivekananda, Who afterwards became my Guru, and whose teachings have given the relief that my doubting spirit had been longing for so long."

It was at the home of Lady Margession that Margaret met Swamiji for the first time. She has recorded in 'The Master As I saw Him' that it was on a cold Sunday afternoon in November. She met Swamiji at a small drawing-room meeting. She went to meet him out of curiosity. Events were slowly guiding her to her destiny. Swamiji's clear and bold exposition of Vedanta had made a deep impression on her mind. Three things concerning the Swami appealed to her most. First, the breadth, newness and interest of the thought he had propounded in the name of that which was strongest and finest. And soon came the time when she addressed him as 'Master' before he left England. She had recognised the heroic fibre of the man, and desired to make herself the servant of his love for his own people.

In 1896 Swamiji came back to England from New York. His lectures were very popular. Margaret and her friends were among those who regularly attended the lectures. Margaret's heart was touched by the simple but beautiful truth of the Vedanta. She was inflamed with a desire to follow his lead. She wrote him a letter to give her proper guidance. In his reply the Swamiji threw a good light. He wrote that the world is in Chains of Superstition. Religions of the world have become lifeless mockeries. What the world wants is character. It is no superstition with her. He wrote "Awake, awake great one; yet there was no direction to work given. One day during a conversation, the Swami said to her" I have plans

for the women of my own country in which you, I think, could be of great help to me "and it was then she knew that she had heard the call that would change her life. For years she waited for some light to dispel the darkness that was obscuring her progress. She now saw a light and desired to follow it. .

Among the many problems which arrested the Swami's attention was that of women. He wrote to Mrs. Bull: "My duty would not be complete if I die without starting two places, one for Sannyasins, the other for the women". He appealed to the talented educated women. The fervent appeal of Swami did not touch the heart of any woman in India, but it did touch the heart of Margaret Noble. But she was asked by the Swamiji to work there in London to help Swami Abhedananda to carry on the Vedanta work. But Margaret's persistence and her consistent interest in his work, made the Swami change about her. He wrote to her that now he was convinced, that she had a great future in the work for India. What was wanted was not a man but a woman; a real honess, to work for Indian women specially. India cannot yet produce great women, she must borrow from other nations. Her education, sincerity purity, immense love, determination and above all the Celtic blood makes her just the woman wanted. Swamiji on his part was very frank in putting forward all possible arguments against her intention to join his mission. Yet he wrote, "If you fail in this or get disgusted, on my part, I promise you I will stand by you unto death. The tusks of the elephant come out but never go back." so are the words of a man never retracted.

Nothing more was needed. The way was open for her to come to India. On January 28, 1898, she landed at Calcutta. The Swami himself was at the docks to receive her, so that her trembling heart was at rest. With two other American disciples of Swamiji she lived in a cottage at Belur.

After a tour of Almora and Kashmir from May to October Swamiji, Nivedita and others returned to Calcutta. Another important event took place. A day of days, for on that day she

met the Holy mother, Shri Sharada Devi. She was greatly impressed by the sweet and sublime personality of the Holy Mother. It mattered little that they could not understand each other's language, but the heart knows the friendship of previous birth. The Holy Mother dined with her and her American friends. It was sanction given by her to accept these western devotees within the folds of Hindu society.

After the meeting they all returned to the Math. On March 25, she was initiated into Brahmacharya and given the name, Nivedita—the—dedicated—by her guru. These were the two great events of her life. She was very keen to start the real work. She wanted to start a girl's school. It was clear to her that the school would be only an experiment. She began to meet influential people to propagate her idea of starting a school. In those days to start such a school was a tremendous task. No one was willing to give education to the girls. Due to her ceaseless efforts, she was able to open the school. The Holy Mother came and declared open Sister Nivedita's school on Nov. 13. She said that the blessings of the divine Mother are there with her. "I cannot imagine a grander omen than her blessings spoken over the educated Hindu womanhood of the future," Nivedita wrote later. On Monday, November 14, the school began with a few girls. It was only an experimental school, attended with much difficulty, and after a few months she decided to close it and go abroad to collect the funds to run the school in a nice way. In the month of March plague broke out. The committee was formed by Ramkrishna Mission with Nivedita as the Secretary. Nivedita made an appeal through the newspaper for financial aid. The response was very good. Her admirable work is still remembered by those who worked with her or had seen her work, and it will be gratefully cherished for ever.

Nivedita's activities for the welfare of the people and the recognition she received as a worker, a speaker and a thinker did not for a moment make her forget her spiritual aspirations. "Righteousness lies in duty done, holiness requires renunciation," she once wrote, and she earnestly strove to achieve both. She was trying hard to live

up to the ideals of purity, simplicity and austerity of a Brahmacharini. On March 25, she was ordained a Nisthik Brahmacharini. Swami did not wish Nivedita to go through the final Samskara of Sannyasa, he did consider her fit for that. But initiation laid certain obligations of code of conduct, and limited the field of activity. He said that his mission was to bring manhood to his people. Nivedita was a fit person to help him. He was sure of that. She took the burden of that task upon herself and her work and life testified that she did her best to the last days of her life. The cause of women was uppermost in the Swamiji's mind. He was of the opinion that nations can progress only when the women are given education. Women must be raised first. By education they themselves will be able to tell what reforms are necessary for them. That is why he began to take interest in Nivedita's small school. The Swami had no doubt about the success of Nivedita's educational experiment. But it needed both money and workers. So she decided to go abroad for money. In 1899, she left with Swamiji for Europe and America. Everywhere she went, she employed her oratorical powers on India's behalf and strove to secure financial help for her educational experiment in India. The purpose of her mission was two-fold. Firstly she desired to raise funds for her girls' school. And secondly she wanted to make the people of America familiar with the Hindu ideals of womanhood. She went from place to place and delivered scores of lectures to the packed audience of the United States on conditions of Indian women, Religious life in India, Heritage of Indian Culture and so on. The struggle for survival was hard, but death for cause not success, was her goal. Swamiji wrote inspiring letters to Nivedita frequently to help her fight for difficulties. From U.S.A. she went to Paris for her mission. There also she delivered many lectures and got success. She came back to London. Here now she was well-known for her missionary zeal and work. Her talks and lectures were daily reported in the '*Daily News*', in London. In a short time she became known as a friend and champion of India, people wondered at her devotion for India. Here is what a London correspondent of the '*Hindu*' of

Madras said regarding her, "There has arisen a champion for India from an unexpected quarter, as was the way with champions of old. Not from a far country, however, nor from a strange people, nor from masculine ranks, has this new champion come. She is a lady, belonging to the ruling power in India, a lady of exceptional ability, who has given up a promising career in England to devote herself to the service of the women in India. Miss Margaret Noble is her name. She has been admitted a member of the order of Ramkrishna and, as 'Sister Nivedita' is now in England addressing audiences in various places on the subject of Indian Life and Philosophy. She is a striking figure to English people, garbed in white gown of extreme simplicity, the beads round her neck suggest a rosary, her eloquence is striking. She speaks with fire and spirit."

Swamiji returned to India at the end of 1900 and Nivedita in the beginning of 1902. During her tour of Europe and America, she had keenly felt that a country under foreign domination cannot dream of regeneration—social or political or cultural. Political freedom was the point to start with. After coming back from her tour, she again decided to open her school. Her school's work started in right earnest. She was joined by Christine, Greenstidel of Germany in the running of the school. She was much impressed by the grand and pious personality of Swamiji; so with his blessings and consent, she came to India to help Sister Nivedita in her work. She was doing her best when came a sudden cruel blow of fate. Swamiji died on 4th July 1902. She was thunder-struck. Sister Nivedita inscribed just two words in her diary on July 4, 1902 "Swamiji Died." No words could express the deep sense of loss, she felt at her master's departure. But she had no time to sorrow, she had to carry on his work. The end of personal association did not deter her from carrying her work and his message. "He is not dead, he is with us always. I cannot even grieve, I only want to work." She wrote to her friend after the death of Swamiji.

The question of political freedom for India was uppermost in her mind at that time. But there was a great problem for her and the Math autho-

rities' order was to be above politics. But she decided to work for political freedom and resigned her membership of the Ramkrishna order with great pain. This shows her zeal for freedom of the great nation. Now she earnestly resolved to dedicate herself to the task before her. She decided to travel to different parts of India to obtain first-hand knowledge of the people. She, therefore, went on lecture tours to different parts of India urging people to realise the need of the hour and strive to make India great again. The three things on which she laid great emphasis were: first, to have an infinite faith in their power, secondly, to gain all round strength to free themselves from the shackles of the foreign Government, and thirdly, to realise that the advent of Shri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda was to give light to those who walked in darkness. According to her these two great lives are the unity of India. All that is necessary is that India should keep them in her heart. She delivered her message to every corner of India, yet she never forgot her small school. She did devote her time for that school. She started boys' school also. She was never daunted by overwhelming difficulties. Her task was to rouse the nation. She wanted to start a magazine but could not do so. However, her pen was always in demand. Her contributions were regularly published in the Indian papers and magazine like, *New India*, *Dawn*, *Indian Review*, *Modern Review*, *Prabuddha Bharat*, *Hindu Review*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Statesman*, *Maratha*, *Times of India* and *Bombay Chronicle*.

By the end of 1904, the political atmosphere, especially in Bengal became tense. And the voice of educated India was heard through the Congress leaders. But all were shocked and felt humiliated by the sudden declaration of partition of Bengal in 1905. Though not an active participant in the political activities of that first decade of the 20th century, through her invaluable writings and speeches inspired thousands of youngmen with a burning passion to lead higher, truer, and nobler lives. So many great leaders, poets, artists, scientists and historians were attracted by her national spirit. Dr. Tagore was

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impressed by her grandeur of spirit. He wrote about her, "I have not noticed in any other human being the wonderful power that was here of absolute dedication of herself." Gokhale was also immensely impressed by her simple but divine personality. He wrote, "It was my privilege to have known Sister Nivedita intimately. Her's was a wonderful striking personality, to meet her was like coming into contact with some great force of nature."

She again in 1907 went to England for funds. During her stay in England, she tried her best to show England what India was and could be. After two years' stay in her country and among her own people she came back to her adopted country. She was in love with India and the Indian people. She again began her work on the school. The school was not working in full swing. She was helped by her admirers in her task of running the school. She was happy to be in India and in her school but she was sometimes disappointed because she could not give her best to the school. She thought herself a failure at this. The fact was that being engaged in various activities, she was not able to work in the school at a stretch. Sister Nivedita's work was much handicapped by her failing health. In 1905, she fell seriously ill, yet after the recovery she worked hard again. She fell ill. These two illnesses and the heavy strain of work shattered her health. In 1911, she went to Darjeeling for change and there realised that the end was coming. She prepared her will.

What she had was for the motherland—as in life, so in death. As her mind was entering into deep meditation, she softly intoned her favourite prayer :

"Form unreal lead unto real ! From darkness leads us to light. From death leads us to immortality !

On the morning of Oct. 13, she said, "The frail boat is sinking but yet I shall see the sunrise." As these words were said, a ray of sunlight came streaming into the room, her soul soared higher upon the wings of Eternity, Her life was a fulfilment of her earnest prayer, "God grant me to speak brave true words in my Guru's name before I die, words with his life flowing through them, untrained, unimpaired—that I may feel, passing into eternity, that I have not disappointed him !

The whole of India mourned her premature death and in Calcutta, leaders like Dr. Ghosh, Surendranath Banerjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and G.K.Gokhale paid highest tributes to her. To cherish the memory of this beautiful flower whose fragrance permeated the whole of India, the people of Darjeeling erected a samadhi on the lap of the Himalayas on which was written engraved, "Here reposes sister Nivedita who gave her all to India."

By the divine magic touch Shri Ramkrishnadeva turned Narendranath into Vivekananda, so was Margaret Noble turned into divine Sister Nivedita by the magic divine grand personality of Swami Vivekananda.

DEATH

I thought last night that interfused with all this world of matter, penetrating it through and through, there may be another, call it meditation, or mind, or what one will, and that perhaps that is what death means. Not to change one's place—for since this is not matter, it can have no place—but to sink deeper and deeper into that condition of being more and more divested of the imagination of body. So that our dead are close to us physically, if it comforts us to think so of them, and yet one with all vastness, one with uttermost freedom and bliss.

And so I thought of the universal as mingled in this way with the finite, and we standing here on the border-line between the two, commanded to win for ourselves the franchise of both—the Infinite in the Finite. I am thinking more and more that Death means just a withdrawal into medita-

tion, the sinking of the stone into the wall of its own being. There is the beginning before death, in the long hours of quiescence, when the mind hangs suspended in the characteristic thought of its life, in that thought which is the residuum of all its thoughts and acts and experiences. Already in these hours the soul is discarnating, and the new life has commenced.

I wonder if it would be possible so to resolve one's whole life into love and blessing, without one single ripple of a contrary impulse that one might be wrapt away in that last hour and for evermore into one great thought; so that in eternity at least one might be delivered from thought of self, and know oneself only as a brooding presence of peace and benediction for all the need and suffering of the world.

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AN UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENT BY SISTER NIVEDITA]



INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT OF TOMORROW :

A NEW FRONTIER OF ADMINISTRATIVE THOUGHT

NARENDRA K. SETHI, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Management is the image of the changing socio-economic, political, and cultural patterns of the world. It represents the *totality* of human behavior inasmuch as it voices the industrial development of the world as well as the welfare of the people resulting from such growth. Therefore, it is the proverbial mirror of the society, for it is through the varying concepts of management thought and practice that one can observe the changing dimensions of modern society, in all its success and failure, and in its true character and attitude.

It is in this all-embracing character of management that we see its future directions in the years ahead. From Scientific Management to Management Science was but a short span to cover when compared with what it has to reach for in the coming years. It has now to cover a much larger bridge over more turbulent waters : the bridge of cross-cultural relationships, similarities, and differences ranging over a multitude of nations, in varying degrees of economic development and cultural progress. From a national idea of organization, we have now to move towards an international concept of managerial administration. We are not speaking of traditional internationalism here, but of a newly emerging concept thereof : a cross-cultural agglomeration of nations, divided not only in geographical distance, but also in their time-realization, and industrial transition.

NEW AREAS OF INTERNATIONALISM

It is the thesis of this paper that the new frontiers which management will face in the years to come are the rapidly changing themes in the body of international administrative practice. Some of the key areas where one will observe the

distinction between the traditional and the emergent views on the subject are as follows :

1. The new thinking will evolve around the determination of those concepts of American management which can be transferred with equal applicability and effectiveness to other countries.
2. A new discipline of *Comparative Management* will focus attention on the determination of those criteria of comparative analysis which can properly evaluate the similarity and/or variance in the management practices of the different countries.
3. Attention will focus around the element of "time-overlapping," which characterizes the fact that several countries can operate their industrial mechanism in different "time-zones" simultaneously.
4. Greater attention will be put on the relationship between indigenous and "foreign-based" companies operating in a developing nation.
5. The concept of Economic Development will undergo a modification in terms of being re-interpreted as a dynamic system: one capable of assuming varying degrees of progress and/or retardation, rather than a uniform system which it has been traditionally represented to be.
6. Finally a new emphasis will be put on the task of developing optimum management systems for each culturally homogenous territory (as distinguished from the traditional idea of nation) within the framework of the new internationalism.

These are the major frontiers of management practice in the years to come. They require planning from the outset, even before their overt symptoms have appeared on the surface of conventional administrative wisdom.

Idea of Transference

The future trends in management practice and accomplishment will make it quite obvious that the totality of American management know-how cannot be transferred to other management systems. The universality of management principles needs to be re-examined in the light of the observation that differing management systems have different action-centers and varying philosophies. *They sometimes comprise of* sharply variant values and aspirational levels. Therefore, rather than attempt a total transfer of American management, will it not be more advisable and also more effective to isolate those managerial concepts which might be acceptable in a foreign land?

Management practitioners must start to think in terms of developing suitable criteria for the determination of acceptable management principles (and concepts) in other countries.

One way to develop a model of transference will be to examine the degree of socio-economic and cultural awareness in the community relate the same to its present and projected industrial growth, equate it with the available administrative personnel in the land (and also with those foreign experts whose services can be made available on a short-term basis), and then transfer only those principles (beliefs, norms, and values) of American Managerial know-how, which generally fit in the above presented framework.

Idea of comparative Management

Allied with the idea of transferable managerial values in foreign countries, is the methodology of comparison between two management systems. Managers must pay a great deal of attention towards determining the actual

base of comparison while comparing two management ideologies. When we compare management in India or in France with that in the United States, what is it that we are actually trying to compare and what is the yardstick in this comparative analysis? Will it be a comparison of efficiency? Then the comparison is one of management-objectives. Will it be a comparison of administrative brilliance? Then the comparison is one of management-leadership. Or will it be a comparison of the enterprise functions and their ground? This comparison process will indeed generate a lot of scholarly attention and controversy in the coming years.

It will be seen that in all comparative processes, the subjective element of the comparer plays a leading role. Therefore, all purposeful management comparison will be in relation to the management-system of the person performing this comparison. Rather than use only mathematical and statistical indices as comparison bases, it is suggested that qualitative and culturally-oriented variables should be developed with a view towards clearer and sharper comparative analyses.

Idea of Time-Overlap

Managers of today are now beginning to be aware of the element of "time-overlap" in understanding the workings of international management. Many developing countries combine the traditional love of older business values with the innovistic admiration for the newer technological processes and scientific techniques. Thus they perform in a variety of time-zones concurrently. Their production efforts are directed towards modern techniques; and, their operational philosophy and organizational structures are motivated by tradition-ridden beliefs. Therefore, no international management practice can function properly unless it has taken full note of this overlapping time consciousness in the countries with developing economies.

Another interesting idea in this context which will generate attention is the question of

"time-integration" at different *levels* of managerial organization in these developing countries. In the same organization the top, middle, and the junior levels of management operate in different time-zones simultaneously, as regards their response to the same (identical) managerial problem. This practice of different time-consciousness at different levels of administrative hierarchy will raise several new problems and challenges in the years to come, and will require an enlightened understanding by the emerging body of international management people.

Idea of Duality

In the international business scene, both the local companies as well as the foreign-based (or controlled) companies will play a significant role in shaping the host country's industrial progress. But till now, much attention has not been paid to the relative functions of these two different corporate units: their relationship with one another and with the national government; the areas of competition between them once the rate of economic development has accelerated; and the cultural problems which can (and will) arise for the employees of these two components of the country's industrial life. In the coming years, this duality of corporate structures will feature more and more in the practice and process of management.

It should also be noted that the duality of corporate structure will also manifest itself in an identical duality of business objectives. The indigenous company will function at the level of the country's *own* productivity and human resources; while, the foreign based (or controlled) enterprise can take the advantage of obtaining the "best of both worlds" in shaping its managerial programmes. The salary structure, status, symbology, human relations conception, and market orientation of the former will also differ substantially from those of the latter. This dichotomy is capable of generating an enormous socio-political controversy, which the industrial administrators of both lands and governments will have to consider carefully.

Idea of Dynamic Economic Development

Conventional wisdom has always characterized economic development as a static process which continues on its course with a predetermined (or even pre-determinable) rate, affecting the material welfare of the people residing in the country. It is proposed that in the coming years, administrative management will become increasingly conscious of economic development *not* as a mere passive and uniform statistical index, but as a heterogeneous and dynamic indicator of a multitude of things, capable of moving forwards, backwards, and sideways at the same time, and also capable of influencing *every* aspect of mankind, not just their materialistic welfare alone.

The idea of "development" in the future managerial conception will represent the *totality* of progress. No human activity is beyond the scope of managerial action, and hence the idea of development (may it be in recreation or in retirement, in culture or in cuisine, in science or in semantics), is central to the managerial vision of tomorrow.

Idea of Optimum Territory Management

Traditionally, it is believed that geographical boundaries are logical limiting areas for individual studies of management systems in international perspective. Future management students will soon realize that geographical boundaries are not very meaningful as far as conceptual framework of international management is concerned. Homogeneity of cultural values rather than geographical frontiers should be the guide-lines for such demarcations. There is also a possibility that even in the same country, there may not be one management system, but two or more, depending upon the identity of cultural sub-systems within the nation itself. In such an event of plurality, a single national management system of the country will serve no meaningful purpose in a comparative analysis.

To apply human effort for the most productive use, and to consolidate all the available resources for the optimum welfare of mankind, it will be

extremely important for the administrators of tomorrow to develop a cross-national system of management between such nations which might be culturally homogenous and then integrate the managerial energy of each comprising country in such an administrative system. In this way, it will be possible to develop a highly effective management "United Nations." The only exception will be that while the political "United Nations" is an assembly of differing and warring nations, the administrative "United Nations" will be an assembly of cooperating nations, with identical cultural beliefs and motivating levels working jointly for a common purpose.

The task of finding such homogenous, territories and nations which might be culturally identical, not only at a superficial level of overt behavior, but at the level of action and thought combined, will be a major frontier before the future managers, and will require extensive research by all participating countries.

CONCLUSION

A major frontier of management today comprises the new area of internationalism which is just opening to its fullest implications and potential, both as a source of optimum human welfare and a concept of cross-cultural integration. The traditional thinking in the area has so far been characterized by a tendency to relate it to a variety of foreign countries only. The new wisdom will develop more challenging areas of socio-economic and cultural synthesis, extending the frontiers of foreign lands into the unifying consciousness of homogenous cross-national territories.

We have outlined a few major hypotheses in the paper which constitute significant frontiers of modern administrative management. Fortunately, some intellectual quest has already started in the direction of some of the pointers mentioned above but still most of these are in exploratory phases which further sharpens the frontier-rationale of these propositions.



LIFE AND POETRY IN MODERN TIMES

Prof G. NAGESWARA RAO

Life and art are so inextricably interwoven that any change in life leads to a new movement in art. The relationship between life and poetry is like that of hand and glove. The shape of the hand decides the shape of the glove : the structure of the society determines the structure of its poetry. The daring innovations and the striking novelty of modern poetry with its remarkable technical agility and intellectual alertness can be observed as the response of true genius and a finer sensibility to the appalling political, social, moral, intellectual and philosophical changes of modern times. Ezra Pound in his *E.P. Ode pour l'Election de son Sepulchre* brilliantly describes the demands made by modern society on poetry :

The age demanded an image,
Of its accelerated grimace,
Something for the modern stage,
Not, at any rate, an Attic grace ;
Not not certainly, the obscure reveries
Of the inward gaze ;
Better mendacities
Than the classics in paraphrase !

The "age demanded" chiefly a mould in plaster,
Made with no loss of time,
A prose kinema, not not assuredly, alabaster
Or the "sculpture" of rhyme.

The poetry written during and after the first world war, a poetry that is now half a century old, is still called modern poetry, because we have nothing more modern. In fundamentals, the present day society has not changed much since then. Modern poetry has undergone as slow an evolution as modern society. They seem to have emerged together almost immediately after the first world war because by then, the moral, philosophical and intellectual forces shaping modern society had completed their course of action. Therefore,

certain poets who were ahead of their time and who perceived the action of the new forces and depicted their impact on life, appeal to modern sensibility with a contemporaneous immediacy though they wrote much earlier than the first war. That compels us to note one important fact : that poetry does not become modern by simply being about modern apparatus, by mentioning a Rolls-Royce in place of a rose, or by dealing with modern topics like fatigued disillusionment and despair. If Rolls-Royce enters significantly into poetry, it will be in such a way as Eliot introduced it, catching the rhythm of the internal combustion engine in the rhythm of poetry. Describing a modern clerk in his office looking at the clock in the evening, Eliot says :

At the violet hour, when the eyes and back
Turn upward from the desk, when the human
waits
Like a taxi throbbing waiting,¹

The significance of this image is the vividness with which it links the throbbing heart of the man, anxious to leave the office, to the engine of a taxi waiting for the green signal. The implication that modern man is a machine and his life is mechanical is suggested, not stated. What, hence, we have to look for in the work of a modern poet is how alive he is to our times and how evident his awareness is in his work. As Robert Frost remarked : "A modern poet must be one that speaks to the modern people no matter when he lived in the world. That would be one way of describing it. And it would make him more modern, perhaps, if he were *alive* and speaking to modern people."

One profitable way in which we can approach modern poetry is to see how it branched off from the earlier poetry and developed a new tradition in accordance with the new society. The fervour

of romantic poetry is derived from the ideals that inspired the French Revolution. The Romantic poets believed, like the prophets of the French Revolution, that the principles animating their poetry were the forces that then moved the world. For them, man is a reservoir of infinite possibilities; poet is a man speaking to man, a teacher explaining the riddles of life, nature and man (or else he is nothing). As Shelley defines, the poet is an unacknowledged legislator of mankind or as Shaw ridicules Shelley, a kind of self-appointed M.P. It is that the Victorians were spiritually more divided. They felt the schism in the soul more keenly than the Romantics. Yet, Wordsworth continued to be their highpriest. This improper awareness of the spiritual gulf between one world dead and the other world powerless to be born, lead to three kinds of attitudes. Poets like Browning felt that 'all is right with the world.' Another group of writers like Shaw felt that though there was something wrong with the world, it could be remedied. The most sensitive of them like Arnold believed that the actual world is 'alien, recalcitrant and unpoetical, and that no protest is worth making except the protest of withdrawal.' Though the Victorians were aware of the changes, they were not able to alter their response. They were not able to transcend the limitations of the Romantics. Poetry continued to be the 'criticism of life'; the notes of melancholy, doubt and pessimism in their work proceeded from a nostalgic longing for a vanished golden time. These notes show that the poets were aware of the encircling gloom; they also imply the positives and assurances that have vanished. What was more, they wanted to bring back the ideal lost through their poetry and in this process, they believed that poetry would occupy the place of religion.

The modern wisdom, that the golden ages of the past are as much an illusion as the millennium of the future, is not attained by them. What blinded the Victorians to the fact that man is a man in spite of race and creed is their complacency and jingo imperialism. They began to feel superior and in course of time, they got obsessed with the burden of their superiority, the

white man's burden. They thought they were born to bring salvation to the rest of the world. No less a poet than Tennyson declared in *Akber's Dream* that the Indians saw their true salvation in their English rulers.

From out the sunset poured an alien race,
Who fitted stone to stone again, and Truth,
Peace, Love and Justice came and dwelt therein.

True insight is never given to those who think too well of themselves. The citadel of British complacency was blown up when they were made to feel that they were not so superior as they fancied, nor were they wanted to bring salvation to the world. The Boer war proved their defects in terms too concrete to miss. The Indian National Movement made it unmistakably obvious that their mission was unwanted. 'We have' wrote Lord Chelmsford to George V on October 1, 1918, "an educated class here, 95 per cent of whom are inimical to us, and I venture to assert that every student in every University is growing up with a hatred of us." After the Amritsar shooting in 1919, Gandhiji transformed this intellectual agitation into a mass revolutionary movement. The candid intellectuals of Britain did not hesitate to call off this stunt of the white man's burden. Wilfred Scawen Blunt in his *Staten Alolsved*, an epic in which he collaborated with the celebrated philosopher Herbert Spencer, writes:

These Lords who boast Thine aid at their
high civic feasts,
The ignoble shouting crowds, the prophets
of their Press,
Pouring their daily flood of self righteousness,
Their poets who write big of the 'White
Burden'. Trash!
The White Man's Burden, Lord, is the burden
of his cash.

Only a genius of the order of Hopkins could see beneath the 'deceptive surface': he had the ability and guts to see and a genius to transform what he had observed into poetry. As early as

the 2nd August 1971, he wrote to Robert Bridges: "I am afraid some great revolution is not far off. Horrible to say, in a manner, that I am a Communist. Their ideal stating something is nobler than that professed by any secular statesman I know of... Besides it is just. I do not mean the means of getting to it are. But it is a dreadful thing for the greatest and most necessary part of a very rich nation to live a hard life without dignity, knowledge, and comforts, delights, or hopes in the midst of plenty—which plenty they make. They profess that they do not care what they wreck and burn. the old civilization must be destroyed. This is a dreadful look out but what has the old civilization done for them? As it at present stands in England, it is itself in great measure founded on wrecking. But they got none of their spoils: they came in for nothing but harm from it then and thereafter. England has grown hugely wealthy but this wealth has not reached the working classes; I expect it has made their condition worse. Besides this iniquitous order the old civilization embodies another order mostly old and what is new in direct entail from the old. the old religion, learning, law, art etc., and all the history that is preserved in standing monuments. But as the working classes have not been educated they know next to nothing of all this and cannot be expected to care if they destroy it. The more I look the more black and deservedly black the future looks." It is this rare insight and sensibility that enabled him to feel the intense spiritual agony and the need for a new form to express it. In his celebrated sonnet, *Thou Art Indeed just, Lord*, he enquire:

Thou art indeed just, Lord, if I contend
With thee; but, sir, so what I plead is just.
Why do sinners' ways prosper? and why
Disappointment all I endeavour end?

His spiritual agony does not stop with this obstinate questionnaire. He realized the stifling effect the age had on his soul and how it sapped all

springs of nourishment and creative activity. He felt the need for a life-giving faith, not the need for roots but a rain to nourish his roots.

Birds build—but not I build; no, but
Time's eunuch, and not breed one word
Mine, O thou lord of life, send me
roots rain

It is not difficult to see why such a poet was more honoured in omission than in recognition during his life time.

The major factor which paved the way for modern poetry is industrialization. Before industry agriculture was the main source of living for the people but in a different way. Agriculture is not an industry but, as Trevelyan points out, "a way of life, unique and irreplaceable in its human and spiritual values".¹ Industry turned 'workfolk' into 'factory hands'. People belonging to diverse traditional vocations fell into a single profession in industry. Therefore what was once a vocation became an occupation and the mutual coexistence of the past is replaced by cut-throat competition. The self-supporting cottager turned into a spender of money. Towns began to set the norm for the entire society and even the countrymen who escaped the clutches of industry turned into a town bird at heart. Naturally, human relations came to be governed by a cash nexus and not by old ethical considerations. The term 'poor' is regarded as the character of a group of people and not as a word descriptive of a condition or society. In this set up, nothing succeeds like success and nothing is so despicable as failure. Men are judged by their achievements as their actions are judged by the results.

Change in life results in a change in values. It is according to the wage criteria that the modern man is evaluated and is forced to evaluate himself. Man's real self is dwarfed by this wage criteria. For, he has to labour under the constant insult of eking out a living in a factory: he has to swallow the slight of being paid by an anonymous boss. In this environment of competition, the old togetherness in work and oneness

in life are crippled. They are replaced by a false unity—life unity with the immediate motive of getting more than what one gets—the guild unity and the union unity. The result is an utter disregard for the sanctity of human relations. "What was demoralizing...", says Beatrice Webb, "because it bred a poisonous cynicism about human relations, was the making and breaking of personal friendship according to temporary and accidental circumstances in no way concerned with personal merit: gracious appreciation and insistent intimacy being succeeded, when failure according to worldly standards occurred, by harsh criticism and cold avoidance".⁵ Poverty is considered as a crime and not as a misfortune; the abstract concept of social standard became the basis of community relationship. Men learnt to ignore the things that really matter and developed an innocuous neutrality devoid of any zest for life. When human beings do not feel what they say and respond to things as they are expected, not as they feel, they are no better than letters in the equation of society. As Lawrence says, "Why do modern people almost invariably ignore the things that are actually present to them... They certainly never live on the spot where they are. They inhabit abstract space, the desert void of politics, principles, right and wrong and so forth... Talking to them is like trying to have a human relationship with the letter X in algebra."⁶

At all levels, naturally, life became a big lie. The aristocracy which once set the standard of life is now pensioned off. Some of them hold a remote control over life as anonymous bosses. The poor are too poor to think; all their life is spent in earning a living and hence, they are left with no time to live. The really powerful class in the new set up is the white collared middle class. It consists of the vast army of officers, clerks and shopkeepers who live in smaller or larger villas in the same suburbs according to their status. These big battalions of suburbia always do others' work, adding up other men's accounts, writing other men's letters and selling other men's goods. This suburban villadom is a greater burden on the nation than the slums. It has no corporate life. The menfolk, and very often women also, are

engaged elsewhere. After work, they come back home much too exhausted to enter into public life. The more leisurely residents, the retired people and the rich civilians have no other function except to reside. They may worship different Gods but their real gods are security and respectability. These people are so far removed from life that they take the counterfeit for the real. They are against all change. For, change means for them a disturbance from their present comfortable nothingness.

Industrialization imposed a dull pattern on all aspects of life, a fixed routine devoid of tradition or a system of belief. It brought in a new standard of values: time-saving devices, quicker production, uniformity and standardization. Creative activity is subordinated to the principle of mass production, catering chiefly to utilitarian conveniences. Thus man's life is conditioned to standardized comforts and he is incapacitated to think in terms other than utility, necessity and convenience. Standardization and utility and uniformity became the key note of modern life and art. Modern civilization evolved a universal style in architecture and dress. As Arnold Toynbee noted, standardization and uniformity are the marks of an age troubled by 'the schism in the soul'⁷ which leads to a decay of life and culture. Paradoxically, in this state of society, the luckier the group of people in the grade of industry, the more enslaved they are. For such, it is impossible to conceive of good life in terms other than affluence. This attitude is vividly represented by Auden in his poem *The Unknown citizen*.

He was fully sensible to the advantages
of the Instalment plan
And had everything necessary to the
Modern Man,
A phonograph, a radio, a car and a
fridaire.

When this external paraphernalia of a modern standard of good life is found, no one bothers to see what really matters and whether the man is happy at all. Such disturbing questions look absurd. As Auden puts it:

LIFE AND POETRY BY ROBERT GRAY

Was he free? Was he happy? The question is absurd: Had anything been wrong, we should certainly have heard.

The intellectual side of the industrial age is equally depressing. The three most influential thinkers of the early days of industrialization, Darwin, Marx and Freud did their best to make man lose faith in everything including himself. Darwin reduced man to a blind biological accident. With his theories of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, he provided a rational basis for the nerve shattering competition, and the distinction of material success. Marx, whatever good he might have done, robbed man of his self respect: according to him, man's acts, preferences and choices are predetermined by his economic status. According to Freud, man is so little a captain of his soul that what he is, is a product of the psychological influences and traumas, the formation or the malformation of the unconscious parts of his mind during infancy or early childhood. The sum total of these doctrines is that man has neither the power to choose nor any responsibility for what he is. Therefore, the best way open for him is to be socially useful. Industry is the thing to choose. This kind of total uprooting of all tradition and destruction of values is successfully portrayed by Yeats in his *The Second Coming*.

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,

The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack of all conviction, while the

worst

Are full of passionate intensity.

In the new set up, the actual time left for man to live apart from his work is his leisure. The irony is that though the willing prisoners of industry live only for his leisure, he is not able to

live in his leisure when it comes to him. Consequently, the leisure it brings is equally meaningless. When work is something one has to do to eke out his living, leisure is the time to enjoy what one earns through his work. Man lost his roots because he is not in touch with primary production. He no more knows how the necessities of life come to him than he can see the significance of his work in the scheme of human life. The easiest way of alleviating this gnawing vacancy is by recreation, sometimes even by addiction to drugs. As man is cut off from the main stream of life, to have real experiences and to feel genuinely are impossible. Man, in such a state, can experience and receive impressions only at the sensational and sentimental level—he needs something that which excites his jaded mind. As long as the mind operates only on the sensational and sentimental level, it cannot discriminate between the real and the counterfeit. The counterfeit usurps the real. Therefore, the place originally filled by popular poetry, folk music and dance, country sports and pastimes, is taken up by the mechanized entertainments in the industrial society. The pep and brandy of popular journalism, the horror tales and detective novels, sensation mongering and love stuff satisfying the urge of sentimentalism, football tournaments and cricket matches, the jazz club and the cinema provide the necessary entertainment. Thus the uses to which the precious leisure is put is not for recreation but for what Stuart Chase aptly calls 'decreation'.⁸

Modern researches in anthropology and psychology have shown beyond doubt that many a cherished institution, festival, belief and entertainment derive their significance and use only from the cultural frame work in which they evolved. Outside this frame work, they have neither meaning nor validity. Man inherits as many vital aspects of culture from his 'racial memory' as he fully develops consciously or unconsciously in his own life. Scientific civilization snapped the vital channels of communication through the family and community and other social institutions. It successfully rooted out the so called superstition of tradition and religion.

The modern mechanized recreation, which has no life-giving culture to give it significance, has far reaching consequences. The mind grows on what it is fed. What is taken as a momentary entertainment. in course of time, determines man's response to life, his taste in general. A taste formed and nourished on this type of popular art could at best make one's life an imitation. Analysing this taste, I. A. Richards remarks : "At present bad literature. bad art, the cinema etc. are an influence of the first importance in forming immature and actually inapplicable attitudes to most things. Even the decision as to what constitutes a pretty girl or a handsome young man, an affair apparently natural and personal enough, is largely determined by magazine covers and movie stars". When the shadow lives of the screen become the ideal for human life. man's very response to life cannot be anything but a stock response. Man does not feel and respond to life in a

“Here is the root of all romanticism: that man, the individual, is an infinite reservoir of possibilities. . . . One can define the classical quite clearly as the exact opposite of this. Man is an extraordinarily fixed and limited animal.”

ordinary man. Whereas ordinary men are always an one way traffic. One can look back and incapacitated to feel the real feelings and experience see but one cannot go back. The old order, good real experiences, a real artist has capacity to feel or bad, is shattered. The traditional central them, potentiality to plunge to the deeper authority, the moral tradition common to prince unnamed forces that form the real basis for life and peasant alike, which made the moral ordering and courage to express them. He feels just naturally of individual impulses possible, vanished. We and not as he wants to or is expected to do. So need something that can effectively take the place he writes just as he feels and not as he wants or of this old order. As no such common system has is expected to do by others. This constitutes the yet been evolved, the only way to attain a new sincerity of the artist. As Leaves explained, poetry order is by reconciliation and not by a deliberate "matters because of the kind of poet who is more supression of individual impulses. One has to alive than other peoples, more alive in his own works one's salvation with diligence. It is in this age. He is, as it were, at the most conscious point sense that the modern poet is realistic, painfully of the race in his time. ('He is the point at which realistic.

the growth of the mind shows itself", says I. A. Richards). "Only the rarest individuals hitherto have The potentialities for human achieved this new order, and never yet perhaps experience in any age are realized only by a tiny completely. But many have achieved it for a brief minority, and the important poet is important while, for a particular phase of experience, and because he belongs to this (and has also, of course, the power of communication). Indeed, may have recorded it for these phases.

his capacity for experiencing and his power of Of these records poetry consists."¹² communicating are indistinguishable; not merely because we should not know of the one without the other, but because his power of making words express what he feels is indistinguishable from his awareness of what he feels. He is unusually sensitive, unusually aware, more sincere and more himself than the ordinary man can be."¹¹ The difficulty in reading such poetry arises from the demands it makes on the readers. To Such a man is bound to be dreaded and considered dangerous in a society surviving on a comfortable self-deception, because it is neither easy nor understand a new thought and to imbibe a new experience, the reader has to rise to the level of comfortable to understand what he says. In this situation for a serious poet either to escape from the thought and experience of the author. This or revolt against the society is equally foolish. calls for a painful cultivation of the mind and It amounts to self betrayal. Nor is it right to sensibility of the reader. Since maturity of the artist means the maturity of the whole man, the poets of the past. He has to make others see what the cultivation of the mind and sensibility for the the reader means the cultivation of the whole man. he has seen and what ought to be seen. Consequently, he makes people react to life as they That difficulty, with a degree of difference is common to all knowledge, science as well as poetry. Are not modern science and mathematics difficult? Modern poetry does not offer experience by way of entertainment but as a reward. It does not instruct as it delights but offers delight only to those who are prepared to labour and sweat for it. The reader cannot take reading poetry as a pastime; he must always be on duty. True poetry reveals itself only to those who really deserve.

His task is to show life was, how it is and how it ought to be. In such an attempt, there is I have said enough to show the tremendous no scope for a nostalgic longing for the golden changes that have come over in modern life and past or a sentimental wish to bring back or poetry. These changes call for a new mode of recreate such a past. On the road of time it is approach on the part of the reader. For one

whose concept and taste are formed and nourished on the poetry of Dryden or Pope, the poetry of Wordsworth or of any other Romantic poet is bound to appear obscure, difficult and wilfully perverse. Indeed it appeared so to their immediate contemporaries. Such a reader had to make a radical revision of his taste to enjoy the poetry of the Romantics. Modern poetry calls for such a painful revision. The modern reader, whose taste and habit of reading poetry are formed mostly on Elizabethan lyrics and Romantic poetry, has to make a drastic reordering of his taste and habit of apprehension to participate fully in the poetry of (say) Eliot. This is the reason why both Wordsworth and Eliot did their best to educate the public to understand their poetry. The following two examples, chosen at random, reflect the spirit of the times in which they were written. The adequately illustrate the change that have come over and he demands those changes make on the reader.

Wordsworth says about evening :

It is a beautiful evening, calm and free,
The holy time is quiet as a nun
Breathless with adoration ;¹³

To pass on from this Romantic yearning for tranquillity, leisurely repose and religious sanctity to the modern gloom and hurry of T.S. Eliot is to enter into a strange new world. The reader is

sure to receive a disturbing jolt unless his mode of apprehension is properly tuned to receive the perception of Eliot :

Let us go then, you and I,
When the evening is spreade out against

Like a patient etherised upon a table ;¹⁴

Eliot's lines are as true a representation of our age as Wordsworth's were of his age. To modern readers, Eliot speaks more effectively than the great Romantic poet.

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AJAY MUKHERJEE DECLARES WAR

At no time since 1962 had the nationalistic morale of Bengal fallen so low as it had since the inception of the U. F. Government. One almost began to think that Bengal had no spirit of freedom, patriotism, self-respect and the courage to face the nation's enemies. It looked as if foreign agents had the freedom to do what they liked and that the old soldiers who had fought against the British imperialists had now to remain in hiding in case they were dragged to public trials by the despicable who so openly paraded their matricidal desires without any fears of public reprisals. All this could happen because, in their urge to oust the Congress from political power, the anti-Congress leaders did not take sufficient precautions to keep certain agents of the foreign enemies of India out of the combined force of political parties. These enemies of Indian nationalism, as soon as they got power in hand went all out to destroy the established institutions in the economic, educational and social fields in Bengal. No one received protection any longer from the lawless action of hooligans and upstarts. Factories were closed, officers were manhandled, the right of property destroyed ruthlessly by organised banditry, innocent and neutral persons were made to suffer endless misery and the fifth column, of India's enemies flourished and increased in size. The four anti-national types of mass action that certain people tried to organise were unlawful industrial agitation and direct action, lawless usurpation of property rights in land, acts of hooliganism sponsored by Ministries and attempted negotiations with a foreign enemy to support a revolution in Bengal. All the four types of criminal breach of faith with

the Nation were the products of treacherous collaboration with the enemies of the people of India. Ajay Mukherjee wanted to dissolve this disgraceful mixture of patriotism and loyalty towards the Motherland with high treason and his proposed resignation was inspired by his feeling that some of his associates were not faithful to the patriotic ideals that he had held high all his life. When these associates assured him that they would give up their anti-national connections and activities, he gave up his idea of resigning. But, his associates thereafter tried to make false propaganda against him and he had to make public the whole story of what really happened. We do not know what will now develop after Sri Ajay Mukherjee's announcement, some think the public announcement about the treacherous plans of a certain party to bring Chinese soldiers into India to help their revolution will make it impossible for that party to remain in the U. F. cabinet. But as far as we know the particular Party does not make a fetish of logic, truth, or straightforwardness in behaviour. They may continue to plan their treacherous revolution while denying that they are doing any such thing. It is, therefore highly unlikely that they would leave the U. F. just because staying in government would force them into duplicity and dishonesty. Some other people think Sri Ajay Mukherjee will now have to seek the assistance of Congress to make Bengal safe for democracy and the four freedoms. This will mean a midterm election and an open breach between the parties now working together in the U. F. Yet others prophesy a public awakening in Bengal, leading

to open denouncements of the people who are acting as enemy agents. This may happen, but it will require the emergence of new leaders among the youthful men and women of Bengal. There are signs that a substantial body of young men and women despise those who want the Chinese to come to India, but lack of organisation and the machinery of propaganda, make these people ineffective. The agents of China are well organised and are provided with all resources that they require.

From the activities of the various political parties of India, including the Congress, it would appear that the fire of patriotism no longer burns as brightly in our hearts as it did in pre-Independence days. Collaboration with the enemies of the country and attempts at destroying the nation's solidarity and strength were not unknown among those who acted as the agents of the British and others who preached a two nation theory. But, generally speaking, the various groups of persons constituting the nation, were more or less prepared to make sacrifices for the good of the Nation. To-day self-interest rules supreme. Businessmen, workers, students, teachers, service holders, landlords shopkeepers, cultivators, suppliers, contractors and all others only think of their own advantage and very little else. The very idea of a common Motherland with a common outlook and culture is becoming hazy in the mind of the people who are fed constantly with ideas of narrower dimensions. Some fight for this language or that, others base their poli-

tical thoughts and emotions on religion, provincial boundaries, advancement of cliques and coteries or cliches of foreign origin. The state governments are run on such considerations and the Central Government is not much better off. A great ideal and a broad outlook will always push petty desires and jealousies in the background and no great ideals can gain in strength when pettymindedness gets the upperhand. India is poor, militarily weak, industrially backward, agriculturally part-productive, educationally slow in progress, medically unprovided with many facilities and internationally in the unenviable position of a beggar and borrower. In such circumstances all Indians should pull together and try to achieve things which will make the country strong, self-sufficient and great. But all Indians, particularly the political leaders, spend their time in cheap sophistry, pettifogging and bickering in order to achieve their personal ends. When they work together, it is never for any national objective. The group interests are also narrow and not for any advantages that will accrue to the entire people of India. The petty jealousies that are strongly noticeable within the parties are also for pushing up this or that person or clique. The people of India are being sacrificed for the aggrandisement of persons who between them have no trace of any fiery zeal for India's greatness or glory. This is proved by the display of selfishness of a very ordinary variety that we see all round us.

INDIAN ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY

Prof. Dr. P. C. GHOSH

Aluminium metal was introduced to the Indian public in the form of cheap kitchen wares. Some units arose and also flourished in the business of making such articles from imported sheets and circles. Manufacture of virgin metal as well as its rolling into sheets started in a small way during the second world war. Of the two pioneering concerns Aluminium Corporation of India Ltd. which was set up in 1937 started in 1942 production of aluminium in Jakaynagar near Asansole (West Bengal). The Indian Aluminium Company Ltd., a subsidiary of Canadian Aluminium Ltd., started in 1938. This Company began by operating in 1941 fabrication of sheets and circles from imported ingots at Belur (West Bengal). In 1945 this concern commenced production of aluminium metal at Alwaye (Kerala) using for the purpose imported raw materials. Later in 1948 this company started ore-refining at Muri (Bihar) from where alumina powder was transported to Alwaye reduction plant,

The two smelters were small, uneconomic and they rested heavily on tariff protection, which is still in continuation. At the time of independence, production of virgin metal was in all around 5000 metric tons (tonnes); see also Table I. For the first 5-year Plan, a target of 20,000 tons was set, but this was far from realised. At the end of 1st 5-Year Plan installed capacity rose to 17,500 tons against its target of 30,000 tons. In the 3rd 5-Year Plan period, capacity went up substantially against its target of 47,500 tonnes. Production of primary virgin metal in 1966 was 83,400 tonnes while installed capacity rose to 98,000 tonnes against existing licensed capacity of 113,000 tonnes. On the basis of price at Rs. 510* per 100 Kg. ruling in December, 1966, value of virgin metal ingot produced the same year was about Rs. 42.53 crores. Semi-finished and finished goods made from ingot would fetch from the market much more than the price of virgin metal.

Table I
Output of aluminium and its products in Tons.

Year	Virgin metal	Sheets & circles	Foils	Conductor A. C. S. R.	Extruded Rods, etc.
1950	3,596.4				
1955	7,225.2	9,659.6	1,320		
1957	7,784.4	10,924	1,356	840	120
1960	18,466.3	21,042	2,976	6,012	1,344

So India has already a sizable aluminium industry composed of both primary manufacturing units, and secondary fabricating and also casting units. There are of course numerous fabricators of consumer goods, who obtain supplies of metal from the former. Against an estimated demand of 164,000 tonnes of ingot for 1967, installed capacity rose farther so as to reach by May, 1967 about 113,000 tonnes. Aluminium industry has been fairly well distributed in different regions of India except for the Northern-most area—Kashmir, Delhi, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana. Smelters are located in Kerala, Madras, Orissa, U. P., West Bengal while two are scheduled in the public sector, one each for Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The capacity envisaged in the private sector in the 4th Plan is about 245,000 tonnes, the main contributions being made by the Hindustan Aluminium Corporation Ltd., and the Indian Aluminium Company Ltd. with 120,000 tonnes and 100,000 tonnes respectively. The public sector schemes included in the 4th plan are the Koyna Aluminium Project (Maharashtra) with a capacity of 50,000 tonnes and the Korba Aluminium Project (M.P.) with a capacity of 100,000 tonnes. The public sector capacity of 150,000 tonnes is expected to be achieved in 1971-72. A West German concern Vereinigte Aluminium Werke have been appointed consulting engineers for the Korba public sector project which expects plants and machineries from Hungary and USSR. Each of the private sector concerns has also foreign collaboration. Demand for aluminium ingot may be put around 260,000 tons for the year 1970-71 and at about 300,000 tonnes for 1975-76. Such demands are likely to be met substantially. So in the not-too distant future aluminium manufacture is likely to exceed half-a-million tonne mark. The aluminium industry, which is already occupying the foremost position in the

field of non-ferrous metal manufacture, will become a major enterprise producing each year goods worth several hundred crores of rupees for home and export markets, and offering employment to thousands of men and women. Thus the story which began with kitchen wares spreads through hearths and homes, fields and factories far and farther.

History of aluminium has been a chequered one. Substances with a styptic or astringent taste seem to have been designated by Romans alumen from which the name of the metal aluminium came. The astringent alumen of the ancients was not the ordinary alum of to-day but probably a crude form of alum. In 1754 A. S. Marggraf showed that the earthy base in alum is a definite substance distinct from lime. This earthy base detected by Marggraf in both alum and clay is of course the oxide of aluminium and not the elemental metal whose isolation in pure form baffled long many scientists including Davy. In 1824 H. C. Oersted of Denmark had isolated aluminium by the action of potassium amalgam on aluminium chloride and by distilling off the mercury from the product. In 1827, F. Wohler in Germany first produced aluminium in some quantity, by warming the anhydrous chloride with potassium, as a light grey powder, but it was not until 1845 that the compact metal was obtained. St. Claire Deville in France perfected 'Wohler's process'; he used sodium in place of potassium. In 1854 a medal of this light whitish metal was struck and presented to Napoleon III. Deville's process spread more or less as a laboratory method which succeeded in bringing down price of aluminium from 1000 francs (about Rs. 1,000) per Kg in 1856 to 130 francs per Kg in 1862. This light whitish thing produced in grammes or pounds raised curiosity rather than served any industrial purpose but nevertheless it continued to attract much attention. Finally in 1886, after about 60

years of its isolation and more than 100 years of its discovery, Charles Martin Hall in USA and Paul L. T. Heroult in France invented independently the same modern method of producing molten aluminium by electrolysis of a molten solution of alumina dissolved in cryolite. From around 1888 onwards regular manufacture went on in ever-increasing amounts so that world production went up by leaps and bounds as shown below :

tonnes in 1939 and more than 1.50 million tonnes in 1944 ; the first two major producers in 1944 were USA (776, 446 tonnes) and Germany (330,000 tonnes). The following comparative post-war production figures for several countries (Table II) show that the progress achieved in India is neither spectacular nor also very poor.

A target of half-a-million tonne annual production will be feasible in the next ten years

World Production of Aluminium In Metric Tons

1886	1910	1918	1944	1955	1966
2	23,000	200,328	1,743,700	3,140,000	7,000,000

Large war-time demand both from the growing automobile industry and defence production of aeroplanes boosted up manufacture of the metal from the trade depression figure of 152, 700 tonnes in 1932 to 676, 500

provided adequate power supply becomes available. It should also be expected that growth in the 5th Plan period will be possible on the basis of indigenous technical know-how and plants.

Table II
Primary* Aluminium Production in 1000
metric tons

Country	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962
Australia	—	9.3	11	11.8	16.5
China (mainland)	3.0	10.0	27.0	80.0	100.0
France :					
Primary	120.1	149.8	168.8	238.5	294.5
Secondary	27.0	32.3	40.6	41.0	46.9
India	5.0	6.6	8.3	18.4	35.4
Japan :					
Primary	53.1	66.0	84.0	133.2	171.4
Secondary	2.8	14.5	23.5	49.5	71.5
West Germany :					
Primary	129.2	147.4	136.8	168.9	177.8
Secondary	70.0	87.2	101.8	133.7	142.7

*Aluminium produced from the natural ore.

Secondary aluminium is metal remelted from scrap aluminium.

A tonne of metal represents in engineering parlance a tonne of certain aggregate properties which together with its availability and cost of production determine its use and market. Almost every one is familiar with aluminium kitchen wares which because of their lightness are convenient to handle and which do not easily rust nor corrode. For the same or similar reasons, aluminium is used in structural fittings, as covering material etc. For such use, commercial purity is 99.2%; for use as electrical conductor it is 99.5 to 99.9%. Commercial aluminium has good electrical conductivity at about 65% of the

conductivity of pure copper. For the same resistance or for carrying the same current, the aluminium conductor has to be 65% thicker in cross-section but still weight of aluminium metal required would be around half of an equivalent copper conductor. If the price of metal per tonne were the same, aluminium conductor would cost half as much. ACSR (Aluminium cables Steel Reinforced) Cables (strengthened through steel wires) have become quite popular as busbars for transmission of power. Pattern of use of aluminium is shown in Table III.

Table III
Requirement of aluminium industry-wise in
metric tons*

	1955	1960	1962-63	1965-66	1970-71
Electrical conductor	8,980	16,000	26,900	52,000	122,300
Household	11,650	11,000	13,000	18,000	38,000
Building & construction	480	3,000	4,000	5,000	7,000
Canning & packaging	2,580	3,000	5,000	7,500	15,000
Food, farming	15	1,000	1,600	2,500	5,600
textiles.					
chemical					
industry					
Other Industries	1,345	4,000	19,600	27,000	57,400
Total	27,400	45,000	75,000	120,000	260,000

*Taken from Eastern Metals Review

INDIAN ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY

For the year 1967 requirement of virgin aluminium is estimated at 164,000 tonnes of which about 50% at 78,000 tonnes is for the electrical industry. Today there are 4 primary producers who operate five smelters, all in the private sector, and three of the producers have fabricating plants for production of semis like sheet, circles etc. There are separate concerns who buy ingots from the smelters and finish or semi-finish. Production capacity for aluminium semis is given below in metric tons.

	In Metric Tons		
	1950-51	1960-61	1965-66
Sheets & circles	11,400	19,000	50,000
Wire rods for ACSR	4,000	22,000	30,000
Extruded section	—	1,200	10,700
Foils	1,100	2,000	7,500
Total	16,500	44,200	98,200

Indigenous production of ingot has been for years short of demand and the shortage is likely to be made up in a few years. Such deficiencies in supply have been met partially through imports. Import figures for 2nd half of 1966 is shown in Table IV.

During this half year, major quantities were imported from USA (about Rs. 2 crores) and Canada (about Rs. 1.3 crores). Fortunately, the Indian Aluminium industry has been able to build up enough small an export market. Aluminium ore and bauxite export in 1963-64 amounted to Rs. 4.81 millions. Export of virgin metal and alloys in 1963-64 were valued at Rs. 16.2 millions. Export of household utensils increased from Rs. 26 lakhs in 1962 to Rs. 41 lakhs in 1963.

In planning the aluminium industry, several factors like plant size, cost and availability of power, raw materials, transport charges, product diversification, export prospects have to be integrated. 20 to 25 per cent of the cost of production is due to electricity. So aluminium plants tend to move to locations where abundant cheap supply of electricity exists. Capacities of some of the existing smelters have to be enlarged to make them competitive. Ore needed in the manufacture of aluminium is bauxite of which there are abundant sources and new mines are being explored. Requirement of calcined petroleum coke is being met currently from indigenous source but since smelter capacity is rising, about a third of the quantity of C. P. coke needed in 1968 may

Table—IV
Import of aluminium in July to December, 1966

	Tonnes	Valued at (Rupees)
Aluminium foils	27.6	3,51,800
„ rods, wires	7101.7	322,39,500
„ ingots, bars	4702.2	187,47,400
„ sheets, strip	92.5	6,67,600
„ scrap	1.6	8,700
„ other sorts	65.8	6,66,200
„ alloy ingot	12.2	56,800
„ „ rod	179.7	14,82,400
„ „ sheet	4.0	54,200
Total	12187.6	5,42,74,600

have to be imported at cost of about Rs. 1 crore. To meet the demand of C. P. coke as well as of other ingredients like cryolite, aluminium fluoride, local manufacture is to be recommended. Manufacture of various casting alloys of aluminium as well as of strong alloys of the Duralumin type cannot brook delay. Diversification of products, indigenous supply of ancillary raw materials, provision of adequate power, supply of indigenous plants and machineries are to be devoutly wished for.

Indian sources of non-ferrous metals like copper, tin are limited. By 1975 imports of non-ferrous metals are estimated to amount to about Rs. 300 crores. This heavy drain on our foreign currency may be almost impossible to meet. Efforts should, therefore, be directed to meet our deficiencies as far as possible in respect of non-ferrous metals through development in its entirety of the aluminium industry which is clearly destined to be a major key industry of India.



THE GROWTH OF A LANGUAGE

Language expresses thought and feelings through audible or visible sounds, signs and symbols. Spoken language began long before writing was attempted by man. Spoken words in the beginning must have been few in number and expressive of only elementary ideas which men required to communicate and clarify. Precision and complexity must have been achieved in language over thousands of years and words expressing more and more synthesized combinations, ideas and their correlations progressively developed. The needs for placing ideas accurately for communication and the necessity for avoiding ambiguity and loss or change of sense through transmission created fixed rules of grammar and etymology. This must have happened many thousand years before recorded history began. Writing progressed at a slower pace but was practised by many races several thousand years ago. Quite a few languages were highly developed at least three to five thousand years ago and were used for recording highly complex thoughts and ideas of a philosophical and socially useful nature. Many of the Hindu shastras date back to this period and show an amazing development of precise and clear cut thinking. Sanskrit, which evolved as a language of great precision over a long period, had a highly developed grammar thousands of years ago. This language which has been nearly coexistent with Indian civilisation and culture has provided a social foundation to the various regional languages of India. During the long course of Indian history, outside influences have naturally come to India and the languages of foreigners too have been useful sources for enriching Indian thought and culture. Arabic,

Persian and English can be mentioned as the three greatest linguistic forces that have explored the field of Indian civilisation from foreign countries. Arabic and Persian inspiration was woven into the fabric of Indian culture during long centuries and English came into our life with the advent of modern science and industry. The growth of Indian civilisation during the last two hundred years, therefore, has been nourished and stimulated by European thoughts and ideas which India acquired through English education. Indian languages grew by use of European inspiration and their thought forms and idioms quite often took on a Western colouring without any deliberate planning or effort. The more English education a certain region received the more its own language displayed growth and vigour. This can be corroborated by the strength of the Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Malayalam and Bengali languages and the relative poverty of Maithili, Bhojpuri, Hindi, Rajasthani and other languages.

The wealth of thoughts, ideas, scientific and technical knowledge and applied rationalism that English education has contributed to Indian civilisation, has been quite phenomenal in so far as this has brought India forward to point of knowledge and outlook from the fourteenth to the twentieth century in less than two hundred years. This process of intellectual advancement is still continuing and certain areas of India, particularly those where Hindi and its associate languages are spoken, can take another one hundred years of intensive education that cannot be given through the local languages. It is the so-called Hindi speaking areas which require English education more than any other area in India. The Hindi

speaking peasantry who constitute 90 per cent of the people of the area, are at an extremely low level of culture and social rationality. Their ideas of hygiene and sanitation are rudimentary, child marriage is practised widely in the area

a heavy non-descript outlook pervades community life in the villages and towns which are now aspiring to set a standard for the rest of India by lending their undeveloped language to take the place of English as the link language for inter-provincial communication. Hindi, unfortunately, has not attained any degree of precision, strength of expression nor any subtlety, or complexity to act as a substitute for English or as a link language between Tamil speakers and Bengalis. A language cannot develop very much more than what is required of it by its natural and first degree users. The cultural level of the average Hindi speaker will therefore determine its development. Coining words that have no background of usage for the purpose of stating ideas which have no place in a Hindi speaker's mind will hardly help Hindi to attain the complex expressiveness of English or German. The Hindi sounding jargon will solely decorate the page of a dictionary concocted for no practical purpose. It has taken Bengali several billion man-hours of intellectual conversation and quite a few million pages of precisely written sentences relating to thoughts of a high degree of complexity, to reach its present level of development. English or German must have made journeys into linguistic complexities a hundred times more extensive than what Bengali has done. Hindi has not yet come anywhere near the development that, let us say, Raja Rammohan's Bengali writing's displayed

towards the end of the 18th century. And Bengali was a fairly well developed language long before Raja Rammohan Roy was born.

It is admitted by all intelligent persons now that social development in various spheres can be achieved by state action to a considerable extent. The growth of languages can also have its managed aspect. But in the case of Hindi, much money has been given to selected persons who have not been able to deliver the goods after receiving payment. According to some Hindi enthusiasts who wanted to see Hindi grow as a state language, the money has been wasted for the reason that the persons who took the money neither had the ability nor the intention to arrange the orderly growth of a language. Twenty years and scores of crores of rupees have been lost due to this shameful waste of national resources and energy. Efforts made by other regional governments to stimulate the development of the various regional languages by the manufacture of text books and other methods also failed by and large because of similar favouritism and misuse of grants. English education has not been affected to that extent by text books written or compiled by incompetent persons nor has the English language been modelled by receivers of undeserved State aid. Generally speaking, the language question has also been vitiated by the usual money grabbing, profiteering, shameless exploitation as prevail in all spheres of government activity in India. If any language can not develop and grow naturally, let not the State come into it and waste public money. For, State controls and management have provided the maximum support to crimes against the people during the last two decades.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

KARUNA K. NANDI

Ministers on Holidays Abroad

It has become almost a customary ritual for most Ministers of the Union Government to spend varying periods of time after Parliament goes into recess following its autumn session and before it is again summoned for the annual Budget session, on visits to foreign countries. Very often members of their staff are required to accompany them on these visits because they are invariably supposed to have an official objective since it is the public exchequer which has to defray the expenses, often very large, of these visits.

A great deal of criticism has, on occasions, been made of these visits and missions and even the Government have been compelled, on occasions, to admit that, with few exceptions, most of these visits abroad do not serve any useful purpose in concrete terms and could, therefore, be generally admitted to be largely wasteful. When regard is had that such holidays—and they are no less—apart from being a severe burden on a not too affluent public exchequer, also cost a great deal of foreign exchange, a precious commodity which has been in acute short supply over the years entailing great strains upon the economy and upon the Government's programmes of development planning, such pilgrimages abroad by our Ministers would appear to be doubly more wasteful. And, yet, with the advent of each autumn the exodus abroad from the air-conditional sanctums

of New Delhi does not seem to show any sign of the slightest let up.

Even during the current season, when the Government of India's Fourth Five year Plan is reported to have been facing a breakdown for lack of the necessary foreign exchange resources, innumerable Ministers of the Union Government are still found to have been holidaying abroad not, needless to add, without some show of so-called official objectives, to enable the public exchequer to be drawn upon for covering expenses. And, what expenses to boot? The one-time Gandhian apostles of austerity in their personal living standards appear to go wholly amok when they become a Minister of the Government. All pretexts of so-called Gandhian plain living are recklessly thrown to the winds and since it is the unwary but helpless tax-payer who has to carry the burden, nothing but the last word in lavishness and luxury would do for them when they visit abroad.

This year the foreign holiday season would appear to have been opened by the Union Finance & Deputy Prime Minister, Moraji Desai. Naturally enough there were quite a few ostensible reasons for him to go visiting abroad; he had to attend the sessions of the International Monetary Fund, the Export Import Bank and meets of several other international financial institutions. All these are no doubt very legitimate and necessary assignments for the Deputy Prime Minister. But really

what has been the extent of the achievements ? So far as increased foreign exchange aid to India for covering the needs of the Fourth Five Year plan was concerned, Mr. Desai has reportedly been unable to make any deeper dent upon U.S. generosity beyond what the Chairman of the World Bank was able to coax out in its total foreign aid commitments and in which India shares in a substantial measure. Nevertheless, the little that has thus been obtained far below the absolute minimum required by India in this behalf

In fact, if newspaper reports of Mr. Desai's doings abroad are a correct reflection of what has been happening in this regard, our Finance and Deputy Prime Minister does not appear to have been greatly concerned with the minor matter of foreign exchange loans, additional food grains imports and other similar matters. His primary concern while abroad appears to have been to talk about the language problem in India and to carry on propaganda on behalf of Hindi being the only possible national as well as link language of the country. How the foreign officials and dignitaries with whom he was reported to have conversed in various countries abroad that he visited on the occasion might have been remotely concerned in India's language problem or could be expected to be helpful in its resolution is, however, something which only a Morarji Desai could understand and explain; it is not possible for ordinarily educated and intelligent persons with a normal mind to discover its relevance with his visit abroad undertaken, we regret to have to reiterate with the utmost emphasis at our command, at public expense.

Other Ministers also have been on their usual annual perigrinations on the occasion. Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmad, Mr. Chenna Reddy, Mr. Chenappa, Mr. Dinesh Singh are some of the other Ministers who have been on their holidays abroad. Mr. Ahmad is reported to have returned with a new wisdom. He is reported to have said at a recent meet that he has discovered the cause of the apparent paradox posed by the current recession in the economy that while prices have still been on their upward rampage, in the underlying contradictions in the Government's economic policies. Trying to equate democracy with socialism as the Government of India have been endeavouring to do has been, according to him, one of these basic contradictions which explains the current paradoxes in the economy. The confusing concept of a mixed economy, allowing public enterprise and the private sector to function simultaneously and side by side was another of these deep-seated contradictions, Mr. Ahmed who was reported to have said. He himself did not have any faith in Mixed Economy, Mr. Fakruddin Ahmed was reported to have confessed.

He has, however, been clever enough not to have committed himself irrevocably. If as he says, democracy and socialism could not be accepted as being compatible with each other, he has stopped short at going the whole logical length of his indictment and has not stated what he would rather have, only parliamentary democracy with a free competitive economy ? or a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat ? Similarly when he says he has no faith in a mixed economy the contradictions of which would, according to

him, partly explain the paradox of the current recession in the economy while the price structure was still being put under increased and additional inflationary pressures, he has not made it clear what his own preferences would be : whether he would have the entire economy placed under state socialism or, whether, he would rather liquidate the public sector and wish that the essentials of a free and competitive economy were restored and re-established ?

Since, however, he has been criticising some of the fundamental policies of his own Government, it would only have been honest on Mr. Fakruddin Ahmed's part to have resigned his office and set to direct the policies of his Party and Government to follow lines which he considers correct in this behalf. His new wisdom has, apparently, been deeply influenced by his recent visit to Moscow. But how and to what extent has the country gained from this visit in concrete terms ? That alone, in our view, would determine the measure in which the expenditure incurred in this behalf by the public exchequer has been justified.

Mr. Chenna Reddy appears to have found it necessary to go holidaying abroad to find answers to the problems of our languishing public sector steel plants. While these plants had been undergoing further expansions of capacity, a new decision of the Government was reported to have been implemented in their administration. This went under the name of "decentralization" which while delegating much wider and even summary powers to the executive heads of the public sector steel plants, effected only a hazy and almost indeterminate diffusion of

responsibilities. One can quite understand the wisdom of larger measures of discretion and authority being delegated to the executive head of each individual plant, it is not easy to understand the failure at the same time to march such delegations of power and prerogatives by corresponding measures of definitive responsibilities upon them at the same time. The corrupting impact of power without responsibility has been acknowledged all the world over. One fails completely to understand the naivette which may have led the Government of India to have indulged in such foolish pastimes in respect of our public sector steel plants.

Such an experiment would be likely to prove even more than ordinarily dangerous when the local executive head of a plant like this happens to be a foreigner with no stake in this country. But the potentials would be even graver when the person so empowered happened to have been the erstwhile representative of the contractors who were responsible for putting up the plant. This happened, at the Durgapur Steel plant when Mr. D.J. Bell was appointed General Manager. It was a most sensitive period for the plant for it was under process of expansion at the same time which might, itself, have been legitimate cause enough for temporary but serious production bottlenecks and lags. The Government have not considered it wise or necessary to publish the findings of the Pandey Committee and its recommendations ; but from reports reaching us through the unofficial grapevine it is understood that Mr. Pandey found that of most of the ailments which have reduced the Durgapur steel plant to its present sorry plight have sprung from

certain decisions and actions of the Bell administration. Bell's successor General Manager, Mr. R. K. Chatterjee, a person who had worked his way up from very modest beginnings to the one of great responsibility and authority to which he had been elevated, has been reputed to be one of the best men in the country within the particular area of his discipline. We do not know to what extent the Pandey findings may have or have not held Mr. Chatterjee responsible for the ailments of the Durgapur Steel Plant; all that we have been able to gather (for the correctness or otherwise of which we cannot naturally vouch) is that Mr. Chatterjee's share of responsibility was understood to have been his inability or failure to arrest the rot, both as regards production efficiency and discipline, which had already started and considerably spread into the vitals of the plant even before he took charge as General Manager and which he had largely inherited from Bell's regime.

D. J. Bell is wholly beyond the arms of the Government of India and so they were reported to have pounced upon Mr. R. K. Chatterjee and to have tried to persuade him to resign. On his refusal to oblige, they asked him to go and appointed another man in his place. Mr. Chatterjee went to Court on a writ in Mandamus and obtained an injunction. Mr. A. N. Benerjee, General Manager, Rourkela Steel Plant, who was appointed General Manager, Durgapur in addition to his Rourkela assignment has, nevertheless, been given charge of the Durgapur Steel Plant by redesignating him Resident Director or some such thing. The administration has since been languishing under a

sort of deadlock and there does not seem to be any anxiety on the Government of India's part or of the H.S.L. to effect an early resolution the stalemate. Who can wonder that the plant can produce no more than 37.5 per cent of its rated capacity to-day although at its earlier 1 million ton level, it was able to turn over between 60 and 70 per cent of rated capacity? The answer to the problem is inherent in the administrative confusion of the plant itself and it was futile to expect that the U. K., simply because it supplied and erected the plant, would be able to provide it. What is required is more clear-cut enunciation of policies; authority, wherever it is vested, to be tempered with corresponding measures of responsibility and a more realistic approach to labour relations than has been the case so far.

Mr. Chinappa's visit abroad ostensibly for the purpose of exploring ways and means which the Railways could employ to find the current recession in the economy and Dinesh Singh's peripatinations abroad to secure a more dynamic export-boost for the country would appear to have been as futile and as ridiculous in their endeavours as of their other colleagues.

The Prime Minister Abroad

It would, however, be wrong to equate the Prime Minister's just-concluded three-week tour of the Soviet Union, Eastern European Countries and the UAR with those of the other Ministers of her Government. Not that her visit has been able to achieve anything in any of the many fields of international relations she had endeavoured to touch on the occasion at various points of the globe, in concrete terms. No one expected that it would. One of the major issues she has discussed with her

hosts in the many countries she has visited has reportedly been the West Asia crisis. President Tito had made an earlier attempt to sell a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict but neither the Arabs nor the Israelis agreed to respond to his flamboyant salesmanship in this behalf. While the Arabs (generally, although there were reported to have been notable exceptions) countered by asking him to help them re-arm and seek a final settlement at a further battle, the Israelis would not entertain any meditation and would only talk peace with the Arabs directly if the latter were in a mood to ask for it for they had, Israel was reported to have officially warned, to be taught a lesson.

In such an atmosphere bi-lateral talks between heads of Governments not directly involved or concerned in the conflict could hardly be expected to serve any useful purpose at all, so far as resolution of the West Asian crisis is concerned. At the same time it is also well known that Britain and the U.S.A. has already started to take a fresh initiative in preparing the initial ground for direct Israeli-Arab dialogue towards such an end and any separate effort from other directions to intervene in the matter might, conceivably only have the effect of creating new prejudices and obstacles in the initiative now under way. Additionally, Israel is likely to pay much greater heed to Anglo-U.S. intervention in the conflict than from any other source. Nevertheless frank and realistic exchange of views on the problem between India and the East European countries Mrs. Gandhi has visited serves one very useful purpose. This may strengthen moves towards a settlement that have been initiated and may further be initiated by friendly countries under the U.N. auspices. Interests of future peace of the world both in the East and the West requires that increasingly greater loyalties should concentrate around the U.N.

Another very vital question discussed during Mrs. Gandhi's visit abroad has been the problems associated with the Vietnam war. Recently, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Johnson Administration to dump the Vietnam war upon

the United Nations which was, we think very legitimately, barred by the U.S.S.R. India, being the Chairman of the International Control Commission, has especial responsibilities in the region. And it was both appropriate and legitimate that the Indian Prime Minister should be concerned, even apart from her general concern for widening the areas of peace in the world, in this question of vital world significance. She and heads of some of the East European States she was visiting are reported to have jointly agreed that a suspension of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam must precede all efforts at negotiations for opening a dialogue between the U.S. and North Vietnam,—it is futile to mention the name of the South Vietnamese Government in this connection, for they are neither independent nor an important party in the affair.

In a recent news report Secretary of State, Dean Rusk has been reported to have endeavoured to turn the table against those who have been trying to persuade the Johnson Administration to give a bombing pause to North Vietnam. Dean Rusk was reported to have countered by saying that the Johnson Administration was ready to stop bombing as soon as the requisite assurance was forthcoming that the stoppage of bombing will really lead the way to a conference table. If, after bombing has been stopped, he was reported to have asked, the North Vietnam Government continues to maintain its intransigence and refuse to be persuaded towards a conference table?—what then? The answer should be both simple and obvious,—by stopping bombing the U.S. Government do not commit themselves to anything except merely to clear the way towards such a desirable end. If it proves abortive, there is nothing to stop the U.S.A. from resuming hostilities. One is intrigued in this connection by a recent offer—which has also been heavily underscored by a threat—which the recently elected President Thieu of South Vietnam was reported to have made to Dr. Ho Chi Minh. He was reported to have sent an invitation to Dr. Ho to visit Saigon to talk peace: if, however, Dr. Ho refuses the invitation or, if after coming to a conference table he still

remains intransigent and would not accept any reasonable terms for peace, President Thieu was reported to have warned, South Vietnam would have no other alternative left open except to *invade* North Vietnam. Obviously President Thieu has been talking out of turn for no one expects Dr. Ho to visit Saigon; all that can be expected of him, if he agrees to talk peace (which can only happen if certain preliminary conditions are fulfilled), would be to meet U.S. representatives on neutral ground. The South Vietnam Government, which is merely a stooge and creature of the U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam, could not legitimately expect to have a seat at such a possible conference table for its representatives cannot, legitimately again, be expected to make any useful contribution to such a possible dialogue.

Be that as it may, it has become urgently necessary not merely for the contending parties themselves—despite the U.S.A's overwhelming might it would be to its own advantage as much to that of the admittedly weaker North Vietnam Government for peace and quiet to be restored to the region—but also in the larger interests of world peace and Mrs. Gandhi has justly joined hands with heads of other East European Governments in reiterating her call for an immediate bombing pause by the U.S. so that the atmosphere could be cleared for possible opening of negotiations. What might be calculated to contribute to the effectiveness of such a call is the currently mounting pressure of American public opinion for the restoration of peace in Vietnam. In fact, a school of opinion in the U.S. which appears to have been gaining ground recently has actually been insisting that the Administration had no right to commit U.S. man power, funds and equipments to the Vietnam war in the measure it has been doing so, for it cannot in any be the U.S.'s concern. If such a view prevailed—and this would be both a more legitimate and correct view of what the U.S.'s position in respect of Vietnam should be—Mr. Johnson may yet find it expedient, especially in the context of his next year's Presidential candidature, to bow to this mounting pressure of public opinion,

even if he may continue to ignore world opinion with impunity.

Among other subjects reported to have been discussed by Mrs. Gandhi while at the Kremlin, was the Tashkhent Declaration and what India's future role could be in implementing the terms of this historic document. Except to reiterate India's determination to explore and continue to pursue all possible avenues of mutual action with Pakistan, there did not seem to be any thing that could be contributed by either the Indian Prime Minister or the Soviet leaders towards a resolution of the problems that hold up implementation of the Tashkhent Declaration. From the very beginning Pakistan has been out to blackmail India out of Kashmir; she tried force initially and when that failed, fifth column tactics were employed. Ultimately armed invasion on a large scale was tried and failed. India could not possibly agree to let down her Kashmir citizens and use them as pawns in a bid for settlement with Pakistan while Pakistan on her part will agree to nothing at all unless and until India has agreed to cede Kashmir to her. In such a situation the best that any reasonable person could hope to expect was the maintenance a state of static and armed neutrality. Any possible positive advance towards more realistic give and take so long as Kashmir remains the fundamental base of Indo-Pakistani relations from Pakistan's point of view, is not at all possible. A sense of realism would seem to ask for a recognition of this indisputable fact, at least on the part of India and her friends.

India's relations with China also was reported to have figured in Mrs. Gandhi's discussions with some of her East European hosts. There is a very strong China lobby in some of the East European Communist states and it was not the best part of wisdom, we feel, on the part of the Indian Prime Minister to have raised questions of Indo-Chinese relations in her discussions with the heads of these States. They were bound to reject without going into merits the Indian point of view so far as China and Chinese belligerent designs upon India were

concerned and they have done so without the Suez region. As was to be expected, Israeli equivocation, some of them quite rudely and summarily. spokesmen stoutly denied the allegation and claimed that the sinking of the Israeli destroyer near Twefik harbour was a wanton act of fresh aggression by the Arabs.

Chinese tactics on Indian's frontiers, it may be interesting to note in this connection-have been following a certain well know pattern. It is to keep alive the dread of a further invasion by continuous reinforcement, redeployment and extension of the Chinese armed forces in these regions backed by occasional shooting forays as hadrocently been happening in Nathu La. This calls for constant vigilance to be maintained in these regions by the Indian armed forces, effective intelligence net-work to be laid down and maintained and similar other highly expensive expedients on India's part. The Chinese people, dangerously fanatical as they may be, are neither unimaginative nor unintelligent and it should not be unknown to them that actual invasion of Indian territory is not likely to serve any useful purpose so far as her own interests were concerned. A far more effective manner of achieving what she wishes to do, is to keep India constuntly poised on the red-hot tenterhooks of apprehension to prevent consolidation of India's own economic and other forces towards the assumption of a crucial role in Asian leadership. An outright war was bound to destroy the achievement of such a possible end. It is difficult to suggest what actually could be done, in the circumstances to ease the nation-wide tension that has been prevailing on this account over the last five years. A free and frank exchange of views with Chinese leaders would appear to be the only possible expedient towards such a possible end, but then the Chinese Peoples' leaders are famous neither for their freedom of speech nor frankness and generosity of soul.

West Asia Crisis

Even as we have been writing, the west Asia crisis appears to have assumed fresh dimensions in the Arab-Isaerli conflict. An Israeli destroyer, it is alleged by the Arab side, had intruded into Arab territorial waters and was reported to have been attacked and sunk by the Egyptian forces in

As already reported earlier in this section, hopes of a satisfactory solution of the Arab-Israeli stalemate had already been considerably stimulated by the Anglo-American initiative that was reported to have begun to be taken under U.N.aegis in the meanwhile. That was one of the grounds of the decision reported earlier to have been jointly arrived at by the Indian Prime Minister and President Tito during the former's recent visit to Yugoslavia that pending this fresh Anglo-U.S. move for peace in West Asia, efforts at mediation by third parties should be held in abeyance. But the sinking of the Israeli destroyer in Arab waters inevitably created conditions of uncertainty about the prospets of this reportedly Anglo-Amecican peace move, provided, of course, the reported move might not have been entirely genuine having regard to the earlier attitude of unashamed partiality of these powers to Israol.

Indeed, the apprehension had risen that the sinking of the Israeli destroyer might be used as the pretext for resumption of active hostilities by Israel against the Arabs; minor skirmishes inspite of the formal cease fire had never entirely ceased and in most such incidents Israel was suspected to have been the prime mover. Israeli retaliation for the alleged act of the sinking of the Israeli destroyer by Egyptian forces which, even if the Israeli claif that it was beyond Egyptian territorial waters could be sustained, must have been dangerously near the latter, was a probability which even Israel's friends and supporters could not altogethtr rule out. It is clear that the overwhelming Israeli superiority proved in the six-day June war against the Arab forces have invested Israel with an overtly aggressive tone which had never since been even mildly subdued.

These apprehensions proved only too correct. As we write, Israel was reported to have attacked Port Suez and its harbour installations and adjacent refineries and other strategic industrial

plants with a terrible barrage of artillery fire supported by air sorties and which were reported to have caused extensive damage and loss of Arab life, both civilian and those belonging to defense personnel. Indeed, the city of Suez and its many industries, including several oil refineries are reported to have been completely laid waste and as we write intermittent shelling of Egyptian territories from across the cease-fire line were reported to have been going on. Several large fires are reported to have been started and the belching smoke therefrom to have been so thick and extensive that Egyptian ground forces were reported to have by mistake even fired anti-aircraft shells upon some of their own air force planes.

Secretary General U. Thant is reported to have already submitted his first reported account of the incident based upon actual on the spot information provided by U.N. Cease Fire Observers which categorically names Israel as the aggressor in respect of the incident. The report is alleged to have also confirmed that the Israeli destroyer which had been earlier sunk by the Egyptians was actually within Arab territorial waters at the time of the incident. What this fresh outbreak may portend it is difficult to foretell at the moment.

There is no doubt that there is no love lost between Israel and the Arab. Israeli has remained wholly impervious to demands that she should vacate those Arab territories that she had occupied during the June war as an essential condition precedent to purposeful opening of peace negotiations. Israel has been equally contemptuous of the suggestion made by neutral nations that she should not annex the old city of Jerusalem and must make satisfactory offers for rehabilitation of Arab refugees from the City. The Arabs on the other hand have consistently refused to accord recognition to Israel and agree to mutual acceptance of diplomatic exchanges with Israel. Indeed, the Arabs have made no secret of the fact that they have only been biding their time until they are able to re-arm and reorganize when she may have a fresh round with Israel on the battlefield.

This already murky situation in the region

has been further confused and complicated by the failure on the part of leaders of the U.N. to come to a satisfactory mutual understanding as regards the terms on which a permanent solution of the crisis might be effected. The U.S. has been frankly and unashamedly partial to Israel and would not allow any proposal to go through which would not concede any of the demands some of them frankly overt and illegitimate, made by Israel. Britain may not have been as actively partial to Israel and hostile to the Arabs—possibly because of her huge commitments in Kuwait and other Arab regions—but there was no doubt that she generally followed the U.S. policy in regard to the matter. On the other hand the Arabs' erstwhile friends, notably the U.S.S.R. are clearly not prepared to become directly involved in the dispute even to the extent that the U.S. has been doing on the Israeli side.

The attack on the Suez may have wider implications and hidden under-currents which may not yet been apparent on the surface. Egypt has been stubborn in her demand that the only and minimum condition under which she may be agreeable to the reopening of traffic through the Suez Canal was the complete and wholesale evacuation of Israeli forces from the West Bank. For some reason or other the U.S. which might have induced Israel to submit to this Egyptian demand—quite legitimate on the face of it—in the interests of world shipping, seems unwilling to assume any such role and by implication continues to support and uphold continued Israeli occupation of the Banks of the Suez Canal. The present attack may, in the circumstances may have more sinister implications and a deep significance than may meet the eye on the surface. By destroying the Suez installations the intention may be to make its reopening completely beyond the financial and technical competence of the Egyptians themselves. There may be deeper and more deliberate designs in this attack upon the Suez than mere retaliation against the Egyptians for the wrong they are alleged to have committed against Israel by sinking her destroyer near Twefik harbour.

Making History

The Indian Bureaucracy has been making history at a tremendous pace. The unnecessary, unrighteous and fatuous policy of repression and petty persecution pursued in many provinces is proving very injurious to the best interests of the country, diverting the minds of the people from the paths peaceful progress. It is folly to exhaust the weapons of terrorism on a peaceful population. For whatever Englishmen in their panic may think, we know the country is not on the brink of a rebellion. The brave Englishman with his latest artillery may be afraid of the lathi of the Bengali school boy, but we know that an armed rebellion is out of the question. Why then badger the people ? Why waste all this powder and shot ? Laying aside all thoughts of prestige, let government remove the causes of discontent in all provinces as they have recently done in the Panjab to some extent. Then the country will be quiet ; otherwise not. What if people think that in the Panjab Government have sustained a temporary defeat ? Have the bureaucracy become on that account less powerful there than elsewhere ? But it is useless to argue with the Anglo-Indian rulers of India. Let them choose their own path ; we will choose ours. Let us resolve not to be diverted by repression and petty persecution from the pursuits that lead to true national greatness. Let us utilise even repression and persecution, making them the means of strengthening the fibres of our national character.

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THE MARCH OF DAS KAPITAL

NATRANJAN A. WALA

Recently a great deal of publicity was given to the talk of Mr. Namboodiripad on Karl Marx's well publicised work "Das Kapital" given by him during the two day seminar held to celebrate the centenary of the first publication of this momentous work. Undoubtedly Das Kapital has done much to change the destinies of millions of people and to alter the shapes and natures of nations and civilisations. Mr. Namboodiripad in his talk maintained that the renowned author of "Das Kapital" differed from the religious saints in one respect that he never claimed that his theory was the last word on the subject and that the religionists dubbed the non followers as fanatics and spelt doom on them.

SPIRITUAL, NOT TEMPORAL

While one can have respect for Mr. Namboodiripad's well acquired theoretical knowledge of his political dogma, one has a feeling that that he is perhaps unfamiliar with the profound tenets of the Vedic religion. One can be wrong in this because after all Mr. Namboodiripad is a Namboodiri, a well known Brahmin sect of Kerala. It is well known that none of the ancient propounders of the various Upanishads ever claimed that their words was the last one on the subject. Even in the recent times, the religious leaders of Indian atleast from the last Ram-

krishna Paramhansh and the great Vivekanand to Shri Vinoba Bhave and a host of other Savants have been free from any such pride as to claim that theirs was the last word. Another thing is also clear about our religious leaders, from the time of ancient seers of Upanishads down-wards, that they were not the seekers of the temporal power. Theirs was the quest of the supreme spirit and so they were not motivated by the considerations of Karl Marx such as fomenting class warfare and class-hatred which he essentially utilised not so much for the betterment of the working class but for the benefit of capturing the temporal thrones of political power for the benefit of his blood brothers.

SEED OF HATRED

Undoubtedly a spirit of intolerance prevails among the followers of Christianity and the Muslim religion and some of their fanatical believers have utilised and are utilising every ethical and unethical means to convert the non believers to their religions but the seed of the fanaticism has been sown in both these young faiths by the parent religion of Moses whose descendants are Karl Marx and his followers. The heritage of the ancient Jehovahs vengeance has been handed down as much in the communist dogma of Karl Marx as in the earlier semitic faiths of Christianity and Mohmadanism.

This only explains the fanaticism of early Bolsheviks as well as that of the communists every where.

FURY AND HAVOC

It is a sad thing that in order to see the Red star of communism flutter over the ruins of the native civilisation of India, Communist theoretician like Mr. Namboodiripad is turning blind eye to the fury and havoc let loose by the followers of Karl Marx, from the early Bolshevik murders to the mad and megalomaniac tyranny of the late demented dictator of Russia. Josephs V. Stalin and the recent orgies of the Red Gaurds in China which are is no way inferior to the Rampages of Taimur Laing, the Mongols, the Huns and the Moors. The Christian Inquisitons of the Middle Ages pale before the mad rampage of the post 1918 era in Russia, where millions of innocent as well as the Rebellious men and women who refused to believe in communist dogma were sniffed out of existence, by the starvations and tortured in the frozen wilds of Siberia, and these were not motivated by the war time fury just as that in which the Germans are accused of massacring their enemies. Stalin's orgy of death occured year after year in the peacefull paradise of the Communist Russia

This was done to exterminate the non-believers in the Communist-Jewish dogma as laid down in the Marx's Bible of Das Kapital.

RED IMPERTINENCE

I don't know whether Karl Marx had a carbuncle when he wrote his divine work,

the Das Kapital but another well known remark of this Jewish Genius reveals his innate nature. Karl Marx was in England when the people of England gave a tremendous reception to the Italian liberator Garibaldi. This was enough to turn the bushy prophet of communism green with envy. He called the Italian hero "The Red Impertinence". There was a reason for Karl Marx's billious remark for Garibaldi had prevented Karl Marx and his henchmen from sowing the seeds of class war fare and revolution in Italy.

THE PROTEGE

There is a irony in the rise of communism which Mr. Namboodiripad describes as the movement of the working class people. The rise of Karl Marx's ideas is intimately connected with the rise of Jewish Capitalism in Europe and America, It is a fact although kept well from the public knowledge by a clever smoke screen of propaganda, that Karl Marx and his subversive work was aided and assisted by the Jewish multimillionaires of Germany, France, England and U. S. A. After his attempt at the Communist uprising in Paris failed, the Jew Karl Marx and his band of Bolsheviks were given refuge in England not by the liberty loving British people as proclaimed in the propaganda hash but by the crafty Baptised Jew Disraeli, who became the leader of British Conservative Party through the finances of the London House of Rothschild family, the multimillionaire Jewish business family. One may know that the funds that printed the first editions of Das Kapital and other

Communist works were generously provided by the Jewish tycoons of England, specially the Rothschilds family. This money actually came from the blood and sweat of the poor Egyptian Fellahins who were robbed by the tyrannous Khedive of Egypt with the help of the British bayonets, to repay the nine million sterling loan that the Khedive was forced to take from the Rothschilds against the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal. This neat piece of work was arranged for the benefit of Rothschilds by the mephistophelian Disraeli, the patron of the Communist Karl Marx. Thus the Red Bible Das Kapital took the root and thrived on the usury and the black money of the Capitalism at its worst.

CORNERING THE WEALTH

If Karl Marx and his tribe thrived on the economic loot of the Jewish businessmen, they also thrived on the political strings wielded by the Jewish capitalists in France, Germany, England, Austria, and other countries of Europe except the Czarist Russia. The Orthodox Christian rule of the Czar smothered all semitic bids to acquire the political power and so Russia was to be the first victim of semitic fury of communism. The rise of semitic political powers which helped the growth of communism occurred after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The Jewish money lenders, specially the House of Rothschilds loaned fabulous amounts at usurious interests to Napoleon as well as the British, Germans, Austrians and Spaniards. At the end of these wars, the Jewish capitalists cornered the fabulous

wealth of Europe in their hands. A great deal of this blood and death wealth was of course the colonial loot of India and other Asian countries. The Red Bible of Das Kapital and Communism has thrived on the sweat and toil of the innocent people of India and Asia.

DOMINATION OF EUROPE

With this fabulous money power in their hands, the Jews soon began a systematic acquisition of the monopolies of newspapers and printing and publishing firms in England, France, Germany and in the U. S. A. This money also helped Jewish writers, artists, politicians and adventurers of all shades to gradually dominate the cultural and political and scientific fields in the various European Nations. It was this fabulous political and cultural domination that helped the Fabian Socialists, it was this political power that provided operational funds to Karl Marx and his followers and it was this power factor that made Disraeli the Prime Minister of England.

Dreyfuss Case

Three decades after Napoleon's death the Jews were in control of National Newspapers and other publicity media as well as the money market and the Industries of France, England and Germany. Such was the power of the Jewish Press and political institutions that during the regime of Napoleon the Third, the conservative French army was forced to open its higher ranks for appointment of the Jews, just as the machinations of the Disraeli had succeeded in forcing the stodgy British aristocracy and the British

Crown to grant peerage to the Jewish businessmen. It was during this period that the notorious Dreyfuss case convulsed the entire Europe. A French Jewish Colonel Dreyfuss was punished for espionage and a hue and cry was raised by the Jewish intellectuals. The Jewish dominated press was so powerful that the French Government was forced to rescind the decision of the French Military tribunal which convicted Dreyfuss. It is on the platform of the Jewish Capitalists power that the ideology of Das Kapital has thrived for the past 100 years.

The Times, London

A well known British writer and diplomat of that period Wilfrid Scawen Blunt who wrote the "Secret History of English occupation of Egypt" and "Gordon at Khartoum" reveals some startling facts of the Jewish power and its machinations in England. The well known British paper the Times, London, and other News Papers had already come under the financial control of the Jews. It is thus that the propagation of the creed of Karl Marx began from the Jewish strongholds of England and France. Karl Marx and his concepts of socialism and class struggle were not to be utilised for the benefit of the working class but the working class was to be made a tool of the class unrest to level down all opposition to the steady Jewish encroachment of the political and economic institutions of various countries of Europe and America. This is the real secret of the success of the ideal and concepts of Das Kapital.

Secret Protocols

The Reds will certainly deny the existence of book called the Secret Protocols of the

Elders of Zion which specifically delineates the role that communist subversion and infiltration has to play in the fulfilment of the old Testament dream of the Jewish world power. Undoubtedly all Jewish propaganda organs, the newspapers periodicals, books Radio and Television net works whether capitalist or communist have always vehemently denied the existence of the secret protocols of Elders of Zion and have attributed this as a baseless accusation planted by the secret police of the Russian Czar to persecute the Jewish bolsheviks. A careful look at the world map will reveal the achievements and the existence of this work, however its existence may be denied by those whose task is to mislead the masses of Europe and Asia. Today the Jewish power extends from the Mica-ret topped Kremlin to the small countries of Europe. It is the Jewish Capitalism which decides the economic political and cultural trends of England, America and Western Europe today.

Some Questions

Why has China a Communist power rebelled against the Soviet domination and why there is not seen a single battle between the Soviet Union and the U. S. A. in spite of all the stratagems of cold-war? Why was Japan selected to test the effects of the First Atom bomb the only contribution of the Jewish Scientists to the world? Why is the U. S. A. is very keen to liberate the people of Vietnam after such a terrible cost of human lives and why does it not try to liberate the peoples of Eastern Europe which according to its own propaganda are groaning under the communist heel for a quarter of a century? Why did the Americans and British planes and men actively assisted

Israel during the Arab Israeli conflict while the Soviet Union peacefully watched its sworn allies the Arabs beaten to a surrender? Why did the U. S. S. R. mislead the Arabs and prevented them from attacking Israel at the last moment? And even more important question is why did Nikita Khrushchev threw out even the dead body of Stalin from its place near Lenin's grave?

God's Chosen People

The answers to the above questions can only be learned by a careful study of the last two world wars and the part that has been played by all the blood brothers of the prophet Karl Marx whether they displayed the facade of Communism, Socialism, or Fabianism, or that of the plain and simple capitalism. The Jewish race is the only race perhaps that has maintained its purity by a strict unity and adherence to its own laws. Besides, the Jewish race does not consider religion as important. A Jew may be Baptised or he may be an atheist or a communist but his sympathies will always remain with the Jewish clan. In this manner the Semites differ from other people. The politicians and the public often mistake Jewish religion for the Jewish racialism. For example in India there are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists but all of these different religious groups are related ethnically. Where as the Jewish race, is a species of humanity apart and having preserved its racial distinction for the past hundred centuries, it seeks to foment hatred, quarrels, and clashes among all other racial or religious groups, and classes in order to achieve the ultimate goal of ruling the world, as laid down in their Old Testament.

First World War

Many years prior to the First World War, the Jewish International began its intrigues

of putting the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany against the Czarist Russia, for the orthodox Czarist regime did not allow any inroads for the Jewish power to begin its gradual conquest, unlike Austria, France and Germany. The Social Democrats of Germany and Austria used every means, political and economic to prepare these two nations against Czarist Russia while their comrades in England and France prepared these countries to participate in the struggle against Germany. The ill-concieved anti-Russian policies of Austria and Germany, and the anti German Policies of Britain and France soon ignited. No sooner their purpose was served the very same Social Democrats and the Communists of Germany gave up the war cry and changed their tune to bring peace loving people, waiting for Germany, Austria and the Czarist Russia to crumble down for the furtherance of the power of the semitic brotherhood and fulfil the dicta of Das Kapital and the Secret protocols of Elders of Zion.

Victory Into Defeat

Germany and its allies gave a tremendous defeat to Russia which surrendered unconditionally in 1917 and six months later, Italy also made peace with the Germans. Refreshed with the victories in the East and the South and the Germans were now able to put the Eastern and the Southern armies on the Western front against France and Great Britain, and America, the prospect of the final victory appeared to be with Germany and its allies. It was at this crucial juncture that the followers of Das Kapital left their passive tune and began a well organised and Anglo-French directed subversion in Germany itself. In this they were also motivated

by the clarion call of the International Jewish Congress with its head-quarters in the U. S. A. which ordered all the Jews anywhere to participate in the struggle against Germany and help the allies by every possible means. The Jews behind the enemy lines were ordered to carry out subversion. It was this subversion master minded by the International Jewish Congress and carried out by the Social Democrats and the communists of Germany which started the sailor's mutiny in Hamburg and later captured power in Berlin by dethroning Wilhelm Kaiser. The President of the Weimar Republic which succeeded the Kaiser's Government was led by Herr Ebert, a Jew and the foreign minister of this regime was Herr Rathenau another Jew, who signed the famous Treaty of Versailles after accepting willingly the unconditional surrender to the Allies at a time when Germany was winning the war. These are the achievements of the men behind Das Kapital for these men have secured the positions of strength by deceit and double cross and from the ruins of the war incited by them they have engineered the Revolutions including the glorious Revolution of Russia in 1918. Thus "Das Kapital" has thrived on the bloodshed and murder of millions of human beings, civilians as well as soldiers during the First World War.

FROM BLOOD AND TEARS

Mr. Namboodiripad has talked of the people's rising from the tyranny of Nazism for such is the miracle of the ideas of "Das Kapital" but he conveniently ignores the vast underground intrigues that put Europe in

the flames of the First World war and from these burning embers, the communists succeeded in capturing power both in Russia as well as in Germany. When a little corporal whose brave record of the First World War cannot be denied even by his mortal enemies began a movement to awaken the misled people of Germany, against the venal intrigues of the successors of Karl Marx, the International Jewry as well as the Reds organised every possible gimmick to keep him out of power. The French socialists and Radicals, and the British Labour Party, the two most Jew dominated groups, were the first to open broadside on Hitler's accession to power in 1933. When Hitler became the Chacellor of Germany, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected as the President of the U. S. A. in 1933. In this campaign, the International Jewish Congress and American Jewish Congress had contributed liberal support and funds. Although Roosevelt's maximum finances came from Lehman, the Jewish cotton racketeer of Texas and from Bernard, the Jewish king of the Wall Street. It was during his second reelection as the President of the U. S. A. that the Roosevelt started financing a liberal renegade and a back bencher Winston S. Churchill and his nephew Antony Eden to form a anti Hitler ginger group within the Conservative Party of England. When Churchill and Eden succeeded in thwarting all efforts of Neville Chamberlaine to avoid War, the stage was set for sniffing out half a dozen tiny European powers including Germany by a combined might of half the World and to usher in the era of the world wide fulfillment of the ideas

of Das Kapital as well as those of the secret protocols of Elders of Zion.

SIEGE OF DANZIG

When the corrupt military dictatorship of Poland, known as Colonel's Regime, laid the siege round the German city of Danzig in March 1939 after Britain had encouraged this gambit by landing 10 divisions of the British Expeditionary Force in France and mobilised its 100 divisions, the stage was set for the liquidation of Adolf Hitler's tiny Germany with a mere 15 divisions of army and a two and half year old Air Force. All the pleas of Germany to Poland to lift the siege of Danzig came to an useless end till 1st September 1939, when Hitler decided to take initiative and break through the Anglo-French-Polish encirclement. One may not forget another important detail which the Allied propaganda had played and that was the complete planning of the Grand strategy of War in Kremlin by British, French and Russian military missions from August 7th to August 15th in 1939, week before the Russian dictator lured the German leader into false hopes of an alliance. This was after all done to fulfil the great Master Karl Marx's ideas. The antiquated and dunder headed military machines of Poland with its 35 divisions of Army, France with its 100 divisions and England with its contribution of 10 divisions had underrated the vast efficiency of mere 15 divisions of a former Corporal. Hitler's army and the single minded devotion that every German had for this puritan leader and it was this that prolonged the life of Germany from a six months stru-

ggle estimated by the Allies, to five years. Luckily for us the Indians, Hitler had at least knocked out the vitals of the British lion before he died in Berlin in 1945.

Khrushchev Action

The real reason why Nikita Khrushchev threw out the bodily remains of Joseph Stalin from Lenin's Mausoleum can only be known by the studying the villainous role that this Jewish directed dictator played in second world war. One of the finest thing for Russian leader to do would have been to direct his 300 mighty divisions to the Middle East, India and China when the British, French and Americans were poised against the tiny Germany. The communism would then have become an unchallenged master of the world, having acquired the complete supremacy over Asia with hardly any ill effect to the Russian people. Instead Joseph V. Stalin more faithful to the protocols of Elders Zion than to the "Das Kapital" began a set of intrigues to black mail, the hard pressed Germany, his recent ally.

Blackmailing Demands

He started by demanding more coal and steel from Germany than laid down in the Russo-German treaty of 21st August 1939. In contravention of the Treaty, Stalin had already occupied the tiny states of Estonia, apart from peaceful occupation of half of the prostrated Poland. When the war time economy of Germany could not fulfil the mounting demands of the Russian Dictator he started another move in 1940. He massed 50 divisions of Russian army on the border of Rumania which was a German ally and demanded the famous Ploesti oil fields of

Rumania from Hitler. Hitler refused to accede to this demand because not only Rumania was Germany's ally but the Ploesti oil fields were the only source of oil for the German army, the air force and the navy. At this juncture Stalin mobilised his antiquated 300 divisions for a Westward march against Germany and for the occupation of Rumania. It was this threat that led Hitler to give up the plans of invading Britain and to meet the threat from the East instead.

Four Months That Saved Das Kapital

The superb German Organisation prepared plans foiled Stalin's aim of capturing Rumania within a month; but as the destiny would have it, Mussolini decided to "go it alone" in the Greece where he got a bad thrashing from the Greek army assisted by the British. In order to save Il Duce from a shameful defeat in Greece, Hitler was forced to direct his Eastern army to Greece and thus four vital months were lost in quelling the Greek resistance. It is these four months that saved Stalin and the wonderful ideas of Das Kapital from a total extinction because the German troops could not arrive at Moscow and Stalingrad before the deadly Russian winter set in.

The initial surprising victories of Germans against the Russians were because of the superb organisation and mobility of the German divisions which were at the maximum about 36 throughout the campaign against Stalin's 300 strong might. The second reasons why the Germans scored initially was that the Russian army was in an advancing order and its primitive set up could not bring it into a defensive order

quickly when Hitler delivered a series of lightening thrusts of his Panzer Divisions. However the ever dwindling man power and materials set the seal on the fate of Germany and the tide began to turn when Hitler failed to capture Stalingrad. Gradually Germany was smothered by the American, British, French and Russian arms after five years of gruelling struggle.

Wages of Greed

The German offensive against Russia had killed or maimed millions of people, destroyed countless factories, dams, projects. Whole cities were laid in ruins. This was such a severe blow that it put the entire Soviet economy twenty years behind. It was the untold havoc, of lives and material caused by Stalin's greed and the Poesti oil fields that has led Nikita Khrushchev to throw out even the dead remains of this faithful follower of the Protocols of Elders of Zion and the wonderful communist Bible Das Kapital.

THE RING

The Jewish ring round Hitler and his allies is worth noting to find the real reasons of this second great war instead of believing without discrimination all the lurid and false propaganda hash that continues to flow from the Western as well as Russian sources for the past 24 years. While Moscow was ruled by Stalin with his Jewish wife, and a ring of crafty Jews including Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Litvinov, Mikoyan and others. The Washington was ruled by Roosevelt with a bunch of Jews like Bernard Baruch as Presidential adviser, Henry Morgenthau

as the States Secretary and Lehman as Roosevelt's financier. Similarly in London the Labour Party was a brain child of the Jew Harold Laski. In France Leon Blum and other Jews succeeded in forming one French Government after another. In Poland the corrupt Colonel's regime was surviving on Jewish finances and on the dole from Great Britain. It is this collection of the bunch of the blood brothers of Karl Marx that has fulfilled ideas of Das Kapital.

WORLD WIDE OCTOPUS

The successors of those who laid down the secret protocols of Elders of Zion are ruling today three-fourth of the world whether may believe in the Das Kapital or in the plain and simple demand and supply themes of the Western Capitalism. It is this single reason why there has never been a real struggle, between the Soviet Union and the U. S. A. This only explains why Japan was chosen as an experimental site to test the first atom bomb. This alone explains the final parting of ways between Peking and Moscow because the Chinese blood is different from Jewish blood and in the final equation of politics it is this that tips the balance. It is this reason that explains the formation of Israel as a Jewish spring-board on the Asian Continent and the underhand cooperation of Moscow, London, Washington and Tel Aviv in dealing the flashing blow to ill organised and under-equipped armies of the Arabs in the recent Arab-Israeli conflict.

Any one who believes in the smoke-screen of high idealism and principles of

Das Kapital is going to be disillusioned soon for Das Kapital has no concern whatsoever with the problems of the working class. It only utilises the working class to fulfil the aims of the Jewish International whose aim is the world power. Very little opposition now remains for the ultimate fulfilment of the centuries-old-dream of Talmud and the old Testament.

The author of the Das Kapital, Karl Marx, survived on the machinations of the Jewish capitalists like the Rothschilds, like Disraeli. His Das Kapital has progressed from success to success so far, but during every stage of the forward march it has progressed hand in hand with the secret work, the Secret protocols of Elders of Zion. The March of these epitomes of materialistic Mammon have been marked by the unprecedented bloodsheds and wars. These saturnine works have progressed in the wake of pestilence and murder, loot and arson. The toll that they have taken during the past hundred years is much more than the millions who died in the world wars sparked by the power greedy followers of these two books.

EYES ON ASIA

Now the focal point of the march of Judaic world order is Asia because the Asian races have not been so much deluded by the combination of cunning and innocence and a ruthless purposefulness of the "Gods Chosen People" as the Jews declare themselves to be and the first twenty five years after the Second World War has been utilised by the minions of the "Master Race"

who rule Washington, London and Moscow to mislead the Asian people, put their countries in the quick sands of economic debts, put one Asian country against the other and one creed against the other to gradually encroach on the unsuspecting people. Billions and billions of dollars, pounds and roubles are spent in psychological warfare that is subverting the ancient traditions and cultures of the Asian peoples, and filling the young minds with parrot like slogans of the Mormonic

paradise to come if they discard their native loyalties, native ways and native customs. These parrots goaded by false idealisms, are misleading the economically ruined, illiterate and ignorant masses of Asia to do a march on the road to a slavery from which there will be no escape That is the aim, purpose, philosophy and idealism of Das Kapital, the key to the World domination by the God-chosen-people.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE TEMPLES OF BANKURA DISTRICT: By David MacCuthion, published the Writers Workshop, 162/92, Lake Gardens, Calcutta-45. Price Rs. 5-.

The book contains the text of one of four lectures organised by the Writers Workshop with the cooperation of St. Xavier's College, Ramananda Chatterjee's *alma mater*, on his Birth Centenary in May 1965. Ramananda Chatterjee was born in Bankura in May 1865. Mr. P. Lal, Secretary of the Writers Workshop, who has published the book, has succeeded in producing a very artistically got up volume. The author, whose single lecture on the Temples of Bankura District, is reproduced in the book, has made a fully comprehensive survey of the subject he selected to speak on. The book will be found useful by all who take an interest in the art and architecture of Indian Temples.

A. C.

EASY GERMAN COURSE: By Dr. Harogopal Biswas. Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rupees Twelve only.

The book has been primarily directed towards helping young students to acquire a working know-

ledge of the German language and grammar. Just like Sanskrit, German rests mainly on Grammar, and without a systematic training in Grammar, no substantial progress of permanent value could be attained. The author, through a number of skilfully designed grammatical lessons harping on the essentials and intricacies of grammar with a special reference to the disparity of German Grammar with those of other known languages, sought to remove the 'Grammar-terror' of our students and we could safely say that Dr. Biswas has been successful in his undertaking.

The book has been marked by a 'rational approach' and the extensive range and superb richness of the illustrations, both literary and scientific, enhanced the value of the book. There is an exhaustive vocabulary appended to the book. The volume under review is an excellent German self-taught; it is a prolific source of humanities as well.

We recommend this book to all serious students of the German language and literature. Dr. Biswas should be congratulated on writing such a good book.

Dr. S. K. Nandi





EFFULGENT DUSK

THE MODERN REVIEW

1907

1967

Diamond Anniversary Supplement

Part I

November, 1967

Age Of THE MODERN REVIEW

To properly appreciate the significance of *The Modern Review* in current Indian history, it is necessary to hark back to the background from which it had sprung.

It would be a gross misapprehension of the true significance of historical evolution to claim that the history of Modern India commenced with the close of the nineteenth century. It was, in fact, very nearly a century earlier when India, through the activities intellectual, cultural, theological and social, of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, enabling the country to outstep from the traditional inhibitions of an all-enveloping and paralyzing mideavalism, that India was able to put her foot on the thresholds of a dawning modern era

The Raja was born at a time when our country "having lost its links with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to sacerdotalism. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Ram Mohun rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision and unconquerable heroism of soul...He is the great Path Maker of this century, who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide cooperation of humanity."

The earlier race of supermen, says Dr. Brajendranath Seal, was a race of giants. They rose to superb heights, each showing the perfection of one type of excellence, heights which have never since been attained; a Buddha and a Christ and a Shree Chaitanya in the revelation of God in Man; a Homer, a Valmiki, a Dante, in poetic creation. But their successors in the same line are great in another way; not so much, perhaps, by

height as by breadth ; not so much by unique gifts of perfection as by a synthesis, a harmonious blending of many excellences which had been found to be conflicting or contradictory in previous history. And these composite patterns again crystallize in a few generations into integral types, unique gifts of perfections which call for fresh synthesis in the unfolding experience of the human race.

"This greatness of synthesis" says Dr. Brajendra Seal, is the "characteristic mark of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. The period in which the Raja was born and grew up was, perhaps, the darkest age in modern Indian history. An old society and polity had crumbled down and a new one had not yet been built in its place. All the vital limbs of society were paralyzed ; religious institutions and schools, village, home, agriculture, industry and trade, law and administration were in a chaotic condition. But what was to be the principle of organization ? For there were three bodies of cultures, three civilizations, which were in conflict,—the Hindu, the Moslem and the Christian or Occidental ; and the question was how to find a point of *rapprochment*, of concord, of unity, among these heterogeneous, hostile and warring forces. The origin of Modern India lay there.

"The Raja by his finding of this point of Concord and Convergence became the Father and Patriarch of Modern India,—an India with a composite nationality and a synthetic civilization ; and by the lines of convergence he laid down as well as by the type of personality he developed in and through his own experiences, he pointed the way to the solution of the larger problem of international culture and civilization in human history and became a precursor, an archetype, a prophet of coming Humanity. He laid the foundations of the *true* League of Nations in a *League of National Cultures*."

It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who first clearly realised that progress in the evolution of our national and social life towards the realization of a fuller, completer and a more perfect Humanity was impossible unless society was granted the fullest autonomy and freedom of movement in each of its essential departments along their normal and legitimate lines of development. With all his wonderful scholarship, his deep perceptions and catholic humanism, he dedicated himself to the task of preparing his people to cast off the shackles of age-old slavery to sacerdotalism and clear their minds of all the cluttering cobwebs of inherited instincts. In his own person and life he effected a clear synthesis of all the apparently irreconcilable and conflicting norms and religious dogmas of his times and gave to the world the seeds of a Universal Religion.

The most distinctive mark of this modernism is the new tenet of Humanism that was born with the French Illumination. The Renaissance had, no doubt, done a little towards humanizing social and intellectual values in Europe and the preachings of John Calvin invested a new dignity to the person of man. But it was not really until Voltaire and Volney arrived upon the scene that we find a definitive expression of that new creed which has been so picturesquely described by Dr. Brajendranath Seal as *militant humanism*. But Voltaire and Volney also distorted the view of the rising sun of their new

humanism by pitting the West against the East and by minimising and traducing Christian culture. The Raja's was a more synthetic and universalistic view of humanism. He integrated into his personal religion all the fundamentals of Hindu, Christian and Islamic experiences and became, in this way, a truly multi-personal being. But "behind all these masks, there was yet another Ram Mohan, the humanist pure and simple watching the procession of Universal Humanity in Universal History."

For the realisation of this ideal of humanism the Raja considered it essential that our people must be brought into intimate contact with the progressive currents of modern European thought and the sciences. It would almost be impossible to-day to visualize the struggle that the Raja had to put up to enable the introduction of English education in the country and its acceptance by the people. There was not only stiff opposition from a large body of powerful and influential Indians themselves, who would dissociate themselves from anything that the Raja would sponsor if only because he was considered a heretic, an infidel and, virtually, a renegade from his own community, there were also quite an influential body of officials of the East India Company who were doubtful of the benefits to the ruling British community that would be likely to flow from the introduction of English education in India which would be likely to go far beyond the scope of the comparatively rudimentary requirements of carrying on the civil administration. There were some among them who apprehended that acquaintance with the European sciences and philosophies would be bound to detract from the authority that the ruling community wielded upon the natives and a consequent weakening of its prestige which was the very corner-stone of British rule over India.

It was in spite of such opposition and apprehension that the Hindu College was ultimately inaugurated in 1817. The first generation of Indian students turned out by the Institution still conjures up memories of a great past. The basic material which eventually went into the foundation of a Modern India were forged, turned and moulded into shape within the precincts of the Hindu College. A young man, Henry Vivian De-Rozio, was among its first generation of teachers of English literature and History. He had drunk deep into the wisdom of the celebrated French Encyclopaedists and the triple ideals of "liberty, fraternity and equality" were of the very texture of his being and the inspiration which endeared him so deeply to his students. Next to Raja Ram Mohun Roy and, much later, Keshub Chunder Sen, there was hardly any other personality in contemporary Indian history, who could lay competing claim to the measure of influence De-Rozio had over young India, especially over the new generation of his English educated students. A vivid personality, a deep scholar, a passionate speaker and something, also, of a poet, Henry Vivian De-Rozio was said to have exerted almost a weird influence over his students and roused in them a passion and a fervour for the ideals of a universal humanity. With some of his more favourite and promising students, De-Rozio started the Academic Association for promoting the message of liberty in all life's departments and activities. The one thing that was supremely

dominant in their intellectual and moral loyalties was humanism, the humanism that was the inspiration of Voltaire and Volney and, in respect of their religious faith, the Positivism of Locke and Hume. In a sense these students of Henry De-Rozio were a consummation of the Raja's own humanistic ideals. But while the Raja himself was invincibly theistic in his religious faiths and beliefs, these young men had turned out to be almost atheistic in their repudiation of any other authority except human reason. De-Rozio, along with a few others amongst his colleagues on the teaching staff of the Hindu College, had come deeply under the influence of one Drummond, a brilliant Scotch scholar and school master, a perfect fruit of the French Illumination, and of his first batch of students De-Rozio was one.

About the same time when De-Rozio was appointed to the Hindu College corresponding with the early twenties of the last century, Ram Mohun Roy and a group of fellow theists started a theistic association called the *Brahmo Sabha*. The inner nucleus of this *Brahmo Sabha* or the *Brahmo Samaj* as it later came to be known was the *Atmiya Sabha* which was started a few years earlier by the Raja for discussing and elucidating questions of religion and theology that were, at that time, so seriously agitating him and his fellow reformers. Although, initially, the earlier generation of English educated youths of the country were inclined to be free thinkers, the influence that the Raja generally exerted over the entire community of educated young India of those times was so great and comprehensive, that their alienated loyalties from the old orthodox Hindu community were ultimately composed and organized under the revolt that was led by this new theistic organization.

By seventies and eighties of the last century, the new Brahmo Samaj movement, originally under the leadership of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, had itself already passed through considerable upheavals and transmutations. Newer branches of the movement, first under the halcyon leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen and, later under the leadership of some among Keshub's own most trusted and loyal disciples who, however, found forces of reaction prominently rearing their heads under the old established leadership and felt a fresh schism unavoidable and inevitable, had already been founded. The latest among these new branches of the movement, known under the name of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, broad-based the movement to comprehend not merely questions of religion and theology, but really all departments of life's activities and was involved in all progressive endeavours, be they social, religious, political and, within comparatively narrower radii, even international. The shift towards the establishment of a modern Indian society, truly Indian in its contents and, yet, steadfast in its loyalty to the newly accepted values, were already firmly established. Vigorous constructive work had already started for modernising education and to broaden it to conform with the essential requirements of progress. Education, it was recognized, was the most crucial foundation for building a progressive society and radiating from this basic end-

efforts sprouted in many directions to cover the needs and feed the aspirations of a self-respecting and increasingly self-confident society. As would be inevitable in such a progressive society, awareness of the evils of subjection to foreign political domination also started to gradually impinge upon the consciousness of the educated community and beginnings, thus, of the growth of an integrated and self-respecting Indian nationhood was already in a process of gestation.

The period of multi-faceted growth of a renascent Indian society may be said to have reached a fresh landmark with the turn of the century when, with the commencement of the publication of the *New India* in 1901, the first weekly *views* paper of its kind ever to be published in this country and representing the ideals and voice of a school of what may be described as *militant nationalism*, became the principal vehicle of expression of the turning tide of political thought and social action. The *New India* continued to publish until 1907 when, unfortunately, it had to close down. Two other notable publications, the Bengalee evening daily, *Sandhya*, edited by Upadhaya Brahmabandhab and the English *Bande Mataram*, edited by Shri Aurobindo, both of which followed that of the *New India* and all three of whom have been assessed to have made significant and historic contributions to the resurgence of India. The *Sandhya* and the *Bande Mataram* had to close down even before the *New India* had to shut up shop in 1907.

Into this void insinuated itself in January 1907, *The Modern Review*. Initially published from Allahabad, it was, however, a publication with a difference: not merely quite the first of its kind in this country, it was much broader in its scope and had a far wider horizon. Founded and edited by the late Ramananda Chatterjee, *The Modern Review* was destined to play a very significant and quite a positive role in the progressive development and unfolding experience of the Indian nation. During the 37 years from 1907 until 1943 when Ramananda Chatterjee continued to edit the *Modern Review* it set the norm for progressive Indian journalism and was unquestionably accepted and even emulated as the foremost leader in the field. Even after September, 1943 when Ramananda Chatterjee passed into the great Beyond, *The Modern Review* continued within the natural limitations of a lesser editorship to uphold the traditions and emulate the leadership of its great founder-editor. If the period between January 1907 and September 1943 when Ramananda Chatterjee continued to publish and edit *The Modern Review* might be claimed to have been the *Age of The Modern Review* in the history of Indian journalism, the next twentyseven years following his passing away between September 1943 and January 1967 when the publication completed sixty years of unbroken publication, was a period of turmoil, transition and reconstruction of the Indian polity to which also *The Modern Review* could, we feel, claim a share of not wholly insignificant contribution.

But it is idle to lay claims to excellences which may not be self-evident. In our Diamond Anniversary Supplements to our current and the next month's issue of *The Modern Review* we present it for what it has been and done during the last sixty years which should speak far more eloquently than any testimonial could possibly hope to do.

Nationalism, Nationality And Political Institutions

The Modern Review made its debut into the field of Indian journalism in January, 1907. The time corresponded with one of the most active and fruitful periods in the later phase of the new Indian renaissance.

The resurgence in Indian life which began with the anti-Partition movement during the penultimate months of 1905 was, strangely enough, not circumscribed within the narrower limits of mere political dialogues and action. It acquired a mass, momentum and, above all, a breadth of horizon which increasingly comprehended all departments of life and social regeneration. The anti-Partition movement was not merely a negative political protest against certain decisions and actions of the British administration then in power ; it increasingly acquired the character of a positive religion of national self-fulfilment and self-reliance.

By the end of 1906 the initial excitements of a political crusade had already been considerably dissipated and the movement acquired a strength and poise which would comprehend within its scope everything that was calculated to contribute to national regeneration in all vital departments of its activities. The watch-word of the movement had, even from the very inception, been *self determination*, a word which had acquired a new meaning and entailed positive responsibilities for the national leaders. Education, industry, social reconstruction all became responsibilities of the movement which had, thus, acquired a fulness and a breadth of panorama not traditionally associated with a political protest.

It was at such a vital juncture of the nation's history that *The Modern Review* arrived on the national stage and created an instant impact. *The Modern Review*, as already observed elsewhere in this souvenir, proved itself, from the very first moment of

its arrival upon the national stage, to be a journal with a difference ; something with the like of which our people had not had any previous acquaintance. It not merely reflected contemporary life and its many-faceted activities on its pages ; it made creative contributions to the course of contemporary history. That, indeed, has been the most significant, if not also the principal role, assumed by *The Modern Review* and which it continued to play with amazing effectiveness throughout its subsequent career.

At the time the *Modern Review* made its initial debut into the life of the country nationalism, nationality, political institutions were matters which had been vitally agitating the minds of our people. These were the foundations of the future which the nation had set out to build for itself. These were questions of vital moment on the clear and rational concepts of which would be bound to depend the manner in which the nation fashioned its own future.

These were questions, therefore, with which *The Modern Review* concerned itself from the very outset. The concept of nationalism and nationality which was, then, believed to have been mainly derived from European political thought and the institution of parliamentary democracy to have sprung from British experiences, had to undergo considerable transmutation in subsequent history. In 1907 the concept of nationalism was severely circumscribed within rigid territorial contents. With the end of the First Great War the concept found itself broadened to a wider international context. The Second World War appears to have been turning human aspirations towards a catholic universalism which would transcend national boundaries and even overstep international inhibitions on to a platform of universal humanity. There is, no doubt, a long way yet to traverse before humanity could hope to reach such an effulgent goal ; but the seeds of the idea has already been implanted in the human mind and may be acknowledged now to be in a state of virtual incubation before it could burst into bud.

Correspondingly with these stages in the evolution of the concept of nationalism to a broad universalism comprehending the entire human family, the evolution and progress of *The Modern Review* may, legitimately, be divided into three distinctive periods ; the first phase coinciding with the period from its inception to the end of the First World War ; the second phase corresponding with the period from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War and the last and the continuing phase corresponding with the current rather confusing times following the attainment of Indian Independence with the close of the Second World War.

But even during this first phase of its career,—indeed with its very inception,—*The Modern Review's* views on questions of nationalism, nationality and political institutions would appear to have been far ahead of those of its times. In the following pages we are reproducing some of the materials published in the columns of *The Modern Review* on these questions during this first phase of its career which would seem to give out glimmerings though, perhaps, only very faintly, of a dawn of future universalism. Of such creative contents were *The Modern Review* made up.

Our Leaders

India has adored renunciation and devotion in all ages. It is significant that in this age these crowning flowers of spirituality should blossom in the political field, too, and receive their wonted homage and adoration. Herein lies the secret of the more than royal ovation which Mr. G. K. Gokhale has been receiving everywhere in his tour through the United Provinces and the Panjab. His reception shows, too, that the sentiment of nationality is growing in volume and intensity everywhere in India. Our only anxiety is that this sentiment should not exhaust itself in mere demonstrations, but should strengthen itself by sustained and organised action. Political life of the western type is new to our people. We need not be offended, therefore, if we are reminded without excessive ceremony that in all spheres of life spasmodic action indicates a low stage of development and sustained effort a higher one.

We are standing almost on the threshold of a revolution, and, if we can read the signs aright, it promises to be a bloodless one. But bloody or bloodless all revolutions demand a sacrifice; the conditions of success are equally exacting, the work equally strenuous, in either case. The death of the martyred patriot, because, perhaps, of its being more dramatic and the undoubted proof it affords of his earnestness, rouses our enthusiasm more than his life of renunciation and devotion. But we should not forget that it is life that leads to his death, it is the former that makes the latter possible, that after all, the death may be a mere accident in the case and that without the death, the life would be valuable and adorable all the same. Bankimchandra in the introductory chapter of his *Ananda Math*, now known to non-Bengalis also on account of the *Bande Mata-am* song makes a Voice ask the hero, "What are you prepared to risk, to sacrifice?" The answer is, "My life and all." To which the voice says, "Life is a trifle; any one can give up life." On this

the hero asks, "What else have I? What can I give?" Then comes the response, "BHAKTI."

English to us is a foreign tongue. and so we have to speak with great diffidence. But, though the great Dr. Grierson is trying to prove that the Hindus borrowed the bhakti movement from the Christians, we are bound to say that in our humble opinion there is no exact English equivalent for the word bhakti. We may translate it as loving reverence and devotion, or reverential and devoted love.

This bhakti it is for the mother-land that Mr. Gokhale is trying to preach by precept and example. No wonder, therefore, that his appearance amongst us has evoked so-much enthusiasm.

Mr. Gokhale's political aspirations are not lower than those of any other Indian patriot, he wants his people to be in India what any other people are in theirs, he has declared that everything that is being done at present in the way of political activity in India is constitutional, that it is legitimate for us to have recourse even to passive resistance by non-payment of taxes. Passive resistance marks the extreme point of constitutional political pressure; and is known to Mr. Gokhale's friends that his opinion as to its legitimacy in India and advisability, too, when the occasion demands it, is not of recent growth, but originated long before there was any talk of a new party. And he is an exponent of the "moderate" party. Let friend and foe, therefore, judge whether there are really two distinct parties in India among Indians, with a clear line of cleavage between them. We for our part do not see the need or feel the wisdom of being in a hurry to create or recognise a split in our camp. We prefer to stick to the rule: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity,"

"The Royal visit", as the visit of H. R. H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught is being styled, will, we hope, cost us nothing. We bear no ill will to them or to any body. But we cannot really afford to meet the charges of hospitality, as we get nothing in return except expressions of sympathy,—whose sincerity we do not question, but which are none the less infructuous,—and certificates of loyalty, which deceive neither the givers nor the receivers.

Reading the history of various countries, England being one of them, we find that some of the world's public men led notoriously bad lives. But public opinion is insisting more and more, and rightly, too, upon public men leading clean lives. National greatness is built upon the firm basis of individual character, and, therefore, we have every right to demand that our public men should be pure in their private characters. As to the method to be followed in practically enforcing the demand, we have no desire to lay down the law but we may be permitted to offer a suggestion. When the bad character of a public man lawfully becomes public property, every political or other association should lawfully become public property, every political or other association should certainly have as little to do with him as possible, until he has given practical proofs of sincere repentance and established his claim to public confidence again. In the case of a public man who may be widely

known in private circles to be impure in his life but of the impurity of whose character no public proof is forthcoming, we in our individual capacities may justly shun him as much as possible, in his unrepentant moods at any rate, and do nothing that would give him prominence in public life. On these principles, we think the late Mr. Kalicharan Banurji and Miss Muller were entirely justified in what they did to prevent a well-known Congressman from being permitted to address the Congress at its second session in Madras in 1894. We recall the incident now, as, unfortunately, the state of public opinion in our country is still such that it requires some courage to act in the way that Mr. Banurji and his supporters did.

In very recent times in India the life of none of her departed great men brought back to our minds more vividly Emerson's celebrated phrase "Man the Reformer" than that of Ananda Mohan Bose. When the spirit really breathes its native air of freedom, a man sets himself seriously to re-form private and public life, to rebuild life and society on their eternal foundations ; and this, not in any one sphere, but in all. For, that the work of the reformer is eminently conservative and constructive, must have been apparent to all who knew anything of Mr. Bose's inner life.

NOTES—THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH, 1907, Pp 314-316



Swaraj Or Self-Government

The great merit of Dadabhai Naoroji's address lies in the fact that it states in clear and unequivocal language our chief political demand, namely *Swaraj* or self government. But... "self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies" do not warrant any such conclusion. There is nothing to prevent us from interpreting his words to mean that he desires absolute autonomy like that of the United Kingdom, but would be content to have self-government on colonial lines under British suzerainty. And that shows the temperament of the practical statesman as distinguished from that of the doctrinaire politician or the political visionary. It is this temperament, too, that leads him to demand at once only a beginning but not the full rights of self-government. For absolute autonomy, and self-government on colonial lines in a fully developed form, are at present equally remote. India can be immediately free either as the result of a successful armed rebellion, or as the result of a magnanimous renunciation by the British nation of their suzerainty and domination. But both are equally out of the question. So we have to make a gradual advance.

We may here observe in passing that at present the mere imagination of a day when England's suzerainty over India may cease is considered even by professed European well-wishers of India as treading on forbidden ground. But we venture to think that it does not necessarily involve sedition or hostility to England, or, that much dreaded thing, extremism. A time there was when Anglo-Indian statesmen thought of Indian independence not only without dread but rather with prophetic hope and pride. A man does not pose or attitude as a philanthropist in his private journal and this is what we find in "The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings" under date the 17th of May, 1818:

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."—P.326, vol. ii.

Mr. Naoroji advocates agitation as the means of advance. He is right in saying that petitioning is not "begging for any favours any more than that the conventional "Your obedient servant" in letters makes a man an obedient servant. It is the conventional way of approaching higher authorities. The petitions are claims for rights or for justice or for reforms, to influence and put pressure on Parliament by showing how the public regard any particular matter. The fact that we have more or less failed hitherto is not because we have petitioned too much, but that we have petitioned too little."

It is true that sensitive souls having self-respect feel it humiliating to have to make representations which are unheeded. But we must remember that even in self-governing countries such is the fate of many representations. And after all it is certainly far more humiliating to have to live under foreign rule than to adopt a "mendicant policy" to get rid of foreign domination to some extent. In advocating agitation, Mr. Naoroji does not place himself against other lawful methods of political work. At the time when the Bengal boycott was proclaimed, he encouraged the Bengalis in that line of action. His address, no doubt, is silent on the point; and this has seemed to us a defect of that remarkable pronouncement. But he has said nothing to show that he is against the method of boycott, and a Congress resolution both in 1905 and 1906 has recognised the boycott to be legitimate.

After half a century of struggle and disappointment, Mr. Naoroji still hopes that the "British conscience" will assert itself. He must have reason for the faith that is in him. His age, character and intellectual capacity, and the disinterested and devoted work that he has done for his country for half a century, incline us to make his faith our own. It is not impossible, too, for a nation to be just. Whilst we are perfectly sure that Mr. Naoroji's hope is sincere, we on our part cannot without hypocrisy say that we have full faith in sense of justice of the British people; but at the same time we do not say that they may not in future be juster than they have been in the past. Our hope of India's salvation rests chiefly and primarily on what Mr. Naoroji has called "the supremacy of the moral law." And the appeal to a nation's sense of justice and love of righteousness is ultimately based on the moral order of the universe. At the same time we must not forget that in mundane affairs large masses of people are influenced oftener by fear and self-interest. It is for this reason that we wish our national strength to be developed in all directions, so that our rulers may feel that unless justice be done, effective retaliation is sure to follow. We lay stress on the word effective. The Bengal boycott has not been effective, not the Bengal strikes. Both boycott and the strikes as political weapons are threats. *If you threaten, you must be in a position to carry out the threat.* Else it is worse than useless. It is for this reason that we are at this stage of our national life and feeling opposed to the *declaration* of the extension of the boycott as a political weapon to provinces other than Bengal. In the meantime every patriotic Indian should practice the economical boycott as far as possible.

NOTES—THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY—1907, Pp. 209-210

Democracy And The Multiplicity Of Religious Sects In India

It is very often said that democracy is not suited to India because it is inhabited by people of different creeds and religious sects. This argument is made use of by the people of Christian countries from the experience they have had of their own countries. In those countries, secularisation of politics is a thing not many centuries old. Because in Europe members of different denominations used to persecute one another, hence they argue that such must be the case in other countries also whose inhabitants are not composed of one religious sect. But the natives of India have been always comparatively tolerant. India should not be judged by the standard of the Christian countries and Christian nations of the West. The great German thinker and philosopher Schopenhauer has very truly observed :-

"In comparison with the Christian centuries that followed, the ancient world was undoubtedly less cruel than the Middle Age, with its deaths by frightful torture, its countless burning at the stake ; further, the ancients were very patient, thought very highly of justice, and frequently sacrificed themselves for their country, showed traits of magnanimity of every kind, and such genuine humanity, that up to the present time, an acquaintance with their doings and thoughts is called the study of Humanity. Religious wars, massacres, inquisitions as well as other persecutions, the extermination of the original inhabitants of Christianity, and among the ancients one cannot find anything analogous to this, anything to counterpoise it.

"Think of the fanaticism, of the endless persecutions, the religious wars that sanguinary frenzy of which the ancients had no idea ; then, think of the Crusades, a massacre lasting two hundred years, and perfectly unwarrantable, with its war-cry, It is God's will, so that it might get into its possession the grave of one who had preached love and endu-

rance ; think of the cruel expulsion and extermination of the Moors and Jews from Spain ; think of the massacres, of the inquisitions and other heretical tribunals, the bloody and terrible conquests of the Mohammedans in these different parts of the world, and the conquests of the Christians in America, whose inhabitants were for the most part, and in Cuba entirely, exterminated : according to Las Casas, within forty years twelve million persons were murdered of course, all in majorem Deigloriam, and for the spreading of the Gospel, and because, moreover, what was not Christian was not looked upon as human.

"As a matter of fact, intolerance is only essential to monotheism ; and only god is by his nature a jealous god, who cannot permit any other god to exist. On the other hand polytheistic gods are by their nature tolerant : they live and let live ; they willingly tolerate their colleagues and being gods of the same religion, and this tolerance is afterwards extended to alien gods, who are, accordingly, hospitably received, and latter on sometimes attain even the same rights and privileges ; as in the case of Romans, who willingly accepted and venerated Phygian, Egyptian, and other foreign gods. Hence it is the monotheistic religions alone that furnish us with religious wars, persecutions, and heretical tribunals, and also with the breaking of images, the destruction of the idols of the gods : the overthrowing of Indian temples and Egyptian colossi, which had looked on the sun three thousands years ; and all this because a jealous God had said : "Thou shalt make no graven image."

Schopenhauer has placed Muhammadanism also on the same level with Christianity as having caused murder and bloodshed in the world. That may have been so in other parts of the world, but certainly not so in India under Musalman rule. When the Muhammadans settled in India as rulers, they generally showed every scrupulous regard for the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu subjects. Much of the proselytising zeal and fanaticism of the followers of the Crescent had disappeared when they came to India. This was mainly due to Islam being tempered with sufism, which is allied to Vedantism. Persian poets were sufis, and Muhammadans having settled in India were indirectly influenced by the teachings of the Vedanta, for no one living in India can avoid its subtle influence. Says Max Muller :

"This Vedanta spirit prevades the whole of India. It is not restricted to the higher classes . It lives in the very language of the people, and is preached in the streets and in the forest by mendicant saints."

The Christian English have not come under its influence because they have not settled in India and do not mix with the natives of this country. Just as "conquered Grece conquered her conquerors," so the conquered Hindus had conquered their Muhammadan conquerors by infusing into their minds the spirit of the vedanta. It is expressed in that formula in sanaskrit tat tvam asi, i. e., "Thou art He." Profesaor Deussen says :

"The Gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of morality : 'love your neighbour as yourselves.' But why would I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself: not in my neighbour ? The answer is not in the Bible (this venerable book being not yet quite free of semitic realism), but it is in the Veda, is in the great formula 'tat tvam asi,' which gives in three words metaphysics and morals together. You shall love your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe, that your neighbour is something different from yourselves. "And so the Vedanta, in its unfalsified form is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death—Indians, keep to it !"

Yes, Indians, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, have always kept to it. And because the Muhammadans came under its influences they lost their fanaticism and became tolerant. What spirit of catholicity breathes in the poems of the Mahomedan poets !

It must be admitted that Aurangzib was a bigot. But then he was an abnormal specimen of a man. He ill-treated his father by making him a captive, murdered his brothers.

There is a pretty story in the Mantiq-ut-Taiq of Farid-ud-din, which shows the religious tolerance of the Parsian poet. It runs thus : One night the words "I hear" came from the presence of God. Gabriel said, "there must be some servant of God, calling on Him, a man of pure heart and subdued passion. I must know who he is." The Angel sought in vain through the seven heavens, on sea and on land, in the hills and in the plains. At last by the command of God Gabriel went to Rum. There he found the man he sought praying before an idol. "O Thou source of all good," cried the angel, "unveil to me this mystery. This man is invoking an idol, and Thou in Thy grace answerest him." Then God said, and sapped the foundation of the Moghul Empire by his unprovoked wars in the Deccan. From a man of his nature, it was too much to expect toleration or good government. However his bigotry and want of toleration may be accounted for, if we remember the fact that he spent the most impressionable years of his life in Southern India and thus came more or less under the spell of the Portuguese who were notorious for their Inquisition and persecution of the non-Christians. Aurangzib imbibed their spirit. Many a Hindu temple did he demolish and many a Hindu did he cruelly persecute. Regarding his zeal for breaking Hindu temples, one of his Hindu courtiers once said to him :

"Behold, my lord, the miracle of my house of idol ; when it becomes useless, it becomes the house of God."

This observation of one of his Hindu courtiers made such a deep impression on him, that he gave up the practice of breaking temples and idols.

It is not true then that the Muhammadans made a business of cutting the throats of the Hindus. India is about equal to Europe minus Russia. Period for period, there has never been greater bloodshed in India than in Europe. Until they came under the influence of Europeans, Moslem and Hindu were living in comperative peace and harmony and as brothers, because they were all children of the Indian soil. Many a Hindu prince built

mosques for the Muhammadans, and this feeling was reciprocated by the latter also. In the provinces which contained the capitals of the Muhammadan sovereigns of India, and where anti-Muhammadan feeling should have been very predominant had the Hindus been generally persecuted by Muhammadan subjects. Thus in Bareilly which was founded by Raja Makaranda Rai, a Jama Masjid was erected by that prince for the use of the Muhammadans.

In our article on "Swaraj or self-rule in Oriental Countries," we have shown how Hindus are well treated by their Muhammadan neighbours. "If from ignorance he has missed the way, shall I who know the way not teach him? My grace shall plead for his pardon and bring him to the truth."

This is no isolated utterance as all who have any acquaintance with Persian literature will testify. Over and over again we are told that all who earnestly seek God, whatever be their religion, will find Him. Nor is Muhammadan tolerance a mere matter of theory.

It has always been displayed in practice by the best Muhammadan rulers. The Omeyyads might almost be said to have carried tolerance to an excess, for they discouraged the conversion of their Christian subjects.

The Indian People have neighbours in Afghanistan. We know the Afghans are an illiterate class of people and, therefore, given to blood feuds and quarrels. If they were religious fanatics, then there would be nothing to prevent them from polishing off the Hindu inhabitants of Afghanistan in no time. But they do not molest or illtreat the Hindus.

The fact is that Europeans judge others by their own standard. They imagine that the votaries of one creed would behave towards those of another creed, as they themselves are in the habit of treating non-Christians or even Christians who do not belong to the same sect as they do. Because they themselves lack toleration, they imagine that others must likewise do the same.

But a homogeneous population in a country is not necessarily an advantage from the point of view of the political progress of that nation. In his "Dialogue on the best form of government," the Right Honorable Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Baronet, M. P., puts the following in the mouth of Aristocraticus :-

"It is mainly by the existence of parties powerful enough to secure attention to the interests and arguments of a minority that political improvement is accomplished. Entire unanimity on political questions is in general an evil: political discord, is to a certain point an advantage to a State. All received opinions on political subjects cannot be right; all existing laws cannot be wise and expedient.

"Even unity in matters of religion is, for civil purposes, disadvantageous. The existence of various sects is a guarantee for religious liberty, and a protection against ascendancy of various sects is a guarantee for religious liberty, and a protection against religious tyranny and persecution. Nothing, in a political and intellectual point of view, would at present be more beneficial to Italy and Spain than the formation of religious sects, strong enough to

resist the dominant Church. If Charles V, Philip II, and Louis XIV, had understood the true interest and duty of a civil ruler, they would, instead of extinguishing religious dissent by force, rather have thrown, like Cadmus, a stone into the midst of the conflicting parties."

Nature abhors monotony and discord, but loves diversity and harmony. India has been the home of different religions and creeds, but because there was always comparative harmony amongst them, so there was always religious liberty and not much religious persecution. It is because of the existence of this toleration and religious liberty, that it has been possible for India to have given to the world Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology. Says Sir Henry Sumner Maine :-

"It may yet give us a new science not less valuable than the sciences of language and folk-lore. I hesitate to call it Comparative Jurisprudence, because, if it ever exists, its area will be so much wider than the field of law. For India not only contains (or to speak more accurately, did contain) an Aryan language older than any other descendant of the common mother-tongue, and a variety of names of natural objects less perfectly crystallised than elsewhere into fabulous personages, but it includes a whole world of Aryan institutions, Aryan beliefs, in a far earlier stage of growth and development than any which survive beyond its borders."

It would have been quite impossible for India to have given all these sciences to the world had there been one common religion in this country as it is in many other lands.

No, varieties of religion do not stand in the way of swaraj or self-rule, if some one does not try to create mischief by pitting the followers of one religious sect against those of another.

Let us now take a specific episode of religious persecution in the history of India. The Sikhs were badly treated and persecuted by the fanatical Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb and his effeminate descendants. This accounts for the retaliatory spirit of the Sikhs. The sect founded by the mild and meek Baba Nanak was forced by circumstances to become a church militant under Guru Govind. Sir John Malcolm in his sketch of the Sikhs, says :-

"Though the Sikhs had already, under Har Govind, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self-defence : and as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahman to the lowest of the sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without any infringement of the original institutions of their tribe. No violation of these institutions, was caused by the rules of Nanak ; which, formed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Guru Govind, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition ; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could ever hope to oppose the Muhammadan Government with success, were not only to admit converts from all tribes, but to break, at once, those rules by which the Hindus had been so long been

chained ; to arm, in short, the whole population of the country and to make worldly wealth and rank an object to which Hindus of every class, might aspire.

"In the character of this reformer of the Sikhs, it is impossible not to recognise many of those features which have distinguished the most celebrated founders of political communities. The object he attempted was great and laudable. It was the emancipation of his tribe from oppression and persecution : and the means which he adopted, were such as a comprehensive mind could alone have suggested. The Muhammedan conquerors of India, as they added to their territories, added to their strength, by making proselytes through the double means of persuasion and force ; and these, the moment they had adopted their faith, became the supporters of their power against the efforts of the Hindus, who bound in the chains of their civil and religious institutions could neither add to their number by admitting converts, nor allow more than a small proportion of the population of the country to arm against the enemy. Govind said that he could only hope for success by a bold departure from usages which were calculated to keep those, by whom they were observed, in a degraded subjection to an insulting and intolerant race. 'You make Hindus Muhammedans, and are justified by your laws,' he is said to have written to Aurangzeb : 'now I, on a principle of self preservation, which is superior to all laws, will make Muhammedans Hindus. You may rest,' he added, 'in fancied security : but beware ! for I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle to the ground.' A fine allusion to his design of inspiring the lowest races among the Hindus with that valor and ambition which lead them to perform the greatest actions."

It is true that Guru Govind gave the following injunctions to his followers : "It is right to slay a Muhammedan wherever you meet him. Employ your constant efforts to destroy the countries ruled by Muhammedans ; if they oppose you, defeat and slay them." But had the Sikhs acted on his injunctions, it is not too much to say, that not a single Muhammedan would have been this day left in the Punjab. Maharajah Ranjeet Singh was never intolerant to the Muhammedans. He appointed Muhammedans to positions of trust and responsibility. The most noted of his ministers was a Muhammedan.

It is often alleged by those who ought to know better, that the Sikhs destroyed the mosques of the Muhammedans. Had this been so, not a single mosque would have been seen in the Punjab to-day. On the other hand, the following instances of Sikh religious tolerance are mentioned by Mr. R. W. Trafford in the Punjab Notes and Queries :

"The principal queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, lived in Shekhupura (Gujranwala District), where she built a Masjid for her Muhammedan subjects. In a similar spirit of liberality a masjid was created at Botala Sivalay by a Sikh sardar."

Aurangzeb was no doubt a fanatic Muhammedan king. But even he was so tolerant to the Hindus, that he entrusted them with high and responsible posts for the management of his vast Empire.

That the Hindu revival of the later seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries under Sivaji and his descendants was not due so much to religious as political causes will

be evident from the fact that the faithful servants of the Moghul empire when that empire was in extremis were Hindus and not Muhammadans. For it was the Hindu governors and viceroys who were loyal and exerted their utmost for the safety and greatness of the Moghul Empire. The rise of the Marathas was not a little due to the help accorded to them by the treacherous Moghul Viceroy of the Deccan, the first Nizam-ul-Mulk. When with the assistance and connivance of the Nizam, the Marathas were ravaging the territories then under the sway of the Moghul Empire of Delhi, it is recorded in the Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, that the Hindu Viceroy of Malwa, named "Raja Griridhar," who commanded in the country with a small body of troops, would not suffer his country to be ravaged; and being an officer of character, he engaged Baji Rao several times, after having in vain requested assistance from the capital. His repeated representations to the throne and to the ministers availed nothing, and that brave man, having wasted his small force in endless skirmishes, at last fell... himself in one of them."

The Hindu governor of Gujrat was also loyal to the Moghul Emperor. But compare and contrast their conduct with that of the Nizam-ul-Mulk and other Muhammadan viceroys and governors of that period.

Had there been persecution of the Hindus by their Muhammedan rulers. does it not stand to reason that in the hour of need of the latter, they would have one and all conspired against them and tried to throw off their yoke?

English historians have described Tippoo as almost an incarnation of Satan and very intolerant to non-Muhammedans. If such were the fact, how was it that he suffered a Hindu to be his Prime Minister? Purneah, the Talleyrand of Mysore, was his Chief Minister, and the country flourished under him.

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Is Parliamentary Government Suited To India ?

Parliamentary Government has proved a great success in the West. But this form of Government is said to be unsuited to India.

During the recent Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons, Earl Percy is reported to have "repudiated the possibility of Parliamentary institutions in India." Mr. Settledfact Morley also is reported to have said : "One of the most difficult experiments ever tried in human history, was the attempt to ascertain whether they could carry on personal Government along with free speech and free right of public meetings," the clear implication being that nothing but personal Government was possible in India. As we are of opinion that representative Government is quite practicable in India, that a successful beginning in this direction may and ought to be made at once and that no other form of Government can give peace, prosperity, contentment and strength to India. It seems necessary to examine the question in some detail.

The arguments which have been advanced by those who are opposed to the grant of any form of self-government to India are mainly the following :-

1. India is merely a Geographical expression, because the hundreds of races that inhabit it have not attained any measure of homogenousness, and so this form of administration is not feasible.

In our paper on "Contemporary India and America on the eve of the Revolution," published in the last number, we have tried to show that the country which is now

known as the United States of America was not more fit for self-government when the colonists threw off the yoke of England than India is to-day. Perhaps it will be more correct to say that India is better prepared for self-government than America was. If self-government and that, too, of a republican type, has proved a success in America, we do not see any reason why it should not be so in India also.

We have shown that the United States of America are not even at the present day, homogenous as regards race, religion and language. Canada is not homogenous, nor is the Transvaal, which enjoys self-government of a representative type. Representative government prevails in Austria-Hungary. But the people there are of many races and follow many creeds. The Teutonic race predominates in the west and south-west, and Germans form about one-fourth of the total population. Slavs form nearly half the population ; Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, Poles in Galicia, Croats in Croatia and Dalmatia. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions are of Romanic race, Roumanians in Transylvania, and Italians in the Southern Tyrol and on the Adriatic coast. The Magyars, a distinct race, form about half the population of Hungary. There are also Ruthenians, Slovenians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Lapins, Freulians, Jews, Americans, Gipsies, and a great variety of other races. As the result of this mixture of races, a variety of languages is spoken, and in most parts of the country at least two languages are in common use. Most of the people are Roman Catholics, but there are protestants, Jews and members of the Greek Church also. In the small republic of Switzerland, the population is composed of four distinct ethnical elements, following different creeds. The languages spoken are German, French, Italian, and Romanesch or Latin. In the Russian Empire the Duma represents the introduction of the representative form of government. In this Empire, there are the Russians (comprising the Great Russians, the Little Russians and the White Russians), Poles, Servians, Bulgarians, Bohemians, Armenians, Kurds, Persians and others ; Iranians, Jews, Caucasians, Georgians, Circasians, Finns, Karelians, Esthonians, Livonians, Lapps, Samoyedes, the Volga Finns, Ugrians, Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghizes, Yakuts, Kalmucks, Buriats, Tunguses, Golds, Germans, Swedes, Roumanians, and a considerable number of other races. Besides various forms of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism and paganism prevail in the Russian Empire.

With respect to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of India, it must be remembered that in spite of the various races and sects inhabiting it, indigenous India is, broadly speaking, socially and spiritually, in the character of her peoples, one. It is not true, again, that India never attained political unity. Mr. Vincent Smith says in his *Early History of India* that in the reigns of Asoka and Samudra Gupta "the political unity of all India was nearly attained." Other princes, too, in his opinion, "might fairly claim to rank as paramount powers." Aurangzib nearly succeeded in making India politically one.

As for India being a mere geographical expression, it would be interesting to learn what great country in Europe has been otherwise, a few decades or centuries ago, and politically one for centuries past? The small bit of land called England had its heptarchy or seven Kingdoms; Wales and Scotland and Ireland were separate hostile countries. The Highlands of Scotland contained many clans constantly engaged in fighting against one another. Similar was the state of things in Ireland. France was not one, nor Spain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Austria or Russia.

2. Another reason for denying self-Government to India is that public spirit is wanting in this country. But we maintain that there is sufficient public spirit existing in the country to make self-Government a success. If we turn to the History of England, we find that there have been many periods in the history of that nation when there was the decline of public spirit, but nevertheless parliamentary Government existed. Referring to the decline of public spirit in the middle of the Eighteenth Century in England, Mr. Lecky says :-

"The fault of the time was not so much the amount of vice as the defect of virtue, the general depression of motives, the unusual absence of unselfish and disinterested action."

These remarks are equally applicable to India of our times.

We will quote the same author at some length to tell the story of the decline of public spirit that had set in England in the middle of the Eighteenth Century. He writes :-

"The long war which began in 1739 failed signally to arouse the energies of the nation. It involved no great principle that could touch the deeper chords of national feeling. It was carried on chiefly by means of subsidies. It was one of the most ill-directed, ill-executed, and unsuccessful that England had ever waged, and the people, who saw Hanoverian influence in every campaign, looked with an ominous supineness upon its vicissitudes. Good judges spoke with great despondency of the decline of public spirit as if the energy of the people had been fatally impaired. Their attitude during the rebellion of 1745 was justly regarded as extremely alarming. It appeared as if all interest in those great questions which had convulsed England in the time of the Commonwealth and of the Revolution had died away—as if even the old courage of the nation was extinct. Nothing can be more significant than the language of contemporary statesmen on the subject. 'I apprehend,' wrote old Horace Walpole when the news of the arrival of the Pretender, was issued, 'that the people may perhaps look on and cry "Fight dog! fight bear!" if they do no worse.' 'England,' wrote Henry Fox, 'Wade says, and I believe, is for the first comer, and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch and ten battalions of English, or 5000 French and Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate.' 'The French are not come—God be thanked. But had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest of the country would not have cost them a battle.' 'Your

Lordship will do me the justice,' he writes, 'to believe that it is with the utmost concern I have observed a remarkable change in the dispositions of the people within these two years ; for numbers of them, who, during the apprehensions of the last invasion, appeared most zealous for the Government, are now grown absolutely cold and indifferent, so that except in the persons in the pay of Government and a few Dissenters, there is not the least appearance of apprehension or concern to be met with. As an evidence of this truth, your Lordship may observe the little influence an actual insurrection has had on the public funds ; and unless some speedy stop be put to this universal coldness by satisfying the demands of the nation and suppressing by proper laws that parliamentary prostitution which has destroyed our armies, our fleets, and our constitution, I greatly fear the event.' The Government looked upon the attitude of the people 'simply as furnishing an argument for increasing the standing army.'

How truly applicable are the above remarks to India of to-day ! The remedy which Henry Fox proposed for the cure of the decline of public spirit in England is also the remedy which will infuse new life in the Indian nation. Henry Fox wrote that "speedy stop be put to this universal coldness by satisfying the demands of the nation." Yes, this should be done in the case of India also.

3. Then, again, it is said, that venality and corruption is a national vice in India and therefore, self-government instead of being a boon will be a great curse to the people. Of course, we deny the charge so wantonly indulged in by charitable Europeans that venality is a national vice in India. But why do they forget the extreme corruption of the English Parliament that existed even a century ago ? Every schoolboy knows of the rank corruption that grew luxuriantly in all the national concerns of England. Lecky writes:

"The question in home politics, which excited most interest in the nation (in the eighteenth century) was one which, for very obvious reasons, parliament itself, its subserviency to the influence of the executive, and the danger of its becoming in time rather the oppressor than the representative of the people."

The words need no comment. Yet the representative system of government was not abolished, although there was extreme corruption of Parliament. The same author says :-

"It is not easy to understand how a Parliament so thoroughly vicious in its constitution, so narrow, corrupt, and often despotic in his tendencies as that which I have described, should have proved itself, in any degree, a faithful guardian of English liberty, or should have produced so large an amount of wise, temperate, and tolerant legislation as it unquestionably did."

Every one knows what frightful corruption exists in the United States of America even in our days. So we need not dilate on it. Mr. Lecky is right in saying that :

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed, with extraordinary natural genius. The art of management whether applied to public business or to assemblies, lies strictly

within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendent abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy, and industry.

"In the immense majority of cases the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few, and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties, that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen, and things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice. Imperfect and vicious as was the system of Parliamentary Government, it at least secured a school of statesmen quite competent for the management of affairs."

Mr. Morley is reported to have said in his last budget speech that Indians "were incapable of working the elaborate machine of the Indian Government" This extract is a sufficient theoretical refutation of Mr. Moreley's groundless and absurd generalization. Even school boys can recount the names of the great statesmen of ancient, mediæval and modern India in practical refutation of this slander of a whole nation. If India were given a start in the Parliamentary system of Government, is it too much to say that what was achieved in England when Parliament was notoriously corrupt, will not also be equally achieved in India? If the English Parliament was a faithful guardian of English liberty, an Indian Parliament will also play a similar part in India.

4. One of the common arguments which one is sick of hearing against the grant of the boon of self-government to India is that education has not made much progress in the country and that nearly 90 per cent, of the population being illiterate, it is not possible for them to carry on the system of self-government. Those who advance such an argument may be charged with cant and hypocrisy. To wait till the day when illiteracy shall be swept away from the length and breadth of a country and then to grant it self-government resembles the attitude of the boy on the banks of a river who waited to cross it when it would become dry by the flowing away of all its waters. Did illiteracy disappear largely from England before Parliamentary Government made its appearance in that land? Even now voters need not have any educational qualifications in England; illiteracy does not disqualify anybody from the enjoyment of the franchise. Compulsory and free education came into vogue in England only a few decades ago, and yet that country has enjoyed Parliamentary Government for centuries when very few people could read and write. Besides, the hypocritical bureaucrats who bring forward this argument are themselves responsible for keeping India illiterate. But even illiterate castes in India manage their own caste affairs quite efficiently according to representative methods in their own pauchayets.

5. Another argument is that the English system of party government being inapplicable to India, she cannot have representative institutions. If the official party be beaten, are the English to retire from India, leaving the government to be carried on by the non-official Indian majority? The moderates will say, not necessarily; let the Viceroy, like the English King belong to no party. There is among non-official Indians themselves sufficient difference of opinion to allow of the formation of two parties. If there can be and is party government in the colonies, under British suzerainty, why not here?

The educated Indians who ask for self-government are taunted as being a 'microscopic minority' ? But why this fling at the 'microscopic minority' ? In England's history, nay, in the history of the world, it has been the 'minority,'—perhaps ultramicroscopic, which has always carried out reforms. Says a great thinker :—

"All that has made England famous and all that has made England wealthy, has been the work of minorities, sometimes very small ones".

Aye, 'the microscopic minority' is sure to swell into a "macroscopic" majority if equal opportunities are placed within their reach.

In our article "Swaraj or self-rule in oriental countries", published in the last number we have shown that in India and other eastern countries democracy is not a new thing. That disposes of the argument that we are fit to have only a "benevolent despotism."

So we see how unsound and untenable are all the arguments which have been advanced against granting the boon of self-government or Parliamentary Government to the people of India. Those arguments will hardly bear the test of examination. We naturally arrive at the conclusion that it is liberty which alone befits a people to enjoy it and if the people of India are given Swaraj, they are sure not to abuse its privileges.

But admitting that India being inhabited by different races speaking different languages, representative institutions cannot be granted to her as a whole, what stands in the way of dividing India into provinces which are for all practical purposes racially and linguistically homogeneous, weaving these divisions into representative assemblies and converting the whole country into a federation of self governing States ? For instance, Bengal proper is racially and linguistically one, the Musalmans for the most part being of Hindu origin. The whole of the Hindustani-speaking tracts may also be constituted a self-governing State, similar treatment may be accorded to other divisions on the linguistic basis. Of course it may not be practicable to follow the language basis throughout India. But other bases are available. It will no doubt be objected that Hindu Musalman relations are a difficulty. But their relations are generally cordial when these religious communities are left to themselves. Animosities are often created by interested officials and their toadies. But taking the worst view of the situation, have Hindus and Musalmans over treated one another worse than Roman Catholics and Protestants have done in England and other European countries ? Have they ever burnt one another alive ? Have Hindu-Musalman riots been more sanguinary than No-Popery riots, anti-Jewish riots, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres &c. ? In the United States of America, particularly in the South, cases of lynching of Negroes are not even now rare. But will Englishmen propose that for that reason Americans should be enslaved ? If in spite of religious animosities, riots and massacres, representative institutions have flourished in European countries, why should not they in India ?

Our Duty

Whether Britishers or Anglo-Indians listen to words of reason or not, we must do our duty. A wrong course of action on our part does more harm to our country than theirs. Therefore let us not be led astray by stormy passions but adopt deliberately the course that wisdom dictates. The lessons of history combined with a knowledge of the present political condition of India clearly teach that neither armed rebellion nor political assassinations, nor any other violent methods, will pave the way to freedom or the uplifting of the nation. No revolution was more thorough or bloody than the French Revolution of 1789. Yet the men who killed the French King and Queen and hundreds of royal princes and princesses and the nobility, kissed ere long the iron heels of the upstart Napoleon, a greater despot than any they had killed. Brutus and his fellows killed Julius Cæsar, but could not infuse new life into the well-nigh torpid body of the dying Roman Republic. On the contrary, whatever republican *form* existed under Julius Cæsar, disappeared under his successors, who became full-pledged despotic Emperors. The assassination of a man or some men cannot make a nation fit to win freedom, or to keep it when won. As for revenge, it is not a worthy motive. National decay and national growth are *processes*, gradual, and more or less slow or rapid ;—they are not of sudden occurrence.

When the vision of nationality suddenly dawns upon the mind of the young with dazzling brilliancy, they are apt to be impatient for its realisation, without being very discriminating as to the effectiveness or righteousness of the means they employ. But it is neither possible nor allowable, to override moral laws with impunity. The laws of sociology and of political growth are also unbending. By this we do not mean to say that the

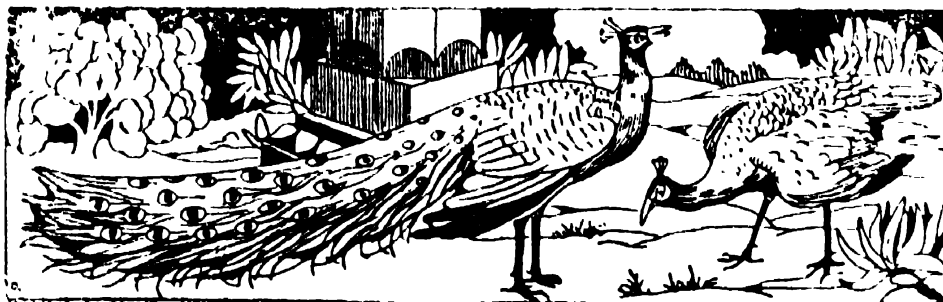
actors in the struggle for independence among all nations and in all ages have been in every individual and minute act of theirs strictly moral and righteous. But what we do say is that their methods have been practicable, and whenever they have transcended the limits of righteousness, the consequent evil result has inevitably followed sooner or later.

A nation that does not feel its wrongs is moribund and less than human. It has reached the lowest depths of degradation. Higher in the scale is that nation which is capable of resenting wrong. But highest in the scale are they who can control their feelings, and drown all thoughts of revenge in the loving service of their fellows. Let us strike to reach this height. While there is so much misery and degradation and *indigenous* iniquity in the land,—so much poverty and disease, ignorance and impurity, selfishness, disunion, social injustice, and cowardice, it is only an ill-balanced and thoughtless mind, a morbid imagination, that can lead its possessor to waste his life on ideas or plans of revenge, and unwise and ineffectual remedies. Much as we value and admire courage and self-devotion, we cannot but strongly condemn and deeply deplore their misuse.

We expect much from our young men. If any among them be eager and ready to barter their lives and all for the national good, let them calmly try to understand what that good is, in the light of the lives and teachings of the great sages and kings of their land. If they must sell their lives, let them sell their lives dear, not in the ordinary sense, but for an equivalent good of lasting value earned day by day all life long, banishing the while revengeful thoughts from their minds as far as is humanly possible.

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER—1908, Pp. 529-30



The Unity Of India

It is a platitude beloved of every superficial and unsympathetic foreign observer that India is in reality a congeries of nations and that there is no such thing as a common Indian people. This remark is levelled specially against those 'visionaries' who dream of an united Indian nation and advocate the extension of the principle of self-government. It is argued that there being no common Indian nationality, the different Indian races would fall upon one another as soon as the strong arm of the British might be withdrawn. But scholars and thinkers who can pierce beneath the surface and have no political purpose to serve, are of a different opinion. Okakura, in his remarkable book, *The Ideals of the East*, has tried to show that 'Asia is one', that 'the Asiatic races form a single mighty web.' But confining ourselves to India, we find that the greatest living authority on the pre-Mahomedan period of Indian history, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, thus refers to the unity of Indian in the very first chapter of his standard work,—*Early History of India* :

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilisation, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social and intellectual development."

Indeed, had there been no such underlying unity, no Empire could have been built up in India in the ancient days of the Mahabharata, with its institution of the *Rajasuya* ; in the days of Asoka, and in the comparatively modern times of Akbar.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, of the Bombay Civil service, quotes Mr. Vincent Smith with approval in his book on *Life and Labour in India*, and adds :

"The diversity of social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface. But the groundwork on which that diversity is traced, the underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, is often lost sight of."

The author then goes on to expand this idea in felicitous and thoughtful language, and concludes :

"All its infinite variety hangs on a common thread of a somewhat distinctive Indian colour."

In the stage of nation-building at which we have arrived, it is more important for us to dwell on our resemblances than on our differences. We should remember what Okakura says on this subject :

"We forget, in an age of classification, that types are, after all, shining points of distinctness in an ocean of approximations, false gods deliberately set up to be worshipped, for the sake of mental convenience, but having no more ultimate or mutually exclusive validity than the separate existence of two interchangeable sciences."

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER—1908, Pp. 343-44



Political Goals

In this number we print two articles ; one pleading for colonial self-rule, the other for absolute independence. But the immediate work to be done and the method to be adopted, are practically the same, according to both the writers. It does not indicate the possession either of genuine patriotism or of practical political capacity, to be fighting for remote goals, "shadows" as a very distinguished "extremist" leader called them in private conversation with us, when the work that lies immediately to our hands is the same. The raising of the question of the goal was, in our opinion, unfortunate, so far as the Congress is concerned. But as it has been raised, those who cannot honestly accept colonial self-rule as the final goal, cannot attend the convention to be held in Madras during next Christmas week. If another political conference meets elsewhere at the same time, those who are for a real National Congress cannot join that assembly too.

There may be a political science in the abstract, but the art of politics has to do with concrete facts and circumstances. There is no doubt a place in politics for idealists and dreamers, but practical men, too, have their uses, we hope. The practical politician must go on taking what he wins or gets, while continually working or pressing for more. There is no finality in politics. As for methods, organizations like the Congress must needs adopt strictly legal methods. It has always done so. Its history and personnel are a better guarantee for the legality of its future work than a paper constitution. If any one thinks, the law cannot be obeyed, he may break it at his own risk. If the majority of Indian politicians ever come to think that lawful agitation is useless, the Congress must then necessarily break up.

The unexpected may happen any day. But in the ordinary course of events, we do not think the youngest "Conventionist" can hope to see India possessed of colonial self-rule

within his life-time, by means of making speeches, protesting, petitioning and passing resolutions. Is there any use then in trying to make one's goal binding on posterity? If there be any desire to do so, it cannot be a wise one; for posterity will use their intellects and not ours, to decide what they ought to strive for, with reference to the circumstances then existing. If there be no such desire, why perpetuate division in our camp by speaking of any goal or object at all? The Congress could do with decades. It is true the political condition of the country has changed. But have the political bodies in the different provinces altered their constitutions or made new statements of objects owing to the presence of suspicion or to disarm the opposition of the bureaucracy by this means,—we hope there is no such vain desire; the attempt is futile. For: (1) many "Conventionists" openly state that they accept the colonial goal, without concealing their desire to take the next step, if and whenever possible; (2) the bureaucracy like the colonial goal almost as much as they do absolute autonomy; 3) Viscount Morley has told us that as the Canadian fur-coat can not suit us, we need not have any coat of self-rule at all, that all Indian politicians are crying for the moon, and that as far as his Lordship's imagination can peer into the abysmal depths of the future he can see nothing but absolutism for India. As for lawfulness, a Congress without a declared goal is as lawful as with a colonial one provided its methods are lawful. It is a mistake to think that Government would do more for us if we dissociated our selves from a particular party. Official protests and denials notwithstanding, we cannot but believe that if the Liberal Ministry give us any rights at all, their bestowal has been or will be hastened by the signs of impatience already displayed by the people. Nor should the extremists think that they have a monopoly of patriotism, political wisdom, sincerity and courage. When the history of the building of the Indian National Edifice comes to be written, it will probably be found that all parties and sub-parties have contributed their share of labour and materials in varying proportion, and that all have made mistakes more or less serious.

Should the gentle reader now ask us with unfailing courtesy, "What is your goal, Mr. Facing-both-ways? What are your principles? We would humbly answer: "Ever expanding freedom that is our goal, if goal it be. We believe in taking the next step, big or small honestly, and in co-operation with all who are prepared to advance, slowly or rapidly, by all legitimate means.

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER—1908, Pp. 440-41

The Civic Ideal

CITIES are the schools of nationality, even as a nation is made up of all its citizens. It is in the service of all small unit that the power to become a critical factor in the larger is for the most part own; by that knighthood which is the.....of civic contest that souls fearless and unstained are selected for the leading of a nation's advance. In the history of no people, at any period in its development, has there ever been time to spare for one wasted life. Such a life immediately becomes parasitic upon Humanity, and thereby detracts from that energy on which there are but too many other calls. The fact that in the modern world whole classes of people fail to recognise this fact, shows only that we have not yet any adequate idea either of the demands to be made on the individual by a perfect civic life, or of the problems that await solution by the energy of such life. It would only be, indeed, by the finest possible development of every man, woman, and child in a whole country that such an ideal could be made manifest, and this is a spectacle which the world has never yet seen.

The Indian prince, idling in a motor, or following the fashions of a society which neither he nor his have initiated or can control; the American millionaire, spending outside his country the sums concentrated in it by the organisation of sudra-labour; and the European aristocrat, absorbing into his own interest all the privileges of all classes, in every place and society; all these appear equally unsuspicious of the fact that Humanity has a right to make any higher claim on a man than that of the fulfilment of his own selfish caprice. Yet there are in the world at any given moment so many evils that might be removed, so many sorrows that might be mitigated, so many tasks that need not be left undone, that if all of us were to respond in the highest degree to the

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greater exactions of the race, the progress made would only very slowly become apparent ! Verily, in all eternity there is not room for one moment of viciousness, of weakness, of idleness, nor amongst all the nations of men, for one human parasite !

In India at the present moment, we are learning, however slowly, to decipher the great new laws that are to dominate and evolve our future. As a community, our task, up to the present, has been to maintain all that we could of the past. Suddenly, however, all this is an end. We have entered upon an era of formulation of the new. 'By the past through the present, to the future' ! says Auguste Comte. That is to say, it is by the scrutiny and understanding of the past, and.....taking advantage of the power it has accumulated in us, that we become able so to direct our own action as to create for ourselves and others the loftiest future. The yet-to-be is as a vast unexplored territory of which we are charged to take possession. That age which is discovering nothing new, is already an age of incipient death. That philosophy which only recapitulates the known, is in fact a philosophy of ignorance. It is because in our country to-day great thoughts are being born, because new duties are arising, because fresh and undreamt of.....are being made of the ancient culture, that we can believe the dawning centuries to be for us. If the Indian mind had not been giving daily promise of extended conquests, if it had not been feeling out constantly towards a new dimension, we could have hoped nothing for ourselves. But it is doing these things. The mind of our civilisation is awake once more, and we know that the long ages of theocratic development are perfected, while before us lies the task of actualising those mighty ideals of the civic and national life by which the theocratic achievements of our fathers are to be protected and conserved. We are now to go out, as it were, into the vast spaces about our life, and build there those towers and bastions of self-organisation and mutual aid, by which we are yet to become competent to deal with the modern world and all its forces of aggression. The bricks lie there, in abundance, for our work. The elements abound, in our history, our literature, our traditions, and our customs, by which we can make of ourselves a strong and coherent people. It needs only that we understand our own purpose, and the method of its accomplishment. As the architect builds to a plan, so is a nation fashioned by its own dreams. And he who knows this, knows also how to use his own power of dreaming. The very doctrine, that everything in life is the work of desire, would teach us this. For it follows as an inevitable inference that the world is changed by those who best know how and what to desire. It may even be, after all, that there is no castle in the world so formidable as a well-built castle in the air !

But the elements of nationality are civic and to these civic components it is that the individual stands most directly and most permanently related. The man who would not stir a finger to help his village to the recovery of grazing-rights is not the man to bleed and die in the country's cause. The man who will not suffer some slight risk and discomfort in the swadeshi cause, is not the man to whom to entrust the banner of an army. By civic duty we are tested for national responsibility. By the widening of the

smaller accomplishment, we immeasurably extend the possibilities of the larger. It might be said, however, that we have at a moment but little idea of what is meant by the civic life or the civic ideal. This is true, nevertheless we have but to give the words our close attention, and undoubtedly the day will come, when, for our love and faith in them, we shall be ready to die.

Of our two great epics it may be said that while the pervading interests of the Mahabharata are heroic and national, those of the Ramayana are mainly personal and civic. It is more than likely, indeed, that Valmiki's poem sprang out of a deliberate wish to glorify the beloved city of Ayodhya, by painting the mythic history of its earliest sovereigns. The city, and everything in it, fills the poet with delight. He spends himself in descriptions of its beauty on great festivals. He loses himself in the thought of its palaces, its arches and its towers. But it is when he comes to paint Lanka, that we reap the finest fruit of that civic sense which Ayodhya has developed in him. There is nothing, in all Indian literature, of greater significance for the modern Indian mind, than the scene in which Hanuman contends in the darkness with the woman who guards the gates, saying, in muffled tones, "I AM THE CITY OF LANKA."

We have here what is the fundamental need of the civic spirit, that we should think of our city as a being, a personality, sacred, beautiful, and beloved. This, to Ravana and his, was Lanka. And Valmiki could look with both the eyes, for he, in common with all the men of his great age, was in the habit of relating himself instinctively to his home his sovereign, and his group.

Even in European languages, the power of clear statement with regard to such subjects as we are now discussing, is very unequally developed. In English, for instance, there is no single word to connote the civic community, the human equivalent of the city, that corporate life that has built for itself, on the chosen spot, in accordance with its own ideals and aspirations, the home we see. The French word *commune* bears the sense we seek to convey, but it may seem to some of us too deeply tinged with political and historical associations. It may be—who knows? That in some Indian language will first be formed the audible symbol to express the human and social aspect of the civic unit in its purity! Certain it is, that when the thing begins to be apprehended, the word will be created. Great movements fashion their own men, and ideas make their own language.

The city as a whole is but a visible symbol of this life behind it. Nor does this mean only of the life at present behind it. It is determined by the sum of the energy of all its creators, past as well as present. There is even, in a sense, an ideal city, in which the labours of all future builders have to be taken into account. Why is Lucknow different from Calcutta, Bombay from Benares, Delhi from Ahmedabad? Looking for the answer to such a question, do we not perceive, finally and conclusively, that the seen is but the sign and symbol of the unseen, that the material is but the mask of the spiritual, that things are but the precipitate of thought? Why is Paris or Rome so different from

Amritsar ? The history of ages and continents lies in the answer to that question. The highest visible symbol of human aspiration may perhaps be an altar. The most perfect visible symbol of our unity is undoubtedly a city.

The city is something more than the aggregate of the homes that compose it. These homes are themselves grouped according to a certain pattern, in observance of unwritten laws of order. Houses and gardens scattered at random would promise but a short future to the space of ground on which they stood. Peoples may differ widely in the degree of their civic development, the magnificence of their public buildings and the like, but in the orderly evolution of a single street or lane, we have the tacit admission of the presence of the guardian spirit of cities, and the promise of the future benediction, should it be invoked. Beyond this, there may be beauty or design. In Paris, almost every great roadway ends in a large space of lamps and gardens which forms in itself the centre of a star ; and almost every avenue, forming its-ray like vistas, leads to some prominent building or memorial. So, as we stand in the place de la Concorde we look up the great roadway of the Champs Elysees to the Napoleonic Arc de Triomphe, where it crowns the gentle elevation in the distance. Or so, from the gilded statue of Joan of Arc, we may look into the place de la Concorde itself, with its obelisk and its statues, and the watching circle of cities. Scholars say that only a hunting people,—accustomed to scan many of the forest-glades for the country from a single centre, would express themselves naturally in so stellate a design. And certainly in the Indian Jeypore, we have the rectangular plan of the rice-fields reproduced, with their intersecting paths.

But, however this be, it is clear that as the city is more than an aggregate of private homes, so the commune represents a grouping that transcends the family in complexity and importance. The past, present and future of the family are bound up in its caste and occupation ; but the commune may embrace all castes : it transcends all. It seeks amongst all alike for its sons, its lovers, its servants. It imposes no restriction of destiny or birth. The scavenger who serves well the civic ideal of cleanliness is a better citizen than a Brahman, if the latter serves only himself. Not caste alone, but also the church, is to be forgotten for the city. Hindu and Mohammedan in this relationship are on one footing. Not only differences of religion, but those also of race, of language, of age, and of sex, are to be lost in unity of citizenship. All these elements of diversity are but so much fuel for the fire of joy, amongst brethren. The reader of.....“Anne of Geirstein” will realize that there is no nationality in Europe stronger than that of Switzerland. Yet this tiny country is divided between these languages and two religions ! The parish-village is as precious to the southern town as the temple close with its rows of Brahman houses. The school, the university, and the playground for the babies, are everywhere as essential as the council of the elders. The Mohammedan peasant is every whit as dear to Bhumia Devi, the Goddess of the Homestead, as the Hindu workman. All Humanity is necessary to the heart of Humanity, every single soul of us to the great whole ; and best of all in the complexity of the civic unity, is the individual mind enabled to grasp

this fact. What we call public spirit is simply the reflex in a given personality of the civic consciousness. That is to say, public spirit is the expression of the character which is born of constantly placing the ego, with the same intensity as in the family, in a more complex group. There thus come into being new duties and new responsibilities, and the ideal of the civic integrity towers above all the lower and more private achievements of the kindred, or the clan.

What, then, is the fundamental bond that welds so single, communal personality? Does it not lie in the equal relation of each of these to the common home? There is no motive in life like the love of the dwelling-place. The spot on which a city stands is in truth a great hearth—place of human love, a veritable altar of spiritual fire. Guarded by a rude rock, on the slopes overlooking the sea, stood Athens. Nestling in a cup amongst her seven hills lies Rome. Nestled about her islands, they built Paris on the Seine. But of what dreams, what poetry, what prayer, what love and triumph did not each of these become the centre! The gods themselves were pictured, fighting for the chosen soil. Pallas Athene guarded Athens. Rome thought of herself as the eternal city. And in Paris, only the other day, the hand of Puvis de Chavannes has painted for us the beautiful legend and we learn that deep in its own heart the most modern and worldly of cities cherishes the faith that in high heaven, amongst the saints, is one who intercedes for it!

But why travel so far afield for inst.....of the idealising of the abode? What of..... built about the vedic hearth, that today is the golden grating of visweshwar? What of Allahabad, with her thousands of pilgrims, bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganga-Jumna? What of Cheetore, with her cathedral-church of Kalika Kangra-Rani, Queen of the Battlements? What of Calcutta, where appears Nakuleshwar, as guardian of the ghat of Kali? From end to end of the peopled earth, we shall find, wherever we look, that man makes his.....of a surpassing sanctity to himself and others, and the divine mingles with the the domestic fire on every hearth.

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1908, Pp. 1-4



Nationality, Past, Present And Future

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The opening of a New Civil Year brings with it an irresistible association of account taking. We look to see where we stand. Especially do we look to see where nationalism stands, at the beginning of this, its sixth year of recognised and organised life. Events good and bad have crowded themselves into the year that is past. The deportees are still languishing in prison, still without trial, still being prayed for by friends and families who try to hush all mention of their names, lest agitation should react badly on the devoted heads of husbands and fathers. And the Government is still under the fond impression that in Aswini Kumar Dutt, Krishna Kumar Mitra, and their like, it has laid by the heels profoundly dangerous persons ! This grotesque error would have made us smile, if its results had not first filled our hearts with such grim bitterness, that till we look again on their honest faces and hear once more the sound of their voice, smiles will be impossible in the world of Indian politics.

Nationalism, however, it is well to remember, is not politics. Politics is a matter of practical and momentary issues. It is concerned with public affairs, and with the voices and opinions of rulers and ruled. Politics is a field of strategy, it is a game ; is a struggle of views and interests, in which now one side wins, and then the other ; in which there is a constant ebb and flow of victory or defeat, in which the master-motive is the practicable and the expedient. Nationalism, on the other hand, is a religion. It

is an ideal, a burning faith, and as such, it reeks neither of failure nor success. "The blood of martyrs", says an English proverb, "is the seed of the Church". And so with Nationalism. The fall of a man here, instead of depleting the cause, draws in new adherents. Men feel that they have found, at last, that thing to which they can give a life. The soul is at bottom a moth. It longs far more for the flame into which it may throw itself, than for the restrained and modest pleasures of a comfortable living. Even very ordinary persons are capable of rushing upon death for a cause, with infinite joy. The fever of battle is not felt by the great alone. The real masters of the world are those who see this thirst for self-sacrifice in man and make scope for it. An English social thinker pointed out recently the immense social evolution that may be traced in the single institution of human sacrifice. The 'dread rite', he says, has never been known to occur amongst any people who did not combine in their social formation a race of conquered and a race of conquerors. But it begins with the offering to the gods by the conquerors, of one of the servile people, and it ends, in a remotely higher stage of civilisation, with the offering, by the conquerors, of one themselves. Even politics end, then, in self-immolation! But we being already evolved to this extent, nationalism is undoubtedly the central inspiration of India to-day, because it comes to us, bearing the form and features of that Renunciation which has been the passion of our race for thousands of years.

Renunciation is in itself salvation, according to Indian thinking. No need to offer us Heaven by way of mithai, sweetmeat or reward! To forget self is Heaven. To be lost in the larger life is the ultimate goal. Life and death, duty and supreme sacrifice,—all these are only the forms under which Freedom manifests itself; Freedom itself is above them all, it is the life beyond self. This Freedom, to-day, is offered, under the name of Nationalism, in a way in which all can share in it. The life of monk or avatar was possible only to one man amongst millions but the age of the Many has dawned. Nationality calls on the millions to be heroes.

In this cause, there can be neither high nor low; neither Hindu nor Mohammedan: neither great nor little. There can be only national and un-national. The great defect in all our earlier waves of nationality lay in this fact, that they were local and partisan. They always tended to open old wounds, to revive old feuds. This is the weakness of all love, when it is not sufficiently transfused by thought. The emphasis laid on affection, bring prejudices also, into high relief. Even Bankim Chandra Chatterji could go no further than this. The same has been the weakness of all movements in Maharashtra and the Punjab. The revival of an ancient glory is also the revival of an ancient enmity. It was for this reason that the real impulse of the future could only be born in Bengali,—in Bengali with her great heart and constructive imagination; Nationalism, it must be understood, is a Gospel, and it includes every section of the Motherland. WE ARE HINDUS, BUT WE DO NOT EVEN WANT A HINDU INDIA, ANY MORE THAN WE WANT A MOHAMMEDAN INDIA, WE WANT AN INDIAN INDIA. Hindus themselves would lose by a Hindu India, more than they could possibly imagine themselves to gain. Mohammedans would lose equally by a

Musalman India. In the India of the future, both these have to play their part. The fire has to be lighted on the common hearth. It is the life of a great mutual commonwealth, not that of any single section, that will be created; the good of the whole that will be enthroned.

At the present stage of our existence, some of us may fret, that it is not given to us to do more than dream. Let no such despair move us. The universe is the expression of ideas. Thought governs all things. All that is, is the fruit of dreams. All causes have their effects, and an idea is a cause. Let us elaborate the idea, work for the idea, give utterance to the idea. As the arrow finds its own way to the mark, so will this idea, change the face of the visible world.

From the Punjab and the North-West comes the news of the progress of the very ugly political movement, by which Hindus and Mohammedans are being set at variance with one another. Nationalism, it appears, is not a word of which the Mussalmans of those parts care to take much account. And the bitterness of one side is not without its echo on the other. Who has engineered this movement, it is needless to say, needless even to ask. It is enough, that they may for the moment congratulate themselves on perfect success. The higher education of Mussalmans, also, has been made productive of a further crop of the same sort. Bitterness and sectarianism, and a short-sighted narrowness are, it is expected, to be brought forth constantly, so long as the summer and winter fail not and so long as the sun and the moon endure. Can it be that men, daring to call themselves men, can permit themselves to think and scheme in this way? Deliberately to sow strife between brother and brother of the same household, for the destruction of both; deliberately to set fire on the threshold, that the doors of the home may be burnt down, and the seat of Lakshmi become a smouldering ruin, whence came the souls that can delight in such deeds? Of what kind are they? Was it of such things as this that the Hebrew masters of denunciation spoke, when it was declared "they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind"? We are constantly asked, however, how is this to be counteracted? Is there any hope for Nationalism, unless Hindus and Mussalmans co-operate? What is to be done? what hope is there for us?

In the first place, we are in the hands of God, not on our own shoulders is the responsibility of the future. This is but to take the next step forward in the dark, holding hands, and joyfully singing the while. The Power that to-day displays itself as absolute defeat will to-morrow have turned that very defeat into victory. Where our weakness appears, there, in the workings of destiny, shall our strength shine forth. Let none be sure, therefore, that in seeking to rouse a premature political strife, they have not actually prepared the ground for a deep and abiding union, between the Hindu and the Mohammedan, in the service of the common nationality. People are only too apt to fall themselves into the snare they dig for others! This is a very ancient trick of fate.

Secondly, is there any hope for Nationalism, in the event of a misunderstanding between Hindu and Mussalman? Of course there is! We should like to work together. There

is no question as to the greater strength of the rope that is made of double strands but this is a moral strength and clearness, only. In face of the immense numerical preponderance enjoyed by one of the parties, it would be quite clear even if the history of the past had not already elucidated it, that mutual co-operation of the two great sections of the Indian nation is only an advantage, not a necessity to nationalism. Hindus are no way inferior Hindu, not Mohammedan. We have the advantage in education. It is for the sake of Mohammedans themselves that we desire that nationality should be a common cause; not for nationality, which cannot ultimately lose, whoever opposes it.

The geographical position of Bengal makes it inevitable that the solution of the problem of our mutual relationships should be arrived at here.

"As long as Afghanistan towers upon the frontiers of the Panjab," exclaimed an excitable Arya Somaji once, to us "Hindu and Mussalman must be at variance, there!" And certainly religious developments make it very difficult for Panjabis, until they have mastered new areas in education, to realise a nationalism that includes two religions, without in any way weakening the religious force of either. In the North West Provinces the sharpness of the contrast may die down; but it was naturally in Bengal that the secret was found.

What is to be done? Go on realising the idea, of course! Struggling for its realisation in every way that opens up to us! Go on trying to conceive of nationality, trying to imagine a perfect civic life, and striving to work out what we have imagined. Go on deepening our own education, struggling for new means of lifting and widening it. Go on adding to our literature, aiding in the instruction of the people, extending industry, tightening the boycott, strengthening ourselves in every possible way, stamping out jute, increasing rice, adding to wealth, gathering public opinion, making it articulate, learning all we can of India, and chastening and informing our own love of her. This is an immense programme. It leaves little room for hopelessness. It is summed up in one word as Nation-building.

But our hope cannot be dimmed, for it is fixed in truth. The world is so fond of sectarian names that we forget that there is really, no such thing as a Hindu or a Mussalman. There are, really, only men, who call themselves by those names. All humanity is the prey of Truth. The right, the noble, and the high is the only propaganda, and all men are open to it. Let us only realise it clearly enough, and the world must be converted. We would fain realise Nationality in such a fashion that even they who fight against it, must witness, perforce, to the truth of it. Nay, do they not do so already? And the Mohammedan, who is as much the child of his mother as the Hindu, can he fight against her for ever? Or can the wells of knowledge be for ever poisoned? Woe be to the man who depends upon the making and telling of a lie, for verily his kingdom shall not endure! The cause that is based upon the common love, shall not lose one of its children, in the end. Ten years hence Nationalism will count its missionaries, its apostles and its martyrs, as much amongst Mohammedans as amongst Hindus. Nothing that has a soul can for ever resist God!

The Future Of India

INDIA'S History is the History of what people? On a day afar off the white Aryans entered India after overcoming all the stupendous barriers of nature and man ; by pushing aside like a thick curtain the dark wide forests which had spread over the face of this vast land from east to west, they opened the doors of a theatre, brightly lit up, open to the sky, rich with varied crops and plants. Their wisdom, their power, their devotion that day laid the foundations of Indian history. But they could not say "India is ours only."

The Aryans merged in the non-Aryans. Even in the primitive age when the Aryan power was unimpaired, they used to marry non-Aryan Sudra women below their caste. Thereafter in the Buddhistic age this amalgamation become more unrestricted. When Buddhism declined and Hindu society set to repair its ring-fence and wished to raise a granite wall round itself, the country's condition was such that in many places no pure Brahman could be met with, in many places Brahmans had to be invited from other provinces, and in many others, as tradition records, the king's command invested men with the sacred thread and turned them into Brahmans. The purity of race on which the Aryans once prided themselves, has been defiled ; the Aryans, by mixing with the Sudras, adopting many non-Aryan customs, creeds, gods and rites, and incorporating them into their society, have created a new society named *Hindu society* which is not only different from but in many respects also antagonistic to *Vedic society*.

Did Indian history come to a full stop at this point in the past? Did God allow her to say "The history of India is only the history of the Hindus"? In the India of the Hindus, when the Rajput princes displayed the suicidal pride of valour by mutual war and carnage, in that age the Muslims entered the land through that loophole of internal discord; the new-comers spread on all sides, and by living and dying here for generations made the soil their own.

If we draw the line here and say, "Thus far, and no farther", we shall be only turning Indian history into a mere Hindu-Musalman history. But the Supreme Architect who is ever building up human society wider and wider from a narrow centre to a vast circumference,—will He drop that plan to gratify our pride?

It is a mistake to imagine that God's Court attaches any importance to the question as to who will own India,—you or I, Hindu or Musrlman or any other race that may set up its dominion here. Don't think that God is holding a court where the lawyers of different parties are fighting over their respective claims, and that when the case is finally decided, one party—Hindu, Musalman, English or any other race,—will get a full decree and set up its banner of ownership on the land. In our vain pride we imagine that in this world legal right fights against legal rights whereas the only fight waged is between truth and falsehood.

Whatever is best, whatever is fullest, whatever is the supreme truth, *that* is for all; and that is ever trying to assert itself through every conflict and opposition. In proportion as we try to advance *that* with all our will, in that proportion only will our efforts succeed. The attempt to secure one's own triumph, either as an individual or as a nation, has no abiding influence on the divine order of things. The banner of Grecian conquest, under Alexander's guidance, failed to bring the whole earth under one sceptre. The failure dashed to the ground Grecian ambition, but that ambition has no bearing on the world today. The Roman universal empire in the course of its building was split up and scattered over Europe by collision with the Barbarians. Rome's ambition was unrealised, but who in the world will mourn the loss today? Greece and Rome have loaded the reaped harvest of their achievements in the golden boat of Time, but they themselves have not got any seat for ever in that boat, and Time is no loser by this fact only it has been spared a useless burden.

The final purpose of the history that is being built up in India is not that the Hindus or any other race will predominate here. Indian history has no less an object than this,—that here the history of man will attain to a special fulfilment and give an unprecedented form to its perfection, and make that perfection the property of all mankind. If in modelling the image of this perfection, the Hindu, Muslim or Englishman utterly removes all trace of his own existing individual features, he may thereby no doubt destroy his national pride, but neither Truth nor Goodness will suffer.

We are here to build up the *Greater India*. We are only an ingredeint of it. But if any building material turns contumacious and says, "We are the final thing we will



not mix with the whole, we will preserve our separate existence,—“then all calculations are upset. A bit of ingredient that cannot be built into a vast structure but persists in maintaining its life apart,—is sure to be discarded one day. But he who says “I am nothing in myself; I am wholly reserved for that whole which is being built,” will lose his littleness and will be preserved for ever as a part of a vaster thing. Similarly, that element of India which refuses to mix with the whole, which wants to stand isolated from the rest by concealing itself under the veil of a particular past,—will only set up obstructions round itself, and the Divine Ordainer of India’s history will send down on such an element blow after blow till at last it will be either crushed by supreme suffering into sameness with the rest, or swept off altogether as a useless encumbrance. For, remember India’s history is not merely *our* history; on the other hand we have been collected here for building Indian history with. If we do not render ourselves worthy of this task, we alone shall perish. If we take pride in keeping ourselves pure and isolated by avoiding every sort of connection with every race, if we imagine that our history has been destined to perpetuate this pride in our successive generations,—if we imagine that our religion is ours only, that our ceremonies are peculiar to us, that none else should enter our place of worship, that our (sacred) lore should be locked up in our special iron safe,—then we shall be unwillingly declaring only this that we have been sentenced to death in the universe, and are waiting for it in a prison of our own building.

Recently the English have come from the west and occupied a chief place in Indian history. This event is not uncalled for, not accidental. India would have been shorn of fulness if it had missed contact with the west. The lamp of Europe is still burning. We must kindle our old extinguished lamp at that flame and start again on the road of Time. Do you think that our ancestors had 3000 years ago finished acquiring whatever the world can ever give to man? No, we are not so unfortunate, nor is the world so poor, as that supposition implies. If it be true that all that is possible for us to achieve was already achieved in the past, then we are utterly useless in the world’s field of action, and the earth will not retain such a burden as our race. If we believe that we attained to our utmost possible of perfection in the age of our great grandfathers, if we try, by means of all our ceremonies and dogmas, to avoid contact with the present,—then what *present* can urge us, what *future* can lure us on to an active existence? The English have battered down our shaky door and entered our house like the messengers of the world’s Feastgiver in order to kindle among us a new energy—an energy which will prove our conviction that we too are needed by this world, that our work here is not confined to our petty selves but must ever remain alive and keep us alive by forming a daily increasing and manifold tie of knowledge, of love, of deed, between us and general humanity,—by means of many contrivances, many instigations. So long as we do not achieve

the true purpose of the coming of the English, so long as we do not start in their company to join the world's great sacrificial feast,—even so long will they hustle us, break our easy slothful slumber.

So long as we do not respond to the call of the English, so long as our contact with them does not bear its true fruit,—we shall have no power to drive them out by force. The English have been sent (by the Most High) on a mission, viz., to prepare that India which sprouted in the Past and is now developing its branches towards the Future. That India is the India of all humanity,—what right have we to exclude the English from that India before the time is ripe for it? What are we to *Great India*? Is that the India of us only? And what are “we”?—Bengalis only, Marathas only? Punjabis only? Hindus only, or Muhammadans? No, those who will one day be able to say with perfect truth “*we* are India, *we* are Indians,” all (whether Hindus, Muslims, Englishmen or any other race) who will join that undivided vast ‘we’ and be incorporated with it,—they and they alone will have the right to order who should stay in India and who should go out of it.

We must fulfil the purpose of our connection with the English. This is our task to-day in the building up of Great India. If we turn our face aside, if we isolate ourselves, if we refuse to accept any new element, we shall still fail to resist the march of Time, we shall fail to impoverish and defraud Indian history.

The highest intellects of our country in the modern age have spent their lives at the task of reconciling the West to the East. For instance, Ram Mohan Ray. One day he stood up alone to unite India with the rest of the world on the common basis of humanity; no custom, no convention could obstruct his vision. With a wonderfully liberal heart and liberal head he could accept the West without discarding the East. In every department he alone laid the foundations of New Bengal. Thus in the teeth of every opposition from his fellow-countrymen, he all alone extended the field of our thought and action from the East to the West, he gave us the eternal heritage of man, the free heritage of Truth, he made us realise that we are of the whole earth, that Buddha, Christ and Muhammad lived and died for us, too. For each one of us has been garnered the fruit of the devotion of India's sages (rishis); in whatever quarter of the globe a great man has removed the barrier to Truth, or taken off the chains of inertia and set free the fettered powers of man, he is truly our own, each of us is truly blessed by him. Ram Mohan Ray did not keep the soul of India contracted or hedged round; he has made it spread in space and time, he has built a bridge between India and Europe; therefore it is that he still continues as a force in India's reconstruction. No blind habit, no petty pride, could lead him to wage a foolish conflict with the purpose of great Time;—of that purpose which did not expire in the Past, but, is advancing towards the Future, he has borne the banner, like a hero in scorn of all obstacles.

In Southern India, M.G. Ranade spent his life in linking together the East and the West. In his nature lay that creative power, that spirit of harmony, which binds men

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together, which builds up society, which banishes discord, and disarms the forces marshalled against truth, charity and activity. Therefore he could rise above all the sorrows and pettiness of the day, in spite of the diversity of customs and conflict of interests between Indians and Englishmen. His capacious heart and liberal intellect were ceaselessly busy in broadening the road by which India can acquire the materials for GREAT INDIA'S history which the English are bringing,—in removing every obstacle to the completion of India.

The great man whom Bengal lost a few years ago, Vivekananda, too, stood midway between the East and the West. His life's lesson is not that we should exclude the influence of the West from Indian history and keep India shrunk and stunted for ever amidst narrow conventions. His was the genius that can assimilate, harmonise, create. He consecrated his life to the task of building a road which Indian ideals may reach the West and western ideals may reach India.

From the day when Bankim Chandra in his Bangadarshan magazine suddenly proclaimed the feast of union between the East and the West, an immortal spirit entered Bengali literature; Bengali literature took the road to success by joining in the purpose of great Time. That Bengali literature has so rapidly grown is only because it has torn off all those artificial bonds which prevented it from uniting with the world's literature. It is being gradually so developed that it can easily make the ideas and spirit of the West its own. Bankim is great not merely by reason of what he himself wrote, but also because his genius smoothed the highroad of intellectual traffic between the East and the West in Bengali literature. The fact that this spirit of harmony has been set up amidst Bengali literature, has inspired its creative power.

Thus we see from every side that the truly great men of modern India, the inspirers of the new age, have such an innate liberality of mental constitution that in their lives neither the East nor the West is opposed and repressed, but both attain to fruition together.

Our educated men now-a-days think that the attempt of the various races in India to unite proceeds from a desire to gain political strength. But by so thinking we make what is larger subordinate to what is small. The union of all races in India is higher than all other aims, because it is only means of attaining to the fulness of humanity. Our failure to unite contracts the root of our humanity, hence all our powers have grown weak and are receiving checks everywhere. It is our sin; it has impaired our virtue, hence it has impaired all our powers.

Our efforts at union will succeed only if we look at this movement for union from that religious point of view. But the religious spirit is not limited within to any petty pride of race or political need. If we follow that religious spirit, our harmonising desire will not be limited to the numerous petty races of India, but will ever try to make even the English a part of the Indian nation.

How should we regard the hostility which has recently sprung up between the English and the educated (and even uneducated) public of India ? Is there no true principle involved in it ? Is it merely due to the arts of a few conspirators ? Is the present counter gale of hostility opposed to the history that is being built up by the union and conflict of the various races and forces that have assembled in the broad field of India ? Let us ascertain the real significance of this hostility.

The Indian philosophy of *Bhakti* regards even hostility as an element of union. The legend runs that Ravana gained salvation by fighting against God ! The meaning of the story is that we perceive a truth most intimately when we are defeated by it. If we accept a truth easily, unquestioningly, we do not get the whole of it. Therefore scientific truth has established itself only by fighting hard against doubt and contradiction.

We once went abegging to Europe, foolishly, inertly. Our reason was so clouded that we could not see that true acquisition cannot come from begging, that knowledge and political power alike have to be earned, i. e., to be acquired by one's own power in the teeth of opposition and conflict ; what is put as alms into our hands is not truly our own. A manner of acquisition which is humiliating to us cannot be a source of gain to us.

From this cause it is that for some time past we have rebelled against Western education and influence. A new-born self-respect has pushed us back from Europe towards our own country. In obedience to the will of great Time, this necessary self-respect arose in us. Hitherto we had been taking things from the West without examination, without objection, weakly, humbly ; we could not test them, appraise their value and thereby make them our own ; these foreign acquisitions had become the accidents or luxuries of our life. Hence there has come the force of reaction against them.

That Ram Mohan Ray could absorb the Western spirit was because the West did not overpower him, he was not weak within. He stood on his own achievements when he was gathering in foreign things. He knew wherein India's true wealth lay, and he had made it his own ; so, when he got anything from any other country, he had the instrument for weighing and measuring it. He did not, like a simpleton, sell himself for things whose value he could not understand.

This power which lay innate in the character of the first leader of New India, is now trying to express itself in us through many movements and counter-movements, action and reactions. Therefore, this attempt runs to the opposite extremes in turn. Extreme Anglo-phobia are alike pushing us and their resultant force is leading on to our goal.

The present conflict between the English and the Indians is the result of this reaction ; our inner nature was being crushed while he took in English thought and power inertly, submissively. The pain in our nature accumulated unseen, and has now suddenly revealed itself and turned the hearts of the country strongly away from things English.

Nor is this the only cause. The West has entered the house of India, we cannot turn it out in disappointment, we must make it our own by our own strength. If we

lack that native power of absorption, then the aim of Time meets with a check and causes a revolution. On the other hand, if the West guards to express its true self to us, that too will bring about unrest.

If we do not meet with what is best, what is true, in the English people, if we see the English chiefly as soldiers or merchants, or as the mere drivers of the official machine by which the administration is conducted, if we do not come in contact with them in the field where men meet men as friends and can take each other to the heart, if we are kept under regulation and isolation from one another, then each must certainly be a cause of great sorrow to the other. In such circumstances the stronger party can pass Sedition Acts and try to tie down in iron chains the discontent of the weaker party, but it will be only chaining discontent not removing it. Yet the discontent does not affect one party only. The English have no joy whatever while they live among the Indians as a painful thing to be put up with. At one time great souls like David Hare came very close to us and held before us a picture of the nobility of the English character, and the Indian students of that age really surrendered their hearts to the English race.

But the English professors of the present day not only fail to bring to us the best features of their race, but they, by lowering the English ideal to us, also make our hearts averse to the English from our childhood. The result is that our modern students do not accept English learning and English literature with all their heart as the first set of our students did; they swallow but do not assimilate. We do not now see any Indian student steeping his soul in the poetry of Shakespeare or burn with passionate enthusiasm as in the days of the old Hindu College. The loving connection which English literature can establish between us and the English race, is now meeting with checks. The Englishman in India, be he professor, magistrate, merchant, or police superintendent in all his dealings with us is not freely placing before us an example of the highest development of English civilisation. So the English are depriving us of the highest benefit we can derive from their coming to India, they are repressing our inherent powers, and curbing our self-respect. Good government and good laws alone are not the highest benefits to mankind. Office, court, law, rule,—these things do not constitute man. Man wants *man*, and if he gets that, he is ready to put up with many sorrows and many wants. Justice and law as a substitute for man is like stone as a substitute for bread. The stone may be a rare and precious thing but it cannot remove (the hear's) hunger.

It is because the full union of the East and the West is being thus obstructed, that all sorts of troubles are now raising their heads. It is an intolerable and harmful state of things when two races live close together and yet do not mix. One day the effort to remedy this situation is sure to assert itself. It is a revolt of the heart, and hence it does not count the cost of its consequences, it is even ready to accept suicide.

But, for all that, it is true that this repulsion is temporary, because we are bound to unite truly with the West, and India has no escape from accepting whatever is worthy

of acceptance in the West. So long as a fruit is not ripe it must cling to the branch, and if it is then detached from the branch it will not attain to maturity.

We are responsible for the failure of the English to fully unfold in India whatever is best in their race. Remove our want, and their miserliness will vanish of itself. The Scripture rightly says, "Unto him that hath, will be given."

We must gain strength of every kind; then only can the English give us that which they have come here to impart. So long as they despise us, our union with them is impossible, and we must again and again return empty-handed from their doors.

We cannot acquire with ease whatever is greatest, whatever is best in the English; we must win them. If the English are good to us out of pity, it will not benefit us. It is only by our humanity that we can rouse their humanity; there is no easier way than this to gain truth. Remember that whatever is best among English institutions has been acquired even by the English at the cost of hard suffering, storm and stress. If we wish to get that truly, we must have strength within us. Those of us who present themselves at the court of the English with folded palms and lowered head, in search of title, honour or post, only draw out the Englishman's meaner elements; they corrupt the manner of England's expression of herself in India. Again, those of us who, in reckless uncontrolled fury, want to attack the English wildly, only rouse the baser nature of the foreigner. If we say that India has stimulated to an extreme the Englishmen's cupidity, haughtiness, cowardice or cruelty, then it will not do to cast the blame for it on the English, we must bear the major portion of the offence.

In their own land, English society is ever applying various means from all directions to keep down the lower nature of the Englishman and rouse his nobler self; the whole force of society is working without respite to keep each member on a high level. By this means English society by sleepless vigilance is exacting for itself the fullest benefit that in general it can possibly derive from its body.

In India this influence of English society does not fully operate on the Englishman. Here the Englishman is not joined to any society with the fulness of man. The English society here is a narrow professional Civilian Society, Merchant Society, or Military Society. The conventions of each such society are constantly raising round it a hard crust but there is no force in powerful operation around it to break the crust by causing a contact with full humanity. The Indian environment can only develop them into strong civilians, devoted merchants, and pucca soldiers; hence we do not feel their contact as *human* contact. Therefore, when a Civilian sits on the Criminal Bench of the High Court we are seized with despair, because we fear that from him we can only expect a Civilian's justice and not a judge's justice.

Again, in our trade with England, Indian society, by reason of its misery and weakness cannot keep awake the Englishism of the English. Therefore, India is being deprived of the benefit which she might have got if true Englishmen had come here. We only meet with Western merchants, soldiers and Burra Sahibs of courts and offices, but the *Eastern man* does not meet the *Western man*. It is only because the *western man* is not revealing

himself, that we are having all our unrest and conflict, all our sorrow and shame. And we must confess that there is failing on our part too, for which the true English nature is not revealing itself, nay even undergoing a distortion here. As the Upanishads have it, "The Supreme Spirit cannot be attained by the weak"; no great truth can be gained by the weak; he who wishes to gain a god must have divine qualities in his own nature.

It is not by violent speech or rash deed that one's strength is shown. Sacrifice is the sign of strength. So long as the Indians will not welcome the good by displaying a spirit of self-sacrifice, so long as they will not be able to renounce fear, self-interest and comfort, for the good of the whole country,—even so long all that we ask for from the English will be like begging alms, and all that we get by so begging will only increase our shame and weakness. When we make our country truly our own by our exertions, by our sacrifices, when we establish our true right over our country by devoting all our powers to promote education and public health, and thereby remove all the wants of the country and make every improvement,—then we shall not have to stand humbly before the English. Then we shall be comrades of our English rulers in India, then the English will have to live in harmony with us, then there will be no meanness among us and consequently no shortcoming on the part of the English. So long as we, out of personal or collective ignorance, cannot treat our countrymen properly like men, so long as our landlords regard their tenants as a mere part of their property, so long as the strong in our country will consider it the eternal law to trample on the weak, the higher castes will despise the lower as worse than beasts,—even so long we cannot claim gentlemanly treatment from the English as a matter of right, even so long we shall fail to truly awaken the English character, even so long will India continue to be defrauded of her due and humiliated. Today India is on every side defrauding and humiliating herself in scripture, religion, and society; she is not awakening her own soul by means of truth and sacrifice; therefore she is not getting from others what she otherwise might have had. Therefore the union with the West is not becoming complete in India (as it has done in Japan), that union is not bearing full fruit, but only giving us shame and pain. We cannot escape from this misery by overthrowing the English by force or cunning. When England's union with India is perfected, all need of this conflict (between the English and us) will cease of itself. Then in India province, will join province, race will join race, knowledge will be linked with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour; then the present chapter of Indian history will end and she will merge in the larger history of the world.

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The Place Of Education In National Regeneration

It has already been observed that when *The Modern Review* made its debut into our national life, the process of renaissance which has been going on for well nigh a century, had arrived at a phase of regeneration and reconstruction that marks the opening years of a distinctive stage in our national evolution.

We have already seen how vital a part English Education played in the earlier phases of this renaissance. Indeed, it would be true to say that one of the principal instruments of this renaissance was itself the introduction of English Education into this country which, by creating contacts with the dynamic mind of early modern Europe, re-awakened the Indian mind from the torpor and placidity of a paralyzing medievalism into which it had fallen with the revival of the Brahminical cult and the re-established dominance of sacerdotalism in the Indian social polity. There is no doubt that the Islamic conquest had, in limited measure, generated tiny pockets of rationalism among the infinitesimally small community of Arabic and Persian scholars, but the Indian priesthood was, nevertheless, able to maintain its undisputed dominance over the Indian social polity. In fact Raja Ram Mohan's own militant rationalism drew early nourishment from his deep Arabic and Persian scholarship which led his inquiring mind to study the scriptures of other religious faiths and cultural movements in their respective languages and, thus, enabled him to lay the foundations of system of Comparative Theologies and Comparative Religions the study of which is now known to have fed and nurtured that catholic universalism towards which the Raja's own quests had been increasing directing him and which is now accepted as the only hope for the future survival of the human species.

At the turn of the century with the rise of what may be described as the school of *positive Indian nationalism*, the question of Education assumed a vital significance. It should be realised that the preceding generation of our national leaders were only able to conceive of an Indian nationhood in the context of continued and continuing British political overlordship or suzerainty. They were unable to think in terms of a wholly self-reliant and self-dependent Indian nation exclusive of any connection with the British,—at least in the voluminous political literature of that period of our history no evidence to the contrary has, so far been, discovered. It was only with the turn of the century and the rise of what, for lack of any other more adequately descriptive term, may be described as the *New India* school of political thought, that thinking in this, so far unexplored direction, appears to have commenced. It appears to have horrified our older generation of national leaders some of whom even went to the length of tendering their public apologies to the British Government and Parliament for this what they described as wholly “irresponsible statements by a microscopic band of hot-headed youths *who represented nobody*” and hoped that the British Government would not, on this account, be dissuaded from honouring certain commitments they had already made as regards the appointment of a representative Indian to the Viceroy’s Executive Council.

But these irresponsible and hot-headed youths “who represented nobody” were able to attract such a large following from among the intellectuals of the country, that there were even a few defectors from the older leadership to this new school of thought. Thus, we find the late Asutosh Chaudhuri, while presiding over the Bengal Provincial Conference in 1904 in Burdwan, denouncing the methods employed by his erstwhile colleagues on the old Congress platform, as sheer political mendacity. The cult of self-determination and self-reliance which asked for no concession whatever from the British rulers but demanded that our people, by their own constructive effort, earned the right to determine and regulate the policies which would guide the governance of the country, came to be almost universally accepted all over the country outside the limited circle of the old Congress leadership. Indeed, the old leadership had to compromise with this new school of thought; thus we find the late Surendranath Banerjea accepting the leadership of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal on the distinct and clearly laid-down foundation of self-determination and self-dependence.

Indeed, later historians generally agree, that Lord Curzon’s Partition of Bengal was mainly inspired by the need to counter this rising tide of self-reliant and militant nationalism by an application of the notorious and well-tried policy of “balance of power”. The lines followed in determining the principles of the Partition would indicate that what Lord Curzon desired was not really to ensure greater administrative expediency and cohesion but to isolate the people of Bengal into separate and self-exclusive compartments along communal and so-called linguistic lines. The anti-Partition agitation demonstrated that the younger Indian leadership had not merely seen through his game with perfect clarity of understanding but were even able to turn the table upon the author of the

Partition itself, by utilizing the occasion with almost prophetic pre-vision of the future to fashion and mould a self-reliant and fearless nation which would now begin to work for its own emancipation along fresh lines which would completely rob the British of all initiative or even discretion in the process.

In fashioning this new kind of militant nationhood, the leadership of the movement realised from the very beginning the vital role that education of the people must play in the process. With an unusual sense of realism they foresaw the need to wrest the initiative in the educational structure of the country from the British and make it nation-oriented so that the mind of the educated may no longer remain shackled to British thought and European institutions and be made free to draw nourishment from the country's own history and institutions. What they desired was not to push the country back to mideaval traditionalism ; but to clear the educational atmosphere of the cobwebs of British traditionalism which had inevitably crept into its structure under official design and influence. When education had become fundamentally Indian in content, they realised, it should be dynamic enough to gather and assimilate knowledge from the entire universe. The purpose of education was, fundamentally, to release the human mind from the shackles of inherited, imposed or environmental inhibitions into the dynamics of creative freedom. It was with this purpose that the leaders of the Movement organised the National Council of Education. Apart from secondary schools of the high school standard, the Council organized numerous primary schools with a view giving a national slant to what may be described as liberal education. But one of the most important projects of the Council was the Bengal Technical Institute where engineering and allied technical skills would be developed along modern but nationally oriented lines and the Association for the Cultivation of Science was promulgated to encourage and foster fundamental scientific research.

Due to a system of tremendous official obstruction and oppression most of the national high and primary schools eventually died out, but both the Bengal Technical Institute and the Association for the Cultivation of Science survived and continued, against the heaviest odds, to do a great deal of very valuable work. The munificent gifts of the late Rashbehari Ghosh and other generous donors enabled the Bengal Technical Institute to eventually acquire the status of a full-fledged and multi-purpose engineering institution and and, after the attainment of Independence, it has attained to the status of a University with a wide range of faculties and Departments of post-graduate researches and studies. The Association for the Cultivation of Science has also continued to hold its own in the field of fundamental scientific research.

But if the high and primary schools had died out, the policies and objectives of the National Council of Education not merely continued to survive but had begun to increasingly overlay and influence the country's over-all educational policies and programmes. But for the active intrusion of the National Council of Education into the field of general education the process of emancipation of education from a paralyzing measure of official initiative

and control would, conceivably, have taken much longer than it had. The result had been that even during the British regime education, in general, had largely become autonomous in the country and was able to follow lines largely independent of official British imposition and guidance.

The process was already well established when *The Modern Review* intruded into the country's intellectual and cultural life a little more than sixty years ago. Education and its myriad problems and its social and national objectives naturally became one of the principal concerns of *The Modern Review* and we find even as early as the initial year of its publication, valuable and thoughtful contributions being made by it to the existing thinking on the subject. Indeed, *The Modern Review* might claim to have considerably widened the educational horizon of the country even from the year of its inception and to have struck several new and fresh lines of speculation calculated to broaden the concepts of a dynamic and fuller educational programme.

In the following pages we are reproducing some of these thoughts to which *The Modern Review* gave expression from time to time and most of which would seem to be amazingly relevant even to this day.



National Education

In some places, national schools have been opened, mostly for secondary education. We do not deny their need and utility. But primary schools of this description are at least as necessary. There ought not to be any excuse for saying that the more well-to-do classes care for the education of their own children alone, that the bureaucracy are the real ma-bap of the farmer and peasant folk, the artisan and the day-labourer, and that those who are conscious of the fact of nationality do not practically show that they so feel the bond of nationality as to extend a helping hand to the dwellers in huts who are really the nation. Our indifference in this matter would be fatal to the national cause.

Our demand for independent schools does not mean that Government need not or should not educate the people. We demand and would eagerly welcome and accept universal free education, by whomsoever given. But in India so much leeway has to be made up that unless both Government and the people make strenuous efforts to give the benefits of education to all children of school-going age, the solution of the problem must be relegated to a distant future. Departmental methods have the tendency, moreover, to run on a single groove ; whereas it is only by a wide variety in educational methods that the many needs of human nature and of the various classes and individuals living in a country can be met. Besides, as we have hinted above, it is not the business of an alien Government to foster the growth of patriotism and nationality. In fact the tendency may sometimes be justly suspected to lie quite in the opposite direction, as the elimination of English history from the Calcutta University curriculum shows.

Nothing therefore, is so important as our halting attempts at national education. "Heroes," as a great man said to a friend the other day, "are made, not born, by heroic thought". It is the greatest mistake to think that heroes are born, like poets. Nothing of the sort. All of us have the stuff in us. It wants encouraging, and it wants

opportunity. That is all. What! Are Indians less heroic than other people? Not to refer to the past achievements of Hindu and Mussalman commanders and common soldiers alike, are Indian soldiers of the present day inferior in gallantry to Europeans? And heroism is displayed not chiefly or in its highest form in the battlefield alone, nor is its confidant to the male sex. An ancient form of benediction in India to women was, "She the mother of heroes. But it is only women cast in heroic mould that become the mothers of heroes. Every school-boy knows the names of Indian heroines. But among Indian women were they alone heroic? What of suttee? This is isolated heroism of the spirit. What the world trembles before is united heroism, aggressive heroism, heroism of the muscles. The latter, however, to those really capable of the former, is mere child's play.

Human beings, however, are easily hypnotised by ideas. Surround a child with an atmosphere in which he is familiar with the idea that all his ancestors have been cowards, and the boy will become like, not the real but the imaginary, forefathers. It is for this reason that national education is so important. No other can really interpret the national past to the children of the nation.

Look at modern armies. A thousands men live in cantonments under the charge of two or three officers, and fail to realise what slaves they are. They rise and go to bed at the hour laid down. They marry if they have permission. They submit to punishments like so many children. And finally, it is even expected that they will stand up and face death without breaking ranks. The thing is absurd, incredible, yet it is true—armed men marshalled and disciplined and set up to be shot at, by a few non-combatant officers. Yes, it is true. And more. We know that just in proportion as we ourselves were highly developed and sensitive, we should find it impossible to break the ranks. We should obey implicitly those absurd orders, subversive of commonsense and natural instincts of self-protection. We should share in the hypnotism. This is why one idea can only be killed by another idea. This is why miracles are and will be worked in India by the word nationality. It is why national education is so all-important.

THE MODERN REVIEW

1907, Pp. 417-18



Free Education

Every civilised country has long recognised the duty of the State to provide free education to all children living therein, and compell those to attend school who might not desire to do so. The British Indian Government has not yet done its duty in this respect. The Imperial Government has no doubt invited the provincial Governments to express their opinions on the subject ; but it is not known when the decision of the former will be published. In the meantime let us try to see clearly what the consequences of free education given by the state in a subject country like India are likely to be. The first result would probably be the disappearance of all private primary schools, unless, of course, individuals or association maintained such institutions of their own. It is notorious that in recent years all vernacular text-books have been so expurgated or written to order as not to contain a single sentence or passage that breathes heroism and patriotism, and fills the mind with a desire to serve the motherland and assert national rights. History has been and in future will be distorted in increasing measures to suit the purposes of the foreign bureaucracy. This is enough to show the kind of literature that will be provided for primary school children. Shall we, therefore, oppose free education? No thousand times no. But what are we going to do to provide our national patriotic literature to children and the mass of the people, and thus take advantage of the educational weapon to forward the national cause? What are we going to do to provide independent free primary schools for our children in villages and towns? The Government does not care much for discontent and unrest in the ranks of the educated minority. But it certainly desires that the mass of the people should be on its side. And more and more legislation and administrative measures will have the tendency to create an opposition of interests between the classes and the masses. Have we sufficient foresight and patriotism and energy to percieve all this and create a solidarity of feeling and interests among the classes, or have we not?

The Education Of Girls And Women

In Council Chambers, official reports, and our own conferences, the question of the education of girls and woman has fortunately of late been somewhat to the force. But the paramount importance of the question and its exact bearings do not always seem to be properly understood. The vast majority of Indian girls and women are illiterate, though we do not admit that our women are, on the account, without any education. In the domestic virtues, and some social virtues, too, they are unsurpassed in all the world. This certainly implies education. They have education of a certain type, therefore, but it is not of a form adapted to modern exigencies. We have to change its form and make it wider. The change of form must, however, preserve the old altruism, or we shall have deterioration in character, the most precious objective of all educational processes. Yet men also must seek the education of woman ultruistically, for the sake of woman herself or the country, not because it is convenient to have a wife who can read the clinical thermometer or keep accounts or write a letter, a delightful to have one who can sing or even discuss archaeology!

We seem to hear the ideal womanhood or India that must co-operate more and more with her manhood for the upbuilding of the nation, say: "You men, who have hitherto had this exquisite reverence for women, as for one too holy to be looked upon, have now to become her developers, the sculptors of new types, the 'mothers as it were, being men, of a new greatness and masculinity in women. In order to do this, you will have to look her firmly and squarely in the face, estimating her real virtues and also her faults without false sentimentality. Woman is sometimes, but by no means always, a veritable goddess. In future you cannot be only worshipper. You will also sometimes have to become the surgeon, and yet with all this, you will need the old reverence and ideality more than ever. Like the mediæval sculptor who held that the angelic form already existed within the marble block, his task being only to set it free, you also will believe in the Ideal which mind and soul are already struggling to reach, your task being only to set them free for the flight upwards.

"More and more you will need and seek clear thought as to what is strong and what weak in woman, and having reached it, you will worship the strong, not necessarily the attractive or the winsome, or the beautiful, but always the strong. Men, with regard to women, may be divided into well-marked classes and only the greatest and strongest seek for strength."

THE MODERN REVIEW, 1907

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Foreign And National Elements In Education

The burning question amongst us with regard to Education, is of the relative positions in the ideal system of foreign and national elements. The theocratic, or strictly national education, is utterly inadequate to our present needs, unless it can be made to re-incorporate certain ideas of organisation and aggression, of offence and defence, which it must have included at one time, but which long ages of peace have caused to drop out of it. On the other hand, those persons who have been sacrificed, in the name of reform, the national need of experience, persons who have been born and brought up in an artificial environment, amongst foreign ideas and foreign manners, their semblance of education lying in the glib use of the English language, have in no case attained a result which could invite others to follow in their wake. English and European learning, would appear to be necessary to efficiency; but they do not appear to have the power by themselves of creating efficiency. They do not appear to be any substitute for it.

We must remember that most people never achieve more than a smattering of knowledge. Judging from the experience of Bengal, it would seem that when this is foreign, the result is the death, if every thing resembling education. The Madras, amongst those 'low' castes who speak English live, and die, orphaned of human culture.

round, of language, habits, thought, and family the realm of foreign learning—such as we see because there is enough of childhood's memory mind back to a conception of solidarity without any such fundamental and preliminary here could this receive better illustration than among the Parsees. Men of the old mothers had been orthodox, and whose in-anished, these men were persistently and

generously Indian, and national; although their own lives might be European in form. Is the same true of the present generation of Parsees? What have they in own past that represents to them India? What tie of the heart is there? How could we expect, then, that they could look backwards—as India probably appears to them—for the line of their advance? If we analyse the education of the men who have attained distinction in modern India, we shall find that their dip into Western learning has invariably had behind it a strong vernacular backing.

This is the case with Rammohun Ray, Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Ranade, Bose, Tilak, Rajendra Lall Mitra, and a dozen others. It will happen occasionally that from Western learning, by sheer force of intellect and thought, a man will find his true place in the world, and come back to re-create it. But when this happens, it is always to mourn his own lack of national tastes and associations which ought to have been instinctive and innate.

No, the foreign learning is excellent, even necessary, as a tool, but not as a master. With our mother's milk, we must imbibe the thoughts and affections of the national life. Only the blossom that is perfect can form the cradle of the perfect fruit.

THE MODERN REVIEW

1907

Methods Of Education

Few subjects are at present regarded amongst us as of greater importance than methods of Education. The National Education movement has given scope which was much needed, to our love of country and sense of responsibility in this matter. And the result is not to make us desire to go back to the past, and become petrified there, but rather to make us thirst for the utmost that is known to day, that we may assimilate and attempt to re-apply it. We have as much use for the best that the world has attained in our schools and colleges of the present and the future. For this reason we welcome the papers on the Kindergarten, of which the first is printed in this number, and others are to follow. We hope that they will stimulate effort and enquiry in this direction. Every teacher of young children would do well to take up the problem of the child-garden school of India, as Froebel himself saw it for Europe, and see what he can make of it. It is certain that we have to find a new application of the principles discovered by Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Cooke. And it is also certain that everyone should be able to contribute towards that re-application.

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST—1908, P. 164

Liberty Versus Authority In Education

We wish to call the attention of all educationists to the article printed in this issue, on 'Liberty versus Authority in Education. The paper has a value for all of us, transcending its more immediate and direct application, so clearly does it distinguish between the authority that is merely repressive and compelling, and the authority that gives shelter to the growth of liberty, even in the earliest stages of development. Besides this, the paper affords us a glimpse into the perplexities and ideals of western civilisation. The strife of wills which it describes is perhaps an inevitable result of individualism carried to excess, and if we are to embark on such a phase of evolution it is all important that we should, from the beginning, carry with us the corrective of appropriate saving ideals. Many forces in the life of to-day are propelling us in the direction of smaller family-groups and greater social isolation in cities. While we yield to these influences, as we must do more or less, let us not forget the sweetness and glory of our past. Let us never decry the deep civilisation of our communal life, in home and village, where the old and the young form a common care, and find a common happiness ; where labour is shared, and the social will is expressed through the individual, in sweetness and sacrifice. Keeping a firm hold on these virtues and achievements of our dharma, we shall be the better able to make our advance in isolation, an advance also in that mutual generosity which is 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.'

But there is a more direct and obvious value in the paper published, than any of these. It is true that the estrangement here described as between parent and child, is somewhat startling to the Indian mind. It is true that the principle laid down by the

writer, has been enunciated in the famous Sanskrit maxim, "After sixteen, a father should treat his son as his friend." But, on the other hand, if for parent we substitute teacher, or school master, throughout this paper if for 'home,' we read school or college, we shall find the method described, and the question discussed, exceedingly illuminating. There can be no doubt that now, and for some years to come, education is our national function. It is a function that no other can perform for us. When Prof. Geddes commenting on Sir Henry Craik's remarks on this subject, said recently that the last persons to be entrusted with the problem of its future direction were those "wooden heads," the Europeanised lawyers and others, whom Government Education in this country had already turned out, he was wrong, wooden-headed as some of us may be ; it is we ourselves, and no other on our behalf, who have now, consciously and deliberately, to undertake the problem of our own education. We dare not leave it longer to others. We cannot longer profess the confidence that would make it possible to do so. Some of those who have been called 'wooden-headed' will undoubtedly be led to interest themselves in this great task. What then ? They are surely not more 'Europeanised' than Europeans themselves ! They have a love for their own land, and a sense of responsibility for the future of their own people to which it would be absurd for Europeans to lay claim. And however superficially Anglicised they may be, their subconscious knowledge and associations are all Indian through and through. We do not deny that they are likely to make some mistakes. But we do deny that their mistakes are not likely to be in any sense so serious or so misleading as those of foreigners. Better the very woodenest of these wooden heads of our own, than the utmost mechanical perfection of outsiders. From the point of view of the wooden-head himself, again, it may be asked, why is he wooden ? Is it not just because he has no opportunity of applying his education, such as it is ? He has a right to carry all the responsibilities, and do all the duties, of a man. Only by facing these can he rise into the fulfilment of his own humanity, and become truly civilised. As W. J. Bryan said of self-government, so we of education: "It is always only a relative term : No people do it so well that they could not be improved, and none so badly, that it might not be worse." We must express ourselves, nay, we have a right to express ourselves, and by self-expression, by steadily proceeding from known to unknown, to achieve our own development.

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST—1908, Pp. 162-63

Eduction And The Unrest

In the recent Indian debate in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon said, speaking of the causes of the unrest :

"It will be admitted by every one that first and foremost among these is the education we have given to the people of the country. It has taught the people of India the catchwords of Western civilisation without inspiring them with its ideas or spirit or inculcating its sobriety, (cheers). It has sharpened their intellect without forming their characters."

Lord Morley said : "I think his diagnosis about education...is thoroughly sound."
Lord Cromer said :

"I am in entire concurrence with the noble lord behind me (Lord Curzon) that by far the most important cause of all in producing this unrest is the system of education. The main defects of the educational system in India are twofold. In the first place, the education is far to literary ; there is not enough attention paid to elementary education, with the result that nothing has been done to temper the ignorance of the masses. Let us endeavour to rectify our mistakes in education, and do something also for elementary education."

Lord Lamington said :

"Every attention should be paid to the development of primary education...He would suggest that, without limiting the facilities for higher education, it should be given to the public at its proper cost."

(An eminently shopkeeperlike suggestion !) Similar views were expressed in the Commons during the Indian Budget Debate by Mr. Rees and others.

The only note of dissent in the Lords was sounded by Lord Courtney who said :—

The noble lord who opened the debate and Lord Cromer had referred to the system of education, as, perhaps, the primary cause of the political agitation, and they suggested some change in the mode of education to meet the evil in the future. That appeared to him a very narrow view of the education we had given in India. That system was bringing the educated Indian into contact with the ideas of the West, and it was impossible that anything his noble friend could do would prevent the intercommunication of ideas between East and West.

Reading between the lines of the different speeches, we conclude that Government is sure to limit the facilities for higher education. Whether primary education is really going to be extended, or the promise of its extension will simply be made a pretext for dealing a blow at higher education cannot be definitely predicted. We only note that in the Commons Mr. Buchanan has declared that "financial reasons prevented any large increase in the grant for education," which is a deathless old story. We are also sure that by technical education the noble lords meant chiefly the making of bronco and blanco and of tin boxes, and things of that sort. One thing is clear. We must henceforth depend for the education of our people very much more on our own resources than we have been accustomed to.

The noble lords forgot (as most Englishmen do) that England is not the arbiter of the destinies of India, —God is. If England had not given India Western education, there would still have come the present awakening. England has not given Western education to Japan, China, Persia, or Turkey. But there has been an awakening in all these countries. Even Turkey has now got a constitution, which has caused unwooted rejoicings among people of all creeds in that empire. It may be that by retiring entirely or partially from the field of high education, Government will really be instrumental in effecting a greater awakening than now,

Lord Curzon is of opinion that Western education has not taught us Western sobriety. Does he mean that we do not drink as little as Western people do? No? It dawns upon our mind now that perhaps he spoke of political sobriety. Perhaps he meant to hold up to our admiring gaze the breaking of the windows of ministers, Irish cattle-driving, fighting in legislative assemblies, and other sober political methods of the West, and condemned the violent Indian methods of sending humble memorials, passing resolutions, making speeches, &c.

Lord Curzon also said that Western education had not formed our characters. We should have been highly obliged if his Lordship had named a few prominent Englishmen whose characters he would like us to imitate. We wonder if Hampden and Pym and Milton and Wilberforce and the Seven Bishops and Latimer would have been among them ;—or perhaps Titus Oates? What is his idea of character?

THE MODERN REVIEW

August, 1908 P. 176-77

Defects Of The National Education Movement

When some years ago Sir Gooroodas Banerji published a book on education, it was observed that he had not a single word to say on the education of girls and women. It was all about the education of boys and young men that he wrote. This defect clings to the national education movement, with which he is prominently connected. It is a curious nation that thinks only of the men and ignores the existence of the women altogether. When the occasion requires it, the nationalist trots out the names of Sita and Savitri and Ahalya Bai to silence the adverse critic, but he is in many cases content to accept the (generally menial) services of his women-folk and to forget that Sitas and Ahalya Bais did not grow wild on the soil of India. There was some sort of culture, some sort of social polity at the bottom, and this culture did not consist in looking mainly to the creature comforts of the male population.

It is true the Indian man reveres his mother, and is generally subservient to the wishes of his wife. It is true also that the the Indian women's spirituality and spirit of self-effacement are in many instances highly developed. But it is also true that her mental horizon and sphere of work are in too many cases little better than those of a household drudge. To call her a Devi (a goddess) does not deceive her.

Another defect of the national education movement is that it has done almost nothing for the masses. The nation dwells in huts and hovels. To call a movement national which practically ignores these dwellers in huts and hovels is a misnomer.

No movement can grow and be permanent which is not broad-based on the people's welfare. Anglo-Vernacular schools may be necessary for the sons for the middleclass gentry, but primary Vernacular schools for the children of the poor are more urgently needed. The money that goes to maintain one High School will suffice to maintain twenty Primary Schools. And even if no outside help is received, there is not a village that will not support its teacher, who must, of course, board round, and be satisfied with meagre payments in coin and the overflowing gratitude and sincere respect of the villagers. And are not these better than what clerks generally get in Government and mercantile offices ?

Our Vernacular school literature has been sterilised. If we wish to make it inspiring, a primary national education movement is the only means that we can think of.

Indian Musical Education

[THE IDEAL OF ART-EDUCATION. EAST AND WEST. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS]

It is the duty of all artists to be beautiful. The ugliness of false asceticism has no place in their lives. They should be adorned, and in turn adorn all things both subtle and physical, with the same chaste and ceaseless and impassioned grace with which nature for ever beautifies her children ; and, like nature, they should be inspired of God.

Says the Mundakopanishad (1. i. 8)

“With brooding thought does Brahman swell ; thence unto substance birth is given ; from substance, life, mind, being, worlds, *and deathlessness as the result of (sacred) works.*”

To teach the sacredness of labour, then, is the first principle of all artistic education : to teach that beauty and truth are one ; that Brahman is both truth and bliss, which is only another way of saying that Brahman is beauty ; that if there is wrongness and sinfulness in any activity, these lie not in the actions but in personal desires ; that, like Mother Nature, beauty heals and blesses as the praise of God, but, blights and curses, if of the creature. Humanity, evolving in communal life, often shut away from nature outside, and from poetry within, needs men and women in its midst, whose lives are consecrated to the synthesising and generating, for the common weal, of the essential glories of the supreme. The arts are nature's beauties as they exist in the subtler human experience ; and we can no more rightly live without them, than could the flower and streams and clouds and moun-

tain ways, bereft of their abounding graciousness. For whether in nature or in man, graciousness—being “in a state of grace”—is the mood of which all loveliness is born.

The ancient music of India is a noble art which is too little heard in Indian homes to-day, and of the higher forms of which European musicians are, mostly, ignorant, and cultured Indians, mostly, contemptuous. Nevertheless, in spite of many untoward circumstances, it cannot die, because its roots are deep in the heart of the people, mingling with every phase of their rich imaginative natures, and with each cherished aspect, personal and familiar, mystic and transcendental, of their archaic but vital religious and social organism.

The best Indian music seldom reaches European ears, and vice versa. Our knowledge of the art is usually based upon quasi Vaudeville march music, or upon second-rate bravura singing, to the accompaniment of portable harmoniums and deafening drums—the results of missionary and brassband influences; or upon the rhythmically chaotic, mongrel European orchestral performances, by which modern Indian patrons of the art are stifling Indian musical genius, without, however gaining the spirit of European. There is no artistic reason, of course, why, if they want them, the principles of European music should not be rendered accessible to Indians, but this should be done in such a way as would not injure their national genius. If Indians of influence were sufficiently appreciative of their own music to insist upon its general performance; if the fine attainments of Indian musicians were thus brought to the knowledge of Western artists, and more especially of the persons concerned in Indian educational matters, then we might expect that these in their turn would present their musical ideas to the Indian consciousness in a more sympathetic, truly educative and assimilable form than they do to-day. Doubtless they would gain enormously for their own art in such an exchange, which, being sympathetic and scholarly, could only work good all round. The large importation of pianos, harmoniums, and gramophones into India for trade purposes, and the indiscriminate teaching of second-rate Western music to Indians, have done a great deal of harm, whilst, apart from these internal considerations, the half-heartedness of the majority of so-called ‘cultured’ Indians about their own splendid art has too long deprived the musicians and public of Europe of its treasures. I firmly believe that we need to bring the best of each to the other, if the finest results are to be obtained, and that in the great musical works of the future the elements of East and West will mingle in perfect harmony. Hitherto each has known, almost exclusively, only the worst of the other. Now an exchange of musical ideals does not imply, as some think, a “cosmopolitan art devoid of character,” because *true national traits emerge stronger under the stimulus of true international communion*. There is everything to fear from international relations which are based upon self-complacency on the one hand and thoughtless imitation on the other, but everything to be gained from artistic intercourse which is based upon mutual respect and mutual desire for self-unfoldment. I do not believe that the current of real European musical influences can or should be stemmed in India, any more than that the Indian should be stopped in Europe, but if the national art is to

to continue on healthful lines, the obnoxious compositions and instruments, which are now welcomed by the majority of Indians as representing the highest standard of Western art, should be sternly refused.

An eminent Western musician once severely punished his only and beloved daughter, because he heard her singing a second-rate song. No European artist would touch these things. A harmonium has never been heard inside a Western concert-hall. It is looked upon by European musicians as beneath contempt. Yet in the second Annual Report of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1910, we read of 111 out of 217 instrumentalists wasting their energies in the study of that rasping machine, and in all other teaching associations the conditions are as bad. *It is not Western musicians but Western trade which would force these things upon Indians.*

Those few Western musicians who have lately heard something about real Indian music, are enthusiastic in their praises of it. They have much to teach to Indians, certainly; but these artists of the West are the most ardent lovers of the little Indian music they have been able to hear, and if they would teach, they would also learn. Are Indians going to be ready to teach them?

Indians do not realize the magnificence of the art which is in their midst. Their musical instruments are full of marvellous beauty and resource. I recently took a Vina into Messrs. W.E. Hill and Sons in London—instrumental experts of Western fame. They examined it and commented upon the perfection of the bridge, which they presumed was of Western manufacture: "Not so," said I, "such bridges were in use in India when we were still living in the wild wood caves. It is more likely that the patterns of your beautiful bridges, Mr. Hill, came from India"—in which conjecture he was not loth to acquiesce.

Indian drums excel the Western in every way. Our drums can only make one note at a time, whereas I find, experimenting with Indian drums, that more than one clear note can be produced on the same drum, without turning between. An Indian drummer might laugh at this, as an exhibition of my ignorance. "For the drum is simply out of tune," he would say! Custom might call this out of tune. I am only concerned here with the actual tonal capacities of the drum, however, and although I have not heard this done in India, the fact remains that the superior tonal capacity is in the instrument, and it only awaits the composers and performers who shall bring it out. Then the rhythmic strong accent and sub-accent and subaccidental tonal contrasts which can be produced, by fingering alone, on these instruments, are matters of astonished delight to European connoisseurs. We have nothing to approach them in the West, and no technique of drumming to come near to that of the Indian expert. In India, however, the drum is considered to be a low-class thing! But Shiva beats the rhythms of the Universe on His drum—have not His devotees heard it?—and even if this were not so, the little drums of India speak their defence for themselves. They are beautiful and wonderful, and 'tis Indians that have made them low, these things which are gifts of the Gods, for human

joy and enheartening. There is something pathetic in the fact of an alien artist pleading with Indians for the proper appreciation and fostering of their own exquisite instruments. But I do not plead for India's sake alone, but because I know that a higher musical education in India will mean a greater awakening of spirituality than has ever yet fed the souls of men, throughout the music of the whole world.

Then there are the *sanai*, and *esraj* and *sarangi* and many other wind, bowed and plucked instruments. Judged separately, each of these possesses individuality of tone, beauty and ingenuity of construction, and capacity for technical development in a larger way than is usually attempted in modern India; though of course the superior construction of the instruments points to great technical achievements in ancient times, since it is players who evolve instruments, and not *vice versa*.

The preservation and improvement of Indian instruments, by fostering the crafts which are concerned with 'their making, and by finding means to keep the most advanced musical geniuses of India in practical touch with instrument-makers, so that every detail of their construction and improvement may subserve the requirements of modern composers and performers, are amongst the first and the most urgent necessities in any movement towards Indian musical education on a large scale. *There is little doubt that some Indian instruments will be found in the Western orchestra of the future: They cannot be heard in Europe without being wanted. In exchange for the gramophone, India will send to Europe—the vina!*

THE INDIAN ORCHESTRA AND MODAL HARMONY. NOTATION. VOCAL EDUCATION. CHORUSES, AND MULTISONANT IMPROVISATION IN RAGAS. MUSICAL LITERATURE OF INDIA.

There is a spontaneous tendency towards co-operative or orchestral music in modern India; and so far as I can observe, there are *many ragas which admit of the harmonic treatment which must be followed in the majority of concerted works.* Hence there is no reason why these works should not be composed along purely Indian lines. Up to now, however, this important fact,—a fact which opens up a vast and hitherto unexplored field of Indian musical activity—appears to have remained either unobserved or ignored; and the few Indians who have studied harmony have done so along the orthodox Western lines, with the result that any attempt to apply these Western nonmodal harmonies to their own art has completely obliterated its most essential characteristics. If anything of artistic value is to be accomplished along Indian harmonic lines, it will have to be through the adoption of modal harmony—i.e. harmony which is based strictly upon *melkarts* and *ragas*, either used singly or in combination; and in the musical education of the future, therefore, the inclusion of this study will be imperative, else Indian bands will continue to make discord in the national life. But such training cannot come from the type of European teachers who are not willing, or perhaps as yet unable, to adapt the harmonic principles of Europe to those of the Indian melodic ideal as embodied in *ragas*. The bulk of Western harmony is however chromatic

i. e., employs notes which are contrary to those of the key or mode. but even could this not be so, there are only three modes in general use in Europe, whilst in India we have to deal with a wealth of material, with 72 root-modes and innumerable *ragas* derived from these! The spirit of harmony must indeed come from Europe,—from European pioneers, may be—but not under the old Philistine conditions.

The question of a musical notation which could be accepted throughout India, and which, without unduly infringing upon vital traditional names and signs, but by supplementing them, would be adequate to express the musical development of the times, is also too complex for the present article. Such a notation is, however, amongst the first needs of Indian musical educationalists. The notations which I have hitherto examined I have found inadequate to express the full musical genius of the country; especially in concerted music, they would prove clumsy and confusing. A proper notation, having due regard to the quite peculiar exigencies of the art, could not, however, be constructed at once. It would have to grow by degrees, with the revival and expression of India's creative musical genius. The ancient songs can be expressed by existing Indian notations: the productions of the future will require something more complex.

Whilst it is certain that the general musical development in India is capable of still further acceleration in the directions of instrumental playing and of composition—by which no disparagement is meant of the beautiful achievement of individual artists—it is equally certain that along vocal lines a state of perfection has been reached which is comparable only with the grand—in India as yet unknown—instrumental art of the West, with which it stands parallel in greatness, though not in nature. The work of the future along lines of vocal education will be the removal of mannerisms, accretions, and conventions, which now in many cases deaden the powers of the singer. But to these already-developed powers, when freed, it seems, indeed, as if there would be no possibility of addition, so far as the individual is concerned; though it is not unlikely that, without losing their marvellous spontaneity, the Indian singers of the next few generations may conquer fresh fields in the direction of of choral amalgamation, voicing the awakened united national spirit in a national choir. But such musical organisation as this implies could not be achieved without first adding a thorough knowledge of modal harmony and a careful training in co-operative work to the other branches of music which are or should be mastered by Indian singers. European choristers may perform with scarcely any knowledge either of *tala*, of musical form, i. e. the balance and meaning of musical idiom and of phrases in composition, or of harmony, but the improvizational nature of Indian music demands a superlative degree of culture along these lines, if the unique objective powers of the Indian musician are to express themselves in works of concerted art. For it is within their power if rightly trained, to improvise in concert—a feat which, according to the annals of musical history—has never yet been perfectly accomplished. Yet I have heard it attempted in a remarka-

ble way by Indian amateurs of no special talent, when singing with them in Madras, and doubtless it has been better done on other occasions. The performances I heard were not works of art, but given training, no limit can be predicted to such powers. We have nothing like this in the West. Why...not Indians foster these gifts? The art of improvization in ragas, with its complex rules and arduous training, its psychic and physical discipline and control, may still be heard in its glory, amongst true Indian surroundings, where it wells up, bird-like, but with all the added powers of conscious creation, of human art. This splendid heritage, with its countless mythic and transcendental associations, it is a national duty to preserve, and to increase, from individual to multisonant perfections. And this can only be done by clinging to immemorial Indian traditions in music.

It is a deplorable fact that the immense resources of Indian musical literature have not yet been adequately interpreted to the world. Captain Day, in his *Music of Southern India*, mentions over 100 Sanskrit treatises on the subject, and there are many others in Sanskrit and in vernaculars, scattered about India. We should have expert translations of these, into English and vernaculars. To these ends, effort has not been wanting, but it has not met with the support warranted by its true zeal for national culture, its wise patriotism.

Beyond the immediately practicable aspects with which I have been dealing, Indian musical literature contains depths of essentially practical lore, occult and metaphysical latent possibilities which still await the coming of the genius who shall give them birth in sounds divinely inspired and divinely scientific. For, according to its noblest traditions, the archaic science of Indian music is a purely magical science and its performance, a magical art. May be, that magic is now overgrown with superstition, but Indians should beware lest in rejecting their accretions,—which they must do in any vitally educative movement—they do not lose also the treasures which are concealed beneath. The task of sifting the treasureheap is one which will occupy the lives of many students both of the East and of the West; to some extent, it has been accomplished, we may expect an influence from the East in the music of the West, as genuine and as enduring as that which has lately descended upon Western literature and philosophy, through the exertions of Sanskrit scholars. I lay this stress upon the advantages which are also to be gained by the Western nations from Indian musical education for Indians, because among the greatest privileges of true education, and tests of its worth is that which is within the reach of every Indian by birth, if not always by merit,—the privilege of teaching, after he has pondered, the wisdom of his sacred land.

III

SCHOOL OF MUSIC. PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS, THEIR TRUE CHARACTER AND DHARMA,

It would be contrary to the spirit and tradition of Indian music to endeavour to establish ordinary schools for its culture, or to foster it by public examinations; for it

is an expression of a mood so intimate and abstract, so compelling, so regardless of mundane restrictions, that the artist would be cut off from its very being in the ordinary attempt to discipline and render him 'normal'. It is largely because they have tried to run schools along European lines, that Indian music-lovers have not been able to produce anything musically great—of national importance—from such centers. The Indian musician must always be abnormal; but he needs special training nevertheless—or rather, just because of this,—a training which should be neither haphazard nor amongst degraded surroundings, nor in any sense as separating him-or-her-from the social organism of which he-or-she should form an integral part. In fact, he does not require modern school discipline at all, but training along ancient traditional lines. Under present conditions, professional musicians are not in all cases desirable persons. But Indian music cannot progress far without professional musicians, and therefore, it is of first importance, that they should have expert training, and that their calling, should be so honoured, as to make it impossible for individual musicians to disgrace it, without meriting the censure of the whole body to which they would belong. It must be remembered that there cannot be expert teachers, fine orchestra and dazzling choruses in India, until the musical profession is raised to a high level. Only those who spend their strongest energies in pursuit of the art,—in other words, professional musicians—can be ultimately responsible for diffusing it amongst amateurs; though it is amateurs, who by the fineness or coarseness of their tastes, the right or the reverse exercise of their patronage alone determine the nature of the art which shall be diffused, the heights or depths to which the majority of the artists, who depended upon them, shall reach. Indian amateurs should not therefore condemn Indian professional musicians, unless they are willing to take condemnation to themselves.

Under the altered conditions of modern times, it is therefore difficult to say how music, where practised in a large way, is to be severed from professionalism. But it is not at all difficult to see how professionalism in any art might become a noble calling—as it is intended to be—and how discerning amateurs and aspiring musicians of to day might combine to educate Indian talent in the spirit—if not altogether in the letter—of the ancient ideal, which has been successfully restored in other educational directions, and which is so essential to the proper unfolding of powers so subtle, and so dangerous if undisciplined by spiritual living, as those with which the Indian musical genius is gifted. If, as I believe, it is impossible in the nature of the case to establish 'schools' of Indian music, this does not mean that Indians have no responsibility in the fostering of the professional musicians who are in their midst; and wherever a truly great musician is found, and true greatness is always inseparable from spirituality, though that spirituality may not at times be able to shine through adverse circumstances, especially those of early training, there should be help forthcoming to protect it from worldly cares, and to enable it to form in itself the centre towards which pupils from all classes might naturally gravitate. This indeed is the only kind of 'school' which succeeds in music, and which lovers of India should revive

and hold up as an example to the world, i. e., the true heaven-inspired teacher, and the living disciples: from the one a spontaneous flow of wisdom unrestricted by 'system', unfettered by scholastic 'red-tape'; and from the others, affection and happy study and the assimilation of that which they can take naturally without haste, without the blighting fear of exams or the grinding need for 'punctual attendance,' other than that which is prompted by eager enthusiasm, under the benign influence of calm and fostering social conditions. It is for Indian amateurs, in the first place, to make these conditions; surely they will then have little to complain of on the score of professionalism in music. For it is in their power alone to convert the bread of shame into offerings to revered and beloved teachers and inspirers, men and women whose whole duty it is to court divine ecstasy and to sing of God in His creation. This is no mean calling, and nothing less than this is the dharma of the Indian musician. His is a perpetual profession of faith, and such a labourer is indeed "worthy of his hire."

The writer is of course, aware that there are professional musicians of great culture and high ideals in modern India but when the case is broadly viewed, these are found to form the exceptions. We need that—as in Europe—they should form the rule, the status quo of musical professionalism. The most unfortunate of my fellow-musicians, for I know that there are few indeed of these, to whom the message of the higher things of which music is the living channel, is not still the deepest note hidden within their hearts and in whom a dawn of better conditions would not bring to birth that greater hope, and with it a flood of the divine melodies which can scarce transmute their saddened lives to-day. Be it remembered that many have fallen, only because that which was demanded of them was less than that which they had to give. I believe—in spite of my knowledge of external facts which would seem to prove the contrary, I still believe—that the nature of that Indian musician is unique in the world, wonderful and totally misunderstood. If it were wisely dealt with, it would be, with few exceptions, neither lazy nor vicious, as it so often is now. It is a rare thing, and its wrongness—worst of all—is the wrongness of a rare thing crushed. Like all rare things it needs—as we should understand and foster some strange wayward child—beautiful and harmonious surroundings in order that its true quality may become manifest. It needs understanding and leniency, else it turns to venom and to revolt. Birds do not sing their best when they are unhappy; and deep beneath the surface there is a common nature in the bird and in the human songster. The Indian musical genius is entirely subjective. It rests on Brahma, "The song out-thinker" (Taittiriyaopaniṣad, Part II.). One of its peculiarities, scarcely ever realized, is that it is concerned, or worse, hurt, with the discordant concerns of the outer life. It is not foolish or lazy. Its dharma, on the contrary, is an intense inner activity, and therefore its duty is to neglect the outer. It should be served, it should be protected, for it serves us by rescuing us from our lesser selves. If and wherever these, its true nature and function, are frustrated there, maddened in the attempt to find itself, it may resort to every kind of excess, striving to obtain by abnormal means the sympathy, ecstasy and self-forgetfulness which are necessary to its true existence and manifestation, and which the in-

justice and callousness of its fellows will not permit it to attain, normally in profound dreams, unbroken by a harsh and philistine civilization, and to share, normally, in assemblies of men or of women who do not fear to exult together in the love of the divine, who do not shrink from and deface the myriad things fashioned by its tenderness, whose might, hid in these, the singer celebrates. Like birds and children and all things which bear the mark of heaven fresh upon them, true musicians never grow old, but play and play, listening to the eternal harmonies, forgetful of what men call 'life', until at last they sleep. They should never be expected to be otherwise, these harbingers of youth perennial; and if they are crushed among the stricken hoardes of an unlovely humanity, do we blame the birds, or the blinding heat and dust, when the days are silent, and our hearts unmoved by song? Dear to Christ were natures such as those of the musicians of India! Did he not say "Because thou art neither hot nor cold, I will spue thee out of my mouth?"—and in these musicians, men and women, are the sacred fires which, well guided, may burn through life to the Beyond. Let us not, then, despise even the least among these fiery ones, for have we not communed with the Gods through them?—and shall we not again, and more wondrously, when we seek at all times, not sensuousness, but SARASVATI in all, without exception, of these, Her embodiment on earth? It is only for us to seek, when they would surely respond.

Wherever music is beautiful, there resides a glorious soul, fit indeed, for our worship, yea and ever more so, the more our ignorance in its training may have soiled its vestures. For "out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth speaketh." Let us then again honour our musicians—not by our lips alone which we have done too long, to our own shame, but by our acts, remembering that our honouring must bear the richest, purest fruit, wherever we believe, and expect our artists also to believe, that the most perfect songs are less than the singer, and the holiest words, than he who speaks.

MAUD MCCARTHY

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Vernaculars As Media of Education

THAT boys and girls should receive knowledge through the medium of their vernaculars is the only natural arrangement. It is only the peculiar circumstances of India which necessitate a discussion of the suitability of a pupil's mother-tongue as the medium of instruction. Yet even in India, in the stage of a child's education, the vernacular is invariably the medium of instruction. We have, indeed, heard that in the Punjab children are taught in some schools through the medium of Urdu, though their mother-tongue is Punjabi. I do not know whether this is true; but, if true, it is only an exception to the general rule, prevailing throughout India.

A nation's best thought and ideals are embodied in its literature; and a nation can show itself at its best and in its native hue only in the literature written in its vernacular. Each nation, each people, each race, has something characteristic to contribute to the sum-total of human thoughts and ideals; and this it can do best through the vernacular. So the cultivation of the vernacular language and literature is incumbent on all.

So long as knowledge is, for the most part, acquired through a foreign tongue, not only is its acquisition comparatively slow and difficult, but it also remains to a great extent unassimilated. It becomes entirely a permanent national possession, a part and parcel of national consciousness, only when it is acquired through the medium of the vernacular literature.

A writer in the Calcutta Review for December, 1855, (P. 309), said :—

"History tells us, that no nation has ever yet been civilised or educated, save through its own vernacular, and that the uprooting of a vernacular is the extermination of the race, or at least of all its peculiar characteristics. Speech, thought and existence are so closely bound together that it is impossible to separate them. They are the great trinity in the unity of the race."

In the abstract, we, all must agree that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction, and that the vernacular language and literature should be cultivated. But as India is governed by foreign rulers, it is necessary for us to learn their language. As modern knowledge cannot be acquired by reading books in any Indian vernacular alone, it is all the more necessary to learn a foremost foreign language. For interprovincial intercourse, for the modernization, democratization and unification of India, for international intercourse, for widening our outlook, and for the transaction of business outside one's own province and beyond the bounds of India, it is necessary to learn a widely used foreign tongue. As all the above purposes are served by learning English, it is necessary for us to know that language.

The resolution in the Viceroy's Council which has roused fresh interest in the question under discussion, did not contemplate the total abolition of English. It proposed to teach English as a second language in secondary schools, all other subjects being taught through the medium of the vernaculars.

Let us now see whether the subjects usually taught up to the matriculation standard can be taught through the vernaculars. In the lower classes of high schools vernacular text-books are used and in the higher classes, though the text-books are English, the vernacular is freely used by the teachers to explain them to the students. Speaking from my experience of Bengal, I can say that Bengali has been used by some very successful professors in explaining mathematics and the physical sciences to their students in the College classes. This shows, *prima facie*, that when Bengali can be used for the purpose of exposition, it can also be used for the purpose of writing text-books. And that is true of the other advanced vernaculars of India also. In Bengal there are text-books for use in vernacular middle schools and teachers' training schools in such subjects as history, geography, physics, chemistry, physical geography, botany, algebra, trigonometry, dynamics, etc. In Teachers' Training Schools in Bengal the students are taught through the medium of Bengali up to a standard equivalent to that of the University Intermediate Examination. The text-books in use are in Bengali. I presume similar text-books exist or may be prepared in the other leading vernaculars. These text books may be made suitable for use by matriculation students.

So long ago as 1864, that is half a century ago, the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan established a translation society which translated into Urdu such books as Todhunter's Algebra. If this could be done fifty years ago, we should be able now to prepare scientific and mathematical text-books for matriculation students. Readers of the Papers

written by Dr. Brajendranath Seal on the knowledge of mathematics and the physical sciences possessed by the ancient Hindus (Published by the Panini Office of Allahabad) know that in Sanskrit there already exist some technical terms suitable for use in Kinetics and other sciences.

For some time past papers written in Bengali on advanced scientific subjects have been contributed to the Science section of the Bengali Literary Conference. Such papers on technical and scientific subjects have also been contributed to Bengali periodicals. It is superfluous to say that philosophical works can be written in our advanced vernaculars with the greatest ease.

It is well-known that before contact with the Western world, Japanese literature was not more advanced than the leading vernacular literature, on which the Japanese fall back for borrowing, or coining new words, is not more copious, rich, or advanced than Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian literature. These being the circumstances, it is remarkable that Count Okuma, Premier of Japan, founded the Waseda University in 1882, partly because he wished to see an institution where all the work was done in Japanese, and partly for other reasons. "The lack of suitable text-books was a difficulty overcome by making part of the school a publishing office, for such an office has recently (1905) begun to prove remunerative." (The Educational System of Japan by W. H. Sharp, P. 292). About a year ago Waseda University had one hundred and eighty professors and instructors with more than seven thousand students. It has departments of Politics, Law, Economics, Commerce, Science, Engineering, and Literature; in fact every faculty except Medicine, teaching up to the highest standards. There are some other Japanese Universities where the medium of instruction is Japanese though, unlike Waseda, they prescribe German, French or English text-books also.

If University education can be given and higher mathematical and scientific text-books can be written in Japanese, it is clear that the advanced vernaculars of India can be used for writing text-books for the matriculation course and as media of instruction up to the highest grades of secondary schools. If in the mathematical and scientific text-books, the technical terms are given in both English and the vernacular, as they are given in many Bengali text-books students, after matriculating, would be the more easily able to follow college lectures delivered in English.

It has been objected that if English be taught in our high schools only as a second language, (1) our students' knowledge of English would be poor, (2) they would be unable to follow lectures in Colleges delivered in English, and (3) they would not be so fit for business and public life as the men trained under the present system are. I shall briefly deal with these objections one by one.

As to knowledge of English, much depends on the ability of the teachers, the method of teaching and the requirements of examinations. If the teachers are capable, the method of teaching good, and if in examinations, not a knowledge of a particular text-book of English literature, but a certain amount of knowledge of the language and literature,

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carefully prescribed according to the age of the learner, is required, then I think our students are bound to know English even better than they do now. I cannot in the present article show how this result may be achieved. I will only refer here to what German institutions are able to do. I have neither the space nor the time to describe in detail how English is taught in the different kinds of German schools; I will merely refer to what is done in the Real schools. Russell says in his German Higher Schools: "Here is life and vigour and ability and, of course, most excellent results." But how much time is given for the teaching of English to obtain these "most excellent results?" Only four hours a week in the highest class, four in the second and five in the third. Below the third class no English is taught. Russell's book describes the method also, mentioning the books used. In the Prussian Real gymnasia three hours a week are devoted to English in each of the six highest classes. This is all the English that Germans learn at school. And they do not in their Universities learn English as we do. But with only this amount of school instruction in English German Professors in India deliver lectures in English on various subjects and hold high offices in the Archaeological and other departments, writing their Reports and carrying on their correspondence in English. It is not in India alone that German Professors are employed to deliver lectures in English. American universities employ them to a much larger extent. And they do their work well.

So there is no substantial ground for apprehending that if English be taught in our secondary schools only as a second language, our students' knowledge of English must necessarily be poor. It should be better taught; that is all that is required.

It is much easier to teach and to learn through the medium of the vernaculars. That is why we find boys who have passed the Middle Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular Examination and who are generally some years younger than matriculates, possessed of not less knowledge of arithmetic, history, and the physical sciences than matriculates. This I knew from personal experience. Prof. Joges Chandra Ray of Cuttack, in his Presidential address to the Science Section of the last Bengali Literary Conference, said that for years he had to teach as much chemistry to the students of the Cuttack Medical School as is prescribed in the I. Sc. course. This had to be done only in 20 days. But as he taught through the vernaculars, he succeeded in doing his work. All this shows that instruction through the medium of the vernaculars would be both a time-saver and an energy-saver. Some of the time and energy thus saved might be advantageously applied to the additional teaching and learning of English, if necessary.

The next objection is that students would be unable to follow college lectures on various subjects delivered in English. If German graduates with only a school education in English of the kind described above can deliver college lectures in English, it is not axiomatic that our students learning English as a second language must be unable to follow English lectures at college.

But let us take a concrete example, that of Japan. In Japanese middle schools, English is taught as a second language during five years for a few hours a week. In

the higher schools again, students learn for three years, a few hours a week, two foreign languages, i. e., any two out of English, German and French.

Mr. W. H. Sharp says: "Few middle school boys can write an intelligent word of English, fewer still can speak it at all well.

Yet these are the students who after three years' learning of two foreign tongues in higher schools for a few hours weekly, can follow University lectures delivered by English, French or German professors in their European mother tongues. If Japanese students could not follow these lectures, they would not have been as well educated as they are, nor would the Japanese Government have employed foreign professors if their lectures could not be followed by the Japanese students.

I think our students would be able to follow English lectures at college at least as well as the Japanese are. Coming fresh from school they might at first feel a little difficulty,—they do so even now—but with greater familiarity the difficulty would vanish in the course of a few months.

Last comes fitness for business and public life. In India the majority of the most successful Indian men of business are not possessed of a knowledge of English. Those who do know English are certainly not famous for their linguistic attainments. The knowledge of English which boys ought to acquire in high schools is quite enough for understanding and carrying on ordinary business transactions. The Japanese generally do not certainly possess as much knowledge of German, French or English as Indians do of English. Nevertheless their position in the fields of manufacturing industries and commerce is very much higher than that of Indians. While some knowledge of a world-language like English, German or French is undoubtedly necessary for signal success in business, it is not linguistic ability but equipment of a different character which is the *sine qua non* of success in commerce and industry.

There have been and are successful Indian journalists who never graduated or even matriculated. Men of this description can also be named among very useful members of legislative councils, able municipal commissioners and prominent Congress leaders. It would not be difficult to pick holes in the English of some of them. The ability to write or speak faultless English is not indispensably necessary for usefulness and success in public life. I hope I do understand that whatever is done is worth doing well, and that therefore, it is not an unworthy ambition to be able to express one's thoughts and feelings in correct, clear, elegant and forcible English. But too many of our countrymen make a fetish of writing and speaking good English. Sound knowledge, method, judgment, high aims, lofty ideals, are often given a subordinate place. That is unwise. The Japanese are not as good linguists as our countrymen; but they make very good ambassadors, and diplomatists at home and abroad. Some of them have written very good books in English. Their savants have made more original contributions to science than Indians.

If all subjects are taught through the medium of the vernaculars and English is better taught than now, I think that the knowledge of English of our future school

and college students will not be worse than what the present generation of students possess, while the former's knowledge of other subjects of study will most probably be sounder than that of the latter.

There is one other objection which we ourselves stated in the *Modern Review* for April, 1914. We said, "our text-book committees exercise a sort of political censorship over all books submitted to them." We also referred to the influence of the Press Laws. On the other hand, it may be said that these restrictive influences would continue to operate unfavourably on vernacular general literature, whether the vernaculars be made the media of instruction or not. For the rest, political considerations can come in only as regards text-books of history, economics and political science. The English histories of India generally read in our schools are written and published in India, and are therefore as much subject to the influences spoken of above as histories written in the vernaculars.

The histories of England used in our schools come from England. If they were written in India in the vernaculars, they would be somewhat less valuable. But for this single drawback, the enormous advantage of a vernacular medium should not be sacrificed.

I have now finished my brief examination of some of the principal objections that may be urged against the proposal. The greater difficulty would be in choosing the vernaculars which are to be made the media of instruction,—there are so many of them in India. But they are not so many as some people seem to think. It is well-known that Anglo-Indians of a certain type delight in discovering fresh proofs of India's want of unity.

Anglo-Indian linguists of this class magnify dialects into distinct languages. After giving full play to this tendency they have put down the number of vernaculars of India at 220. This is the figure given in the Census Report for 1911. In the Report for 1901, the number of vernaculars stood at 147. Thus in ten years there has been an increase of 50 per cent. in the number of our vernaculars! So by 1921 Anglo-Indian linguistic research may succeed in giving us 330 vernaculars, or more than 1 per million of our inhabitants. However, of the 220 vernaculars, 2 are spoken by 6,179 person; 7 by 555,417; 16 by 3,843,323; 121 by 10,932,775; 20 by 2,039,787; 11 by 37,094,393; 1 by 1,527,157; 3 by 24,096,411; 5 by 2066,654; 32 by 2,30,755,857; 1 by 1,324; and 1 by 28,294.

Of course it is out of the question to have 220 media of instruction up to the matriculation standard. Nor is that necessary. Official linguists mention Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihari as "three distinct languages;" but practical educationists will find Hindi alone quite sufficient for their purposes. It is admitted in the Census Report that "of the total number of persons returning Aryan languages as their mother-tongue no fewer than 82 millions, or more than a third, described it simply as "Hindi." If that be

so, these 82 millions should have Hindi as their medium of instruction. If 848,000 persons in the Punjab returned Panjabi as their mother-tongue, let that be their medium of instruction, not the new-fangled Lahnda. And so on.

We find from the Census Report that the number of persons using the Munda languages is now only about three millions, "but there are signs that they were formerly far more wide-spread." This information confirms the impression that prevails that many languages or so called languages in India are dying a slow but sure death. It is no use trying to galvanise them into a new lease of life or semblance of life. Even among such highly civilised and energetic peoples as the Scots, the Irish and the Welsh, their native tongues of Gaelic, Irish and Welsh are gradually being used by a smaller proportion of the people. In 1901.....46 per cent. of the Welsh men could speak Welsh in 1911 only 40.4 could speak it. In 1891, 1901, and 1911, about 6.3, 5.2, and 4.3 per cent, of the people of Scotland respectively could speak Gaelic. In 1891, 1901, and 1911 about 14.5, 14.4, and 13.3 per cent respectively of the people of Ireland could speak Irish. This process of gradual disuse has been in operation in spite of the Celtic revival, and in spite of the above three languages prepossessing valuable ancient literatures of their own.

Similar figures could be compiled for Indian languages too. But I am afraid I have already far exceeded my limit. Suffice it to say that most of the languages and dialects of India will fall into gradual disuse ; and among them the majority are those aboriginal tongues which have no indigenous alphabet or literature. Such being the case, I think if the Education Department recognised for the present the following sixteen languages as media of instruction up to the matriculation standard, that would meet the practical requirements of the situation :-

Bhotia, Burmese, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Telugu, Panjabi, Sindhi, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Nepali.

Other languages ought, of course, to be used as media of instruction in the elementary grades of schools. If any of them can in course of time produce a growing and vigorous literature, they can be gradually used in higher grades, too. On the other hand, if among the 16 chosen as media up to the highest grades, if any tongue dwindled away, it might cease to be recognised. For a population of more than 315 millions 16 different media of instruction are not too many.

The scheme of education through the vernaculars up to the matriculation, logically leads up to the foundation of vernacular Universities like Waseda University in Japan. Sixteen or even twenty such Universities for the whole of India would not be too many. The medium of education in such Universities would be some vernacular or other. Of course, they should teach English and one or two other modern foreign tongues like German, French, Italian, Russian, &c., besides teaching classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, etc. It may be mentioned here that in countries like Germany the Real

schools teach two foreign modern languages in addition to the vernacular and all ordinary subjects of study. Our proposal, therefore, would not amount to too heavy a burden for our future generations of students.

The problem is no doubt beset with some difficulties ; but they are not insurmountable, as I have tried to show. Textbooks might not at first be so good and so many to choose from, as the existing ones in English ; but they would rapidly multiply in number and improve in quality.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

1908, Pp. 1-4

Education Famine

Many students are going about from college to college seeking admission but finding no room anywhere. This is particularly the case with those who have matriculated in the second and third divisions. Evidently more educational institutions are wanted. More students seek admission to medical colleges and schools than the existing medical institutions can make room for. More students want to learn engineering than can be accommodated at Sibpur. But by far the largest number of those who have to come away disappointed from the college gate consists of students who want to join the ordinary Arts and Science colleges. We are not among those who say that liberal non-professional university education in Bengal has been overdone and that it is already as widespread as in the United Kingdom. We have proved the baselessness of such assertions. Nevertheless, as there is too little professional, technological and vocational education, it would be best if energies and educational benefactions were directed to these fields to a greater extent than now. Hence we consider the efforts of the Mymensingh people to have a medical school in their midst very encouraging. Hence, too, we support the resolutions of the Calcutta University Senate in Committee which lay stress on the need for an incorporated college of science, pure and applied, an incorporated college of technology, an incorporated college of agriculture, an incorporated college of commerce and eventually an incorporated college of the fine arts, and which point out the desirability of new courses, preparatory to technological and professional studies in the university, being provided on a sufficient scale at a number of convenient centres throughout Bengal.

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY—1920, P. 111

The Teachers' Responsibility

Miss Corrie Gordon, herself a teacher of young minds, contributes a thoughtful article to the Educational Review for February, in which she asserts, and quite correctly too, that the teaching of the young is more an affair of the heart than of the head, and that it should be carried on in a sincere and reverent spirit. Says she:

For younger teachers to whom the world begins at fourteen inches from the eye and ends at a distance of so many rods or miles or years of light, seem rarely as they are, much less as they grew or grow; who know the past only by hearsay and the future by prophecy; how important is it to muse upon their responsibility, to obtain glimpses of the world's infinitude, inward and outward, to see life in its unity as it rises insensibly from the remotest sources and plunges into "life eternal."

To older teachers in whom shattered hope and foiled aspiration threaten to clog the currents of joyous endeavour, whom a shallow empiricism surrounds with the pitfalls of pedantry and routine, whom dull care of existence and the short-sighted parsimony of administration or patrons have driven from the teeming fields of life to the dry fodder stored in books, how important it is to muse upon their responsibility that they may regain their faith in the eternal law which surely leads to victory over all things true and holy; that they may keep bright and whole the armour of insight, of high purpose, of unfailing meekness and love; that they may preserve in the mind freshness and vigour, in the heart the fervour of youth, in their aims purity and faith, in the conscience the hunger and thirst for righteousness.

Primarily and always, the teacher's responsibility, be he man or woman, lies in his work which is the nurture and guidance of unfolding childhood and youth. All he dreams and does as a teacher must tend to this. The more fully his work guards this development, the more steadfastly it keeps the face of the young towards the light and power and sweetness of being, the more abundantly it makes the life of his ward a teeming source of joy, where all may drink, and yet not drain the fountain, the more surely has he been a true teacher.

It may be difficult, in many instances to unravel the teacher's influence from that of heredity and environment, of parents and friends, of public opinion and the spirit of the time; still more difficult, perhaps, to discover even approximately the particular influence of any one of a number of teachers that may have entered a pupil's life successfully in some modern knowledge factor. Yet in no case will the true teacher's influence go for naught, and no greater regard and deeper encouragement can come to him, than the appreciation of influence for good, by the man or woman who at some time in childhood or youth sat at his feet, and who traces some lasting inspiration to his work.

The essential means for solving the problems that confront the teacher in his work of guiding the pupils on the road to worthy manhood and womanhood, to a life of beneficent social efficiency, lie largely in himself.

In his strength the child grows strong; his eagerness to see and know and do will stir similar zeal in the children's heart; is reverence for things high and holy, his love for humanity and his reverence for the ideals of life kindle, the fervour of good-will and reverence in the child's soul: his gentleness and constancy, his joy and peace will surely be the child's in some measure, even under otherwise adverse conditions.

We accuse our children of lack of industry, of want of interest; we shall find the cause—or much of it—in ourselves and also the remedy. Are our children full of mischief, frivolous irreverent? The fault is ours, and also the cure. We ask the children to be wise beyond their years, and when they fail—as they must,—we charge them with a stupidity which in reality is ours. We compel our children to close their minds to nature and to life and to bury their eager hearts in the dust of books, and when they rebel we charge them with faults of which we are the makers. We esteem the multiplication table more than honesty, precedent higher than justice, justice holier than love, and then we wonder if our children sink to the level of calculating quibblers and self-seeking exploiters, held within the law only by the might of fear. Seek we the kingdom of Heaven with all our power and strength? let us but be true and just and loving and it will be with our children even as it will be with us.

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1917, Pp. 471-72

India's Scientific Work Not Sufficient

The work and fame of the late Mr. Ramanujam and of the very few distinguished scientific workers who are fortunately still with us, should not make us forget that for a country containing 315 millions of inhabitants, the original scientific work done by Indians is not a sufficient contribution to the world's knowledge of science. The achievements of some of our young investigators, even those of that brilliant researcher, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, a pupil of Sir P. C. Ray, should not mislead us into thinking that our young men are doing all that they can or ought to do. We should periodically take stock of our scientific achievements, in comparison with those of other countries. The editor of this Review is not qualified for that task, nor has he the materials before him to do what little he can. He only tries to remind his countrymen of what ought to be done.

In *Science Progress*, edited by Sir Ronald Ross, for January we could not find a single Indian name in the section devoted to "Recent Advances in Science." The record in the April issue of that quarterly is slightly more encouraging from the Indian point of view, for some Indian names are found there. In the fiftyfive pages devoted to this record, the following entries of the work done by Indians are found :—

APPLIED MATHEMATICS

The scientific aspect of sound theory has enjoyed much attention. The foremost prominence must be given to C. V. Raman's memoir : "On the Mechanical Theory of the

Vibrations of Bowed Strings and of Musical Instruments of the Violin Family, with Experimental Verification of the Results" (Pt. 1. Indian Ass. for the Cult. of Science Bull. 15, 1918).

Banerj, S., on the Vibration of Elastic Shells Partly Filled with Liquid, Phy. Rev. (2), 1919, xiii. 171-88.

Dey, A., A New Method for the Absolute Determination of Frequency, with Preface and Appendix by C. V. Raman, proc. Roy. Soc. 1919, 95 A 533-45.

Sen, N. R., On the Potential of Uniform and Heterogenous Elliptic Cylinders at an External point, phil Mag. (6), 1919, 38, 465-79.

Prasad, J., On a Peculiarity of the Normal Component of the Attraction due to Certain Surface Distributions, ibid., (6), 1918, 36, 475-6.

It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's work in anthropology has obtained recognition in the well-known work entitled Man Past and Present by A. H. Keane, revised and largely rewritten by A. H. Quiggin and A. H. Haddon, Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, Chambridge (Cambridge University Press, 1920), as the following extract from it will show :-

"This (Risley's) classification while more or less generally adopted in outline is not allowed to pass unchallenged, especially with regard to the theories of origin implied. Concerning the brachycephalic element of Western India, Risley's belief that it was the result of so-called "Scythian" invasions is not supported by sufficient evidence.

"The foreign element is certainly Alpine, not Mongolian and it may be due to a migration of which the history has not been written." Ramaprasad Chanda goes further and traces the broad-headed elements in both "Seytho-Dravidians" (Gujaratis, Marathas, and Coorgis) and "Mongolo-Dravidians" (Bengalis and Oriyas) to one common source, "the Homo Alpinus of the Pamirs and Chinese Turkstan," and attempts to reconstruct the history of the migration of the Alpine invaders from Central Asia over Gujarat, Deccan, Behar and Bengal. His conclusions are supported by the reports of Sir Aurel Stein of the Homo-Alpinus type discovered in the region of Lob Nor, dating from the first centuries A. D. This type "still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan, and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian speaking tribes near the Pamirs." (Pp. 547-8).

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY—1920, Pp. 89-90

Administration of Calcutta University.

A vakil who was Tagore Law Professor for 1900 has not, it is said, yet published his Lectures, on the Law of Torts, as he was bound to do according to the rules! Up to June 6, 1919, this matter, it is said, had been dealt with by the University at least 30 times and extensions of time granted to the professor repeatedly. There were two other defaulting professors, who have, however, after much delay printed and published their lectures. The minutes of the Syndicate dated the 31st December, 1919, contain an order that "so-and-so", brother of the late—, a Tagore Law Professor, "be requested to state whether the manuscripts of the lectures of his late brother have been traced, with the intimation that in case of no manuscripts being forthcoming, the University may see itself obliged to take steps to recover the sum paid as salary." Will some Senator enquire whether, either these manuscripts were found and published or the sum paid as salary recovered? The University paid some twenty thousand rupees, we think, as salary to the late Dr. Thibaut but got nothing tangible in return.

The affairs of the university, including the state of its finance, need looking into; but there is not a sufficient number of independent, energetic and willing workers among the Fellows who can spare time for the purpose. And as the Minutes are not sold or otherwise supplied to the public, there is little of regular newspaper or other outside criticism.

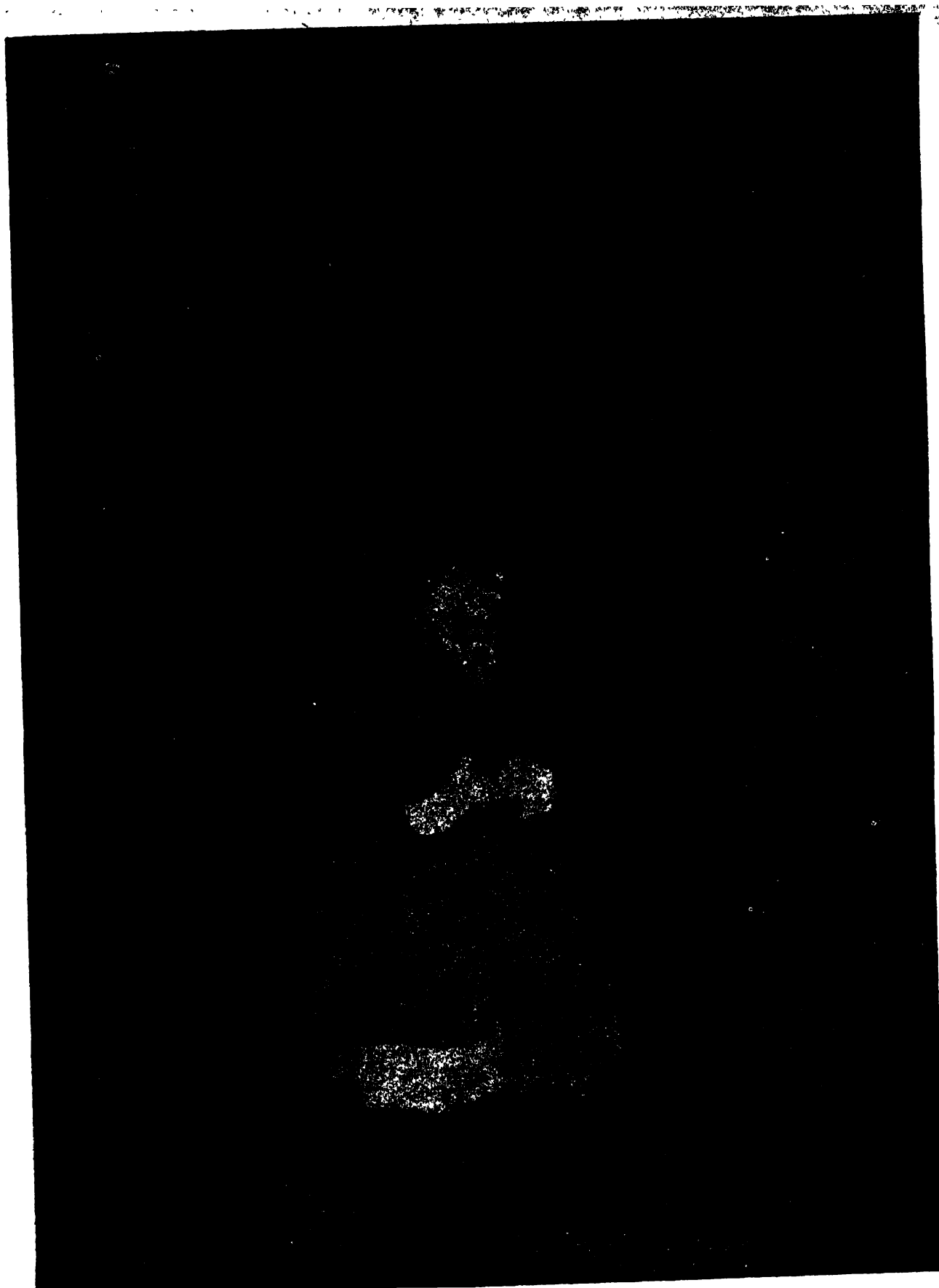
Not that the Minutes are not given to a single person who is not a Senator, as was implied in the official reply given us by the Registrar, Calcutta University, when we applied to be supplied with them on payment. For a gentleman, who is not a Senator and is unknown to us, wrote to us from a mufassil station the following letter:

"I send you herewith a copy of the Minutes of the Calcutta University supplied free of cost to me which contains all the correspondence of the University with the Government of India relative to the endowment of Sir Rash Behary Ghosh. It is really a pity that these blue books should not be accessible to a publicist like you. In future I shall deem it a favour if you will accept these books from me."

We thank our correspondent for his courteous offer; but we wanted to have the Minutes direct from the University. Will the Registrar explain how and why a gentleman who is neither a Fellow nor a Senator regularly gets the Minutes free of cost, but a journalist who is prepared to pay for them must not get them?

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY—1920, Pp. 93-94



DREAMS OF AN EVENTIDE

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Artist : Shilpacharya Abanindranath Tagore'

Indian Statistical Institute

As the Indian Statistical Institute does not do any work of a spectacular or sensational character, it has not drawn much public attention. Nevertheless it is an important institution carrying on valuable and useful research. Some information relating to its activities is contained in the annual report for 1934-35 presented at its last meeting by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis, its honorary secretary.

A research grant of Rs. 5,000 per annum has been sanctioned by the Government of India for three years with effect from 1935-36. In terms of it, the Institute undertook to attend to inquiries of a statistical nature, to take up special investigations involving statistical analysis of data and to give special courses of training (extending from one month to a year in duration) in analytic statistics to officers deputed by Government Departments, Universities and other recognized institutions. An All-India Committee of experts was appointed to initiate and guide research work in this connection.

Another interesting item was about holding examinations for Diplomas in Statistics.

Another equally interesting proposal was to set up a Committee of businessmen, statisticians and economists to scrutinize the form and content of official statistical publications and to suggest improvements.

It is pleasant to find from the secretary's report that the Institute has been able to win recognition abroad. Many foreign statisticians of repute are actively associating themselves in the work of the Institute. Some have contributed papers to "Sankhya: the Indian Journal of Statistics." The Institute recognized the services of one of the foremost among modern statisticians, viz, Prof. Corrado Cini of Rome, by electing him as the second Honorary Fellow, the first Honorary Fellow being Prof. Karl Pearson.

From the report of research work done in Calcutta and the three branches in Bombay, Poona and Mysore, it appears that the Institute has taken a very comprehensive view of Statistics. Most of the work was naturally concentrated in Calcutta the papers presented in the Colloquiums being on such diverse subjects as :

- (a) Organization of Statistical Studies in Europe ;
- (b) Fundamental Concepts of Sampling Theory ;
- (c) Statistical Analysis of Examination Mark ;
- (d) Problem of Two Samples ;
- (e) Harmonic Analysis ;
- (f) Interpolation ;
- (g) Problem of K-samples.

An annual research grant of Rs. 8,000 has been recently sanctioned by Imperial Council of Agriculture Research and another grant of Rs. 3,000 by the Government of Bengal. The entire statistical work of the Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry was entrusted to the Statistical Laboratory.

Sir R. N. Mukherjee was re-elected the President of the Institute. Among the Vice-Presidents are businessmen such as Sir E. C. Benthall and Lala Shri Ram, scientists such as Sir E. V. Raman, officials concerned with statistics such as Dr. John Matthai and Dr. C. W. B. Normand. The Council is also fully representative of all provinces and interests. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis was re-elected as the Hony. Secretary and Prof. H. C. Ghose and Dr. H. Sinha as Joint secretaries.

THE MODEREN REVIEW

MAY, 1935, PP. 626

The Extent Of Student Criminality.

The police and Anglo-Indian journals have a theory that all or almost all dacoits, motor bandits and political assassins are students and belong to the bhadralok class. This theory requires to be tested in the light of facts. All young men are not students, nor should anybody be styled a student simply because he was at school or college at some period of his life. A student is one whose name is actually to be found in the latest register of an educational institution and who attends its classes. All men who wear spectacles, dress well or can use a few English words do not belong to the class of gentry. It is necessary to prepare a list of all men who have been punished for the kind of crimes referred to above mentioning their occupation and social position. So long as this is not done, the blackening of the name of students and their harassment must be considered unjustifiable. A few black sheep among them cannot justify such treatment. It must be shown that a very large proportion of crimes is committed by them. Will some member of Council move for such a list as we have suggested?

The native village, town or district of the criminals should also be put down in the list. For it is now the fashion for certain Anglo-Indian journals to defame East Bengal students as a class. It is probable that these defamatory statements have already done some harm to them. For we hear that this session the Presidency College has admitted a much smaller proportion of East Bengal students than usual, and that consequently the Eden Hindu Hostel has many "seats" vacant. We have no means of testing the correctness of this rumour. Will some member of Council put a question and ascertain whether East Bengal students have been placed under a partial ban by the Presidency College? At East Bengal people pay taxes, they should have the advantage of the best equipped college in the province.

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST—1916, P. 224.

The National Character Of The Calcutta University

That Rabindranath Tagore delivered his address in Bengali at the last convocation of the Calcutta University, undoubtedly shows its national character so far as Bengal is concerned. That its graduates can receive their degrees dressed in dhotis-as many did at the last convocation, also shows its national character. It is my intention to show briefly in this article that in some other respects it has been national in character to a considerable extent for years, so far as the whole of India is concerned.

India is a large country, inhabited by a very large population with varied needs and cultures. Many languages with literatures of their own are spoken here. It is not possible for any single university to provide facilities for the higher education of all its people. Even the sixteen universities, recognized by the State, which it has, are too few for the purpose. Japan is a much smaller country with a much smaller population; and the mother tongue of the people there is one. Yet Japan has 46 universities, of which 19 are Governmental. Germany also is a smaller country with a smaller population and a single mother tongue. It has 25 universities. So is France, and has 17 universities. In Great Britain, which also is a smaller country, with English as the mother tongue of the vast majority, there are 16 universities.

For years after its foundation some eighty years ago Calcutta University was the only institution of its kind for the people of Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orisa, Chota Nagpur, Agra, and Oudh (then N.-W-Provinces), the Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and even remote Ceylon. At present it is meant to provide for the higher education of the people of Bengal (minus a small area in Dacca) and Assam. But it has been more national in character in recent decades so far as the whole of India is concerned than it was for more decades after its foundation. I say this with reference to the principal languages and literatures of the people of India embodying their culture.

The Calcutta University allows candidates for its Matriculation to pass their vernacular language examination in any one of the following vernaculars of India:

Bengali,	Malayalam,
Hindi,	Kanarese,
Urdu,	Gujarati,
Oriya,	Marathi,
Assamese,	Manipuri,
Nepali,	Modern Tibetan,
Maithili,	Khasi,
Burmese,	Garó,
Telugu,	Lushai,
Sinhalese,	Modern Armenian,
Tamil,	and Portugese.

Most of these languages are not the mother tongue of any section of the native born permanent inhabitants of Bengal and Assam.

"Bengali is the mother tongue of 923 in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal and, if it be assumed that persons born elsewhere than in Bengal speak other languages than Bengali, 955 in every 1,000 of the native born population use Bengali as their mother tongue," Census of Bengal, 1931, p. 349.

In Bengal "Hindustani is the next most prevalent language, but less than 4 per cent. speak it in the whole of Bengal". The vast majority of speakers of Hindustani in Bengal are illiterate immigrant labourers, for whom it was not necessary for the Calcutta University to recognize their mother tongue as a vernacular either for its Matriculation or for its M. A. degree. It was because this university is pan-Indian in its linguistic and cultural nationalism that it has recognized Hindi and Urdu and some other non-Bengali advanced languages of India for its Matriculation and also for its M. A. degree.

As regards Indian languages (with literatures) which are not the mother tongue of the native born permanent population of Bengal, the numbers per 1,000 of the total population using them in Bengal are given in the subjoined list.

Tamil	0.11
Malayalam	0.006
Kanarese	0.002
Telugu	0.62
Marathi	0.06
Oriya	3.13
Bihari (60 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu)	22.21
eastern Hindi (35 per cent of Hindi and Urdu)	12.96
Western Hindi (5 per cent of Hindi and Urdu)	1.85
Gujarati	0.13

DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY SUPPLEMENT

For the Matriculation of the Calcutta University candidates can take up any of the following "second" languages :

Sanskrit,	French,
Pali,	German,
Arabic,	Italian,
Persian,	Classical Armenian
Greek,	Hebrew,
Latin,	Syriac.

The inclusion of so many non-Indian languages in the above list shows that the Calcutta University recognizes the international character of world culture.

The M. A. Calcutta University can be obtained by passing an examination in anyone of the following vernaculars of India, either as the principal or subsidiary language, or both :

Bengali,	Marathi,
Hindi,	Tamil,
Maithili,	Telugu,
Urdu,	Malayalam,
Oriya,	Kanarese,
Gujarati,	Sinhalese,
Assmese,	

The Calcutta University is national in character in another direction, namely, in its treatment of the classics and culture of all the main religious communities of India. Of the religions dating from antiquity which had their origin in India, namely, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, the classics and scriptures are written in Sanskrit Pali and Prakrit. The University recognizes and encourages the study of Chinese and Tibetan, which are connected with the study of Indian antiquities, scriptures, classics and cultures.

As regards non-Indian religions prevalent in India. Muhammadanism has the largest number of followers. Its scriptures are in Arabic. The University recognizes and encourages its study. Persian also is claimed by the Muhammadan community as containing its classics. Apart from that fact, the knowledge of Persian is necessary for the study of many source books of history. Recognizing these facts the University encourages the study of Persian.

Candidates for some examinations have to read portions of the Bible. This is a recognition of the Christian community. There is, besides, the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship for the delivery of "a course of lectures on Comparative Religion."

"The donor (Mr. G. C. Ghosh of 2, Simla Street, Calcutta) stated that his desire was that the lecturer should, in dealing with the subjects of his lectures, endeavour to show that the highest ideal for man lay in love and service to his fellowmen according to the essence of the teaching and life of Christ, and that life lived under the

guidance of this ideal constituted the highest advancement of human personality, the acceptance of a particular creed or dogma being of subordinate importance."

The study of the Zoroastrian religion, one of the most ancient in the world is encouraged in connection with the study of Persian and of Philology for the M. A. degree.

I may be permitted in conclusion to point out two defects. Bengal, in fact, the whole of India, is predominantly an agricultural region. But, though the University has its Gurnuprasad Singh Professorship of Agriculture, it has no agricultural studies and degrees. Similarly, on the cultural side, though there is the Rani Bageswari Professorship of Fine Arts, there are no studies of and degrees in Indian Fine Arts. The State is chiefly responsible for these defects, which detract from the national character of this University. As far as I am aware, it is only Visva-bharati that teaches Fine Arts, not any State-recognized University in India.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.
THE MODERN REVIEW
MARCH, 1937, Pp. 317-18



The Arts In National Resurgence

One of the most distinctive fields of creative endeavour in which *The Moderne Review* can rightfully claim the status of a pioneer is in that of the pursuit of the Arts,—a field of cultural endeavour which, inspite of India's unique past heritage, had fallen into utter neglect and callous indifference: And, yet, the arts have, acknowledgedly, played a most distinctive role in the progress of civilization throughout the course of human history. In fact historians have been unanimous in their acceptance of the dictum that the level of civilization of a community is far more faithfully represented by the excellence or otherwise of its arts and literature than its political glories.

With the new phase in India's cultural, social and political renaissance which may be said to have commence with the turn of the century, a reawakening of our art perceptions, feeble at first but nevertheless quite distinctive, appears to have been achieved. India, in the field of the arts, appeared still to have been gropingly seeking for a firm ground upon which to take her stand. Her past heritage in this field was both vast and panoramic ; but the meaning appeared to have been lost.

But both art and literature are the expression of a peoples' thoughts, emotions and ideals which follow certain distinctive lines of modes and styles which are peculiar to the community concerned : these are inextricably intertwined with the history of the people concerned. And, when a people loses the meaning of its own historical and cultural evolution, it veritably loses itself and is prone to lend itself, helplessly as it were, to influences alien to its own history and heritage. Imitation, then, takes the place of self-reliant creative endeavour.

The Modern Review, throughout its sixty years of publication, has played a most crucial part in helping along the Indian renaissance in the field of the arts with a devotion and steadfastness which has been both unique and incomparable. This, obviously, sprang from the conviction, even from its very inception, the evidence of which abounds in the pages of the Journal, that the arts have a vital role to play in national resurgence and cultural progress. It gave a great deal of thought and bestowed a lot of care to its encouragement and sponsorship of the arts; when block-making was in its veritable infancy in this country, it began to regularly publish reproductions of coloured paintings. Frequent contributions by well known critics and experts used to appear in its pages and many a celebrated Indian artist of to-day would, perhaps, find it very difficult to obtain a public for themselves, were it not for the ready encouragement and help they found from *The Modern Review* which would not merely reproduce specimens of their work in its pages so long as they were judged worthy, but would even pay them for the privilege of doing so.

As already observed, the pages of *The Modern Review* abound with discussions on and reproductions of art and two articles reproduced herein give only a very brief and inadequate glimpse of all that it had endeavoured to achieve in this field. If these reproductions help to stimulate sufficient interest towards further and more extensive researches into the past volumes of the Journal, our effort will have been recompensed.

Indian Sculpture And Painting

We have here for the first time a book about Indian Art written by a European which expresses, throughout its pages, a feeling of love and respect for India and her people. To Mr. Havell, Indian art is no mere toy of commerce, nor is it even the fruit of some rich bygone period, irretrievably departed. He sees India, past, present and future, as one. The builders of fortresses and tombs, of palaces and temples, are the same Indian people, who are alive to-day and could do as much again, if need arose or opportunity called. Seeing behind each historic achievement of our art, the social and psychological background that gave it birth, he finds, in our present, continuity with that background, the rich promise of the future. Indian society is still unspoilt, in this author's eyes, for art and industries. As long as the handicrafts dominate the situation, India remains in that fertile mediaeval condition, out of which the cathedrals of Europe were built, and her great pictures painted, which Europe for love of gain has cast for ever behind her.

"India unlike Europe" says our author, "has still a living, traditional and national art, intimately bound up with the social and religious life of the people; and this art if we knew it better, might help both Europeans and Indians to a closer mutual sympathy and understanding. But the secularised and denationalised art of Europe has no affinity with the living art of India and we, aliens in race, thought and religion, have never taken anything but a *diletante* archaeological or commercial interest in it. Its

deeper meanings are hidden from us and those spiritual longings and desires which come straight from the heart of a people to find expression in their poetry, music and their art, strike no chord of sympathy in us.

But this passage must not be held by Indian readers to imply that we, because we still have a "living, traditional and national art," are to hold blindly by every chance thought and impulse all that comes to us artistically, believing that we are divinely inspired in this matter and therefore unfailingly correct in every particular. Such a fallacy could not tempt us in other subjects. India, almost alone amongst the nations, has still, in like fashion, "a living, traditional and national logic" of her own. But this does not mean that every Indian tyro is logically infallible! A severe training would be necessary for the most Indian of Indians before he could venture to trust his own opinions against those of the Pundits of Nuddea, for instance, and the training required to qualify the judgment in art is not less stern and difficult than that for logic. We have just been going through the least hopeful and most chaotic transition that has ever overtaken us as a people, in art. Under European Commercialism, our decorative faculty has been shaken to its very roots. Our architecture is undermined by the desire for cheapness, and the high fiscal value of materials. Our nobler ideals have been almost eclipsed by the love of cheap notoriety. If we are ever to emerge out of this confusion, we can only do so by patiently building up a great art on the basis of sincere admiration of the truly beautiful for true reasons. But in order to know how to begin directing this force of admiration, we want the help of a competent mind and this is what Mr. Havell's book gives us. It is an account of how a trained mind may look to relate itself to Indian art, primarily to the great works of the past, but secondarily also to the possibility of present and future. From this point of view the Work is as useful to the European as to the Indian reader. But in its communication of courage and inspiration it is of supreme value to us.

Our author rightly feels that Indian art is only to be understood through Indian ideals. He points out that the current idea, that India derived her art from Greece, is of very little consequence, so long as it is admitted that her IDEALS were not derived from Greece. "It is of course true that every nationality, when it seeks to work out its artistic ideals, makes use of many agents, native or foreign, which happens to be within reach. But the Greeks no more created Indian sculpture and painting than they created Indian philosophy and religion. Their aesthetic ideals were essentially different from those of India, and they never at any time imposed them upon Indian art, which, in its essential and distinctive character, is entirely the product of Indian thought and Indian artistic genius."

This is a fine argument finely stated. Throughout his published writings Mr. Havell always answers the charge of the derivative character of Indian works of art, pointing to the calm and assured orientalism of their style. If the Taj could really have been the product of an Italian mind, the fact would have constituted the greatest

miracle in history. If Hellas could give birth to an art so unlike her own as the Indian, it would have been the supreme paradox. Hitherto, as he very aptly points out, European criticism of Indian art has lacked the aid of minds with a thorough artistic training. Art cannot be studied as a side issue of archaeology or literature. It is an end and a mode in and for itself. Only those who are capable of judging of the differences between Greek and Indian art, are competent to discuss what either may owe to the other.

The European preconception that India at all times borrows everything from the West, has been unspeakably discouraging to Indian originality and self-respect. The usual movement of ideas like races is from East to West but, as in the present age so also in the past, there have been back-currents, and reflex trade-routes occasionally, and the development of the child does often, after maturity, influence that of the parent, so that the Hellenic contact is not inconceivable as a powerful factor in Indian evolution. That there was such a contact in the fourth century B.C. is a known historical fact, and its duration and energy are points that yet remain to be determined as elements affecting the truth about Indian sculpture.

Mr. Havell thus sums up the historic argument :

"At the beginning of the Christian Era, and for some centuries previously, when the classic art of Europe had already passed its zenith, India was drawing in towards herself a great flood of artistic culture from Western Asia, derived originally from the far-distant sources of Babylon and Assyria, but strongly tinged with the subsidiary stream which was then flowing back into it from Greece and Rome. Out of these eclectic influences joined with the old indigenous traditions, Indian religious thought quickly formulated a new synthesis of art, which in its turn became the source from which other great currents flowed North, South, East and West.

"In these early centuries of the Christian Era, and from the Indian source, came the inspiration of the great schools of Chinese painting which from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries stood first in the whole world. Successive hordes of Asiatic invaders beginning with those which flocked like vultures to gather the spoils of the decaying Roman Empire, kept open the high ways between East and West and brought a reflex of the same traditions into Europe. The influence of India's artistic culture can be clearly traced, not only in Byzantine art, but in the Gothic Cathedrals of the middle ages. Europe is very apt to dwell upon the influence of Western art and culture upon Asiatic civilization, but the far greater influence of Asiatic thought, religion and culture upon the art and civilization of Europe is rarely appraised at its proper value.

"From the seaports of her Western and Eastern coasts India at this time also sent streams of colonists, missionaries and craftsmen all over Southern Asia, Ceylon, Siam and far distant Kambodia. Through China and Korea Indian art entered Japan in the middle of the sixth century. About A. D. 603 Indian colonists from Gjuerat bro-

DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY SUPPLEMENT

ught Indian art into Java and at Borobudur in the eighth and ninth centuries Indian sculpture achieved its great triumphs. Some day, when European art criticism has widened its present narrow horizon and learnt the foolishness of using the art standards of Greece and Italy as a tape wherewith to measure and appraise the communings of Asia with the Universal and the Infinite, it will grant the nameless sculptors of Borobudur an honourable place amongst the greatest artists the world has ever known."

Full value is here given to any direct influence that Greek art may have had upon Indian. But it will be noticed that even accepting this at its highest estimate, the later art of India cannot be accounted for, unless, as here, we postulate those indigenous elements whose vigour and importance made it possible in the earlier period to assimilate foreign influences. This has to be understood, that without a genuine creative faculty of our own, all the art universities of the world would be powerless to make original creators of us. They could make nothing more than images and reflections of creation. The Bharhut sculptures in the Calcutta Museum are witness sufficient, to any one who cares to go and see them, of art which was Indian before the contact of India with classical Europe. Those sculptures themselves probably date from about 150 B. C. No one has ever suggested any Greek influence in them and it is clear that the hands set to work on such a scale in stone had received their previous training in perishable materials like wood and clay. Whatever foreign influences may be brought to bear, the one question of importance, with regard to any art history, is whether or not there was enough native vigour and faculty to result in the eventual assimilation of those influences. Mr. Havell's whole book is a admonstration of the answer to this question, in the case of India.

Our author's next point is one of great delicacy and significance. Still combating the European idea that India's place in great art is to be marked as absent, he takes up the question of ideals. Sculpture is appraised in Europe, according to the qualities of its physical portraiture. Anatomical and physical perfections are to it the starting point of all beauty. "Imitation is the real and only end of all fine art. Really this last sentence does not do justice to the intention of European art." The Zeus of Olympus and the Moses of Michael Angelo were not imitation of anything in nature. But undoubtedly the notion that "imitation is the real and only end of all fine art" is the *common* conception of Europe to-day; that is that element in European art which has been grasped by India, in the person of Ravi Varma and his followers.

Mr. Havell boldly sets forth the theorem that Indian sculpture has from the beginning had a totally different ideal. According to him, the Indian artist believes that the highest type of beauty must be sought after, and not in the imitation, or selection of human or natural forms, but in the endeavour to suggest something finer and more subtle than ordinary physical beauty. "When the Indian artist models a representation of the Deity with an attenuated waist and abdomen, and suppresses all the smaller anatomical details, so as to obtain an extreme simplicity of contour, the European declares

that he is sadly ignorant of anatomy and incapable of imitating the higher forms of nature. But the Indian artist would create a higher and more subtle type and suggest that spiritual beauty which, according to his philosophy, can only be reached by the surrender of worldly attachments and the suppression of worldly desires."

This argument the author carries into considerable detail. The self-controlled man being the Indian spiritual ideal, it is clear that there must be a physical type corresponding to it. And this he finds admirably suggested in that one of the thirty-two principal *lakshanas* (or marks of Siva as they are called in modern Bengal) which demands that the upper part of the body shall be that of a lion.

As Mr. Havell points out, the most striking characteristic of the Indian lion is its broad, deep shoulders, and narrow contracted abdomen, making it wonderfully analogous to the new spiritualised body which the Indian sculptors aimed at giving Buddha after enlightenment, "broad shouldered, deep-chested, golden-coloured, smooth-skinned, supple and lithe as a young lion." In thus going back upon the sources of our great creations, and making clear to us our own master ideals, Mr. Havell has rendered an immense service to Indian criticism.

India is a country whose attainments can be measured still better by what she has done for others than she has kept for herself. It is in the circle of daughter civilizations that we find the surest records of what she has achieved. Our author has been well advised to draw upon the art of Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon, Java for his examples. Most of those Indians who read his pages will learn, we fear for the first time, of the Indian Colony who wrought the great temple of Borobudur in Java. If we want to realise the immeasurable difference of spirit between the semi-Greek art of Gandhara, in the first or second century of the Christian Era, and genuine Indian sculpture secure in conscious possession of its own sources of inspiration, we cannot do better than compare the Lorian Tangai relief of Buddha Preaching with the same as treated at Borobudur. Well may Mr. Havell say that the Indian ideal was never realised in Gandharan art and one who has visited the Gandharan sculptures in the Calcutta Museum and stood face to face with the smart military looking young men who pose uncomfortably there in the attitudes of Indian asceticism, their moustaches touched with all the hairdressers' latest art, will echo his words. There is nothing here of the lofty calm and simplicity of the Buddhas of Magadha, nor is there the spontaneous sweetness and gentleness of the Dhyani Buddha of Borobudur. How gradual is the building up through century after century of those great ideals that later generations are to inherit with their first breath! Well may the writer say, "European art has, as it were, its wings clipped: it knows only the beauty of earthly things. Indian art soaring into the highest empyrean, is ever trying to bring down to earth something of the beauty of the things above."

SISTER NIVEDITA

THE MODERN REVIEW

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The Value Of Tradition In Indian Art

The closing years of the last century have been marked with signs of change, (for better or worse, who can tell ?) in every department of human activity. In the realm of art this era of change has ushered into existence startlingly new conceptions : principles and ideals of aesthetics that had dominated for centuries have given place to "uptodate" theories engineered by "the progressives" of the nineteenth century. While the age of new ideas has given birth to really sound and brilliant notions of truth in some cases, in others the heritage of the preceding ages have been overlooked, nay, despised and rejected by us in the fascination of the new and the bewildering. On the threshold of a renaissance, India to-day is confronted with a series of new ideas which threaten to displace and sweep away the accumulated traditions of her past years. It is premature to premise whether India stands to lose or gain by her barter of old lamps for new. In the problem of reshaping Indian art and industries, it is important, therefore, to consider how much of the remnants of antiquity it would be useful to retain and how much to demolish. The most radical of the art reformers of the nineteenth century have in building up the *art nouveau* of their time thought fit, in many instances, to adapt and perpetuate the methods and aims of the works of their predecessors and have not despised to make of the doings of the master craftsmen of old precedents for the coming generation. It may be interesting to trace and follow up what part traditions have played in the development of and generally to assess the futility or otherwise of sticking to specific ideas and points of views in reforming the art of a particular community and helping its development on lines peculiar to itself.

A French writer has somewhere said : "it is in the arts themselves as they exist, that we must find the elements to rejuvenate them." There is a tendency in the modern art movements to learn and teach something fresh—to make a break with the past. The effect sometimes is to check the natural and continuous development—the evolution of art. Strictly speaking all new comers of art do nothing but continue systematically a long evolution,—spinning out the thread at the end left by their predecessors. For in one sense art is neither ancient nor modern but perpetual. Painting, for instance,

In its broadest aspects preserves from age to age a real continuity. Styles may change but the essentials remain. This continuity of ideas through the varying moods of time, very similar to the continuity and preservation of the human race, seems one of the important characteristics if not the essence of art understood as a form of human expression. In art as in reality, one is always somebody's son. One never invents anything, one only repeats—although one may marvellously improve. This is important, this development, of the art of any particular community must be on lines consistent with its ancient history, with its known characteristics, its own traditions.

Nevertheless, it is commonly believed and constantly asserted that the present-day art has been shown to be in advance of that of the past or, rather, that if not equal to it in some so-called or academical qualities, it is acquiring so many "new lights" from the general progress of art. The tendency of nineteenth century art, therefore, has been to assert its independence of the centuries that preceded it, to rely no longer on a tradition with which the times were out of touch; to look forward, rather than backward, to learn from nature, rather than from the old masters. What then is the scope of value of tradition in the development of art?

Tradition is the accumulation of previous modes or manners of expression crystallised under certain wholesome principles and system of work found on trial to be useful by our predecessors. Can there be any development without traditions? On the other hand, does tradition in any way thwart or stunt the growth of art? Respect for old age, otherwise called tradition, is, in the field of art, vindicated by the popularity and the worship of the old masters. Now there are two classes of views with regard to the debt we owe to the old masters and their influence on the present-day artists. Sir Joshua Reynolds in his "lectures" says: "Study the great works of the great masters for ever. Consider them as models which *you are to imitate*..." There is no phase of modern printing, however startling in its novelty, however audacious and revolutionary in its originality, which cannot be paralleled among the most universally respected of these "old masters." "It is mere ignorance," says John Ruskin, "which engenders the vanity of supposing that we can invent at a stroke a new style of architecture, a new method of looking at nature, a new manner of painting—there is nothing new under the sun." Strictly speaking there is no new discovery to be made in the field of art and that the only possible development is in the power of expression. The other class says: the mere imitation of the style of a past age can never pronounce a great work of art. The form and demands of art have changed and expanded with the advance of time. The artistic wants, not less than artistic capacities of succeeding ages, are entirely different; how should the principles which produced the want for the one be capable of producing an art suitable to the other? It is too much to expect one to worship everything ancient and to despise everything modern. By too much inhaling of traditional forms one loses the power to assimilate new ideas. That would be stifling all originality. By too much thinking in one set of ideas, we get blunted. All originality

must disappear when every attempt to break away from tradition is treated as almost a criminal offence. The true leaders of art education are the men who are ready to change their methods as circumstances demand. A hard and fast system can produce nothing but stereotyped effects. Rules are the foetus of genius. We must break the leading strings which tie us to the old system, we must discover fresh fields and pastures new. While new traditions are being created, new canons of test are being established, new creeds are springing up, we must not go on bowing down to our old battered and absurd idols, worshipping them not because they are of any use to us but simply because they are old. Being asleep so long like Rip Van Winkle, we do not realise that a new generation has sprung up which regards us as out of date. Like the natives of the Fiji islands they want to kill off their parents when they are old.

Yet there are another class of thinkers who take a middle path between the two extreme views. "Traditions", they say, "should not be preferred to opportunities. You are so scrupulous about observing this rule or that formula that you forget that there is anything else to be taken into account. To make new experiments does not necessarily mean disloyalty to great traditions. Worthy traditions must be upheld in a worthy manner. Instead of plodding along in the actual footsteps of the old masters, what we want to see is a proper spirit of independence and a serious striving after originality. We laugh at artists who flourished a generation ago because we see that they hedged themselves round with conventions and followed more or less ineffectively a rigid set of rules. In avoiding their conventions you are trotting, one after another, in just as narrow a round of conventions. You have substituted a new convention for an old one—a habit of eccentricity for a matter of custom—and you have not got appreciably further on the road to great and inspired art. If an artist of striking originality does chance to appear, must you scout him and do your best to keep him from acquiring authority, and the few who do attach themselves to him discredit him by turning into a convention his mannerisms and personal tricks of style? None of you take the trouble to think for yourself."...

In the first place every work of art must be in harmony not merely with the received ideas but also with independent artistic ones. Even when the genius of artists rests on pre-existing ideas, or is inspired by ideas of another age or other countries, it must transform them by impressing upon them the seal of its individuality and by making them applicable to the manners and conventions of the times. To be faithful to the traditions of our ancestors is not necessarily to be slaves of the formulas of these elders. Yet the training must be wrong indeed if it is based on nothing but tradition.....

Sir Joshua Reynolds has some very pertinent remarks in this connection. "We must not rest contented with the study of the moderns ; we must trace back the art to its fountain heads ; to that source from which they drew their principal excellences, the monuments of pure antiquity.....". "All the inventions and thoughts of the ancients, whether conveyed to us in statues, BAS RELIEFS, intaglios, comeos or coins are to be sought after and carefully studied, the genius that hovers over these venerable relics may be called the father

of modern art. From the remains of the works of the ancients, the modern arts were revived and it is by their means that they must be restored a second time. However it may mortify our vanity, we must be forced to allow them our masters and we may venture to prophecy, that when they shall cease to be studied, arts will no longer flourish and we shall again relapse into barbarism. No man need be ashamed of copying the ancients: their works are considered as a magazine of common property always open to the public whence every man has a right to take what materials he pleases and if he has the art of using them, they are supposed to become, to all intents and purposes, his own property. For, he who borrows an idea from an ancient or even from a modern artist not his contemporary, and so accommodates it to his own work, that it makes a part of it, with no seam or joining appearing, can hardly be charged with plagiarism."

It will be interesting to quote the remarks of John Ruskin which are pertinent to the subject. "The originality which proves vital does not mean doing what nobody has ever seen attempted before, it means spontaneity of genuine thought and unaffected feeling working within traditionary bounds with complete power and insight; it is parallel to the best conception of Free Will in Ethics, and as much misunderstood. In reviewing the history of art it becomes evident that the great achievements have been *in development of existing ideals and methods, not in antagonism to them*, the more we know about the great schools the more we are forced to recognise their continuity." In discussing the value of tradition we must distinguish the effects thereof from mere convention... (As Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy observes): "As long as art is living, tradition remains plastic, and is moulded imperceptibly by successive generations. The force of its appeal is strengthened by the association of ideas,—artistic, emotional and religious. Traditional forms have thus a significance not merely foreign to an imitative art, but dependent on the fact that they represent rather race conceptions than the ideas of one artist or a single period. Their vital expression of the race mind: to reject them, and expect great art to live on as before would be to sever the roots of a forest tree and still look for flowers and fruit upon its branches."

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOPADHYAY

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Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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THE ABSENT-MINDED MUSICIANS

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—Surendra Nath Kar 

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Radio Advertisements

The All India Radio is now doing publicity work of a commercial nature. That means whosoever pays the necessary fees to the A.I.R. and agrees to conform to whatever rules and regulations are laid down for inserting commercial advertisements in Radio programmes: can have the listeners regaled by announcements about the excellence of their goods or services. The A.I.R. is of course vastly experienced in this work of giving undeserved publicity to persons, incidents, opinions etc.; for, even as things had been for many years preceding the official acceptance of commercial advertisements, the listeners had to listen to publicity announcements of political, economic, sociological and of general varieties which were of not much value to the Nation or to Humanity. Various persons have made speeches and pronouncements very frequently throughout the last two decades and these have been publicised through the Radio without considering the merit or value of what the persons said, just because they were persons of importance in government and could bring pressure on the authorities of the A.I.R. The public have never liked all this sort of useless broadcasting and the people

who got the publicity got it without paying any advertisement charges. Apart from politicians, we have had to listen to much fifth rate music, drama and what not: just because the Radio officials liked to mould public taste in favour of their chosen artists whose combined efforts made radio owners more eager to switch off than to switch on. Strangely enough these artistes received payments rather than being made to pay something for the publicity they got.

Now that the A.I.R. would be announcing the merits of hair oils, face creams and patent medicines for a consideration, we would suggest that they doubled the radio licence fees and arranged to cut out totally the proposed advertisements as well as to shorten all political news to 25 per cent of their usual size and all "modern" stuff to 10 per cent of normal. More good music from various countries and "gharanas", also introduction to things of real value from the point of view of progress and civilisation, could be given the place thus made available. There are now in this world many living authors, poets; composers, scientists and other men and women about whom we should know much more than we do. There are numerous great institutions in various countries which should be made known to

our people. Great scholars; sportsmen; explorers; inventors; painters; sculptors; architects and pioneers in research and scientific work can be introduced to the Indian public. Human civilisation of the last six to eight thousand years can provide enough material of a very interesting and entertaining type which can be utilised for broadcasts everyday for a certain length of time. This can go on for a hundred years without much repetition. In short; if it is a question of money earnings; the best way to achieve that would be to double the licence fee. The A.I.R. can then be much more solvent and work out really good programmes without seeking favours from politicians or industrialists. The A.I.R. is surely a public institution which should not be used by politicians and businessmen for their personal ends.

What's Wrong With Propaganda

Those who undertake to do propaganda for the acceptance of a creed or for the sale of a particular commodity, usually indulge in exaggerations which verge on or actually are false statements. When a body of persons seek public approbation or for themselves or their thoughts, wishes or actions, they also make assertions, give assurances and present as infallible, logicalities, what would appear on closer examination as complete absurdities. In this public men often excel sellers of toilet soap or face powder in their use of false superlatives, fake epithets and impossible arguments. Propaganda therefore is essentially an art of presenting as facts what really are very far from actual realities. In the circumstances helping propaganda, whether for the acceptance of a political creed or for inducing people to eat a brand of breakfast food quite often lands one in aiding and abetting in the propagation of a lie. It is legitimate therefore to refuse to help in any propaganda or even to oppose it whenever one finds it based on false assumptions, assertions, arguments and reasoning. Political leaders have a habit of making promises without knowing what they are talking about, and they also indulge in accusations or finding con-

venient explanations to clear themselves of responsibilities which would normally attach to them. Within the last two decades we have experienced much false propaganda from political sources and the people have every reason to condemn such deliberate attempts at misguiding them about matters of great importance. The propaganda about the importance of Hindi in our scheme of national progress has been very largely false. The Nehru Government published false figures of Hindi speakers for many years. They even went so far as to include Panjabi in the Hindi group of languages. They left out many clearly non-Hindi languages like Maithili from their published statements in order to prove that Hindi was spoken by about forty per cent of the Indian people. In fact Hindi proper is spoken by only about fifteen per cent of the Indian people. The others, who are assumed to speak Hindi, really speak Urdu, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani dialects and other sub-languages of a clearly distinct type. There have been other propaganda connected with Planning, Food Growing, Education, Family Planning etc., etc., which one cannot accept as entirely true or factually and scientifically tenable. In the past too, we have been given incorrect accounts of India's fight for freedom and other historical matters, in order to attach more importance to the leaders of the Congress Party than they were entitled to. Certain communities which had not worked very hard or not at all for independence, were given an unduly important share of the glory for certain ulterior motives which were not praiseworthy. Political propaganda, therefore, has been dishonestly carried on in India and is still being carried on in the same manner. Recent propaganda about the Economic situation in West Bengal also follows the same path of interested misrepresentation of facts by political as well as by other V.I.P.s.

Morarji's Challenge Regarding Hindi

"Hindi will certainly become India's 'National Language' whatever be the opposition to it."

So proclaimed Shree Morarji Desai, Deputy

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Prime Minister of India in the Indira Gandhi Government set up by the Congress Party. Shree Morarji has always been a champion of lost causes and a backer of lame horses. His championship of Hindi therefore is not so good for that language, which in our opinion will only be a "State language" for show for a little while and then yield place to the other important languages of India for all practical purposes. For, when all education will be carried on in the regional languages and the State Departments, Courts and other Offices, Institutions and Establishments will use the regional languages too or English for such work as cannot be carried on in a regional language (or in Hindi either), then there will be no scope for the use of Hindi excepting where it is a regional language.

Hindi has been dubbed *Rashtra Bhasha* or State Language. That means it will be used for Official purposes of the State of India. National Language means *Jatiya Bhasha*, i.e., the language of the Indian Nation. India is a Nation which has many languages but a fundamentally uniform culture and outlook. So that if any effort is made to make Hindi the Nation's language, it will naturally interfere with the fundamental character of this multilingual Nation. That is why Hindi will never be our National Language, no matter what the politicians of the Congress or any other party think. Morarji made a great farce of his anti-drink campaign in Bombay. He also made a hash of Gold Control. His tax policy and foreign borrowings campaign have been failures. He should now retire and not try his hand at linguistic reform or changing the food habits of the people.

Who Is To Blame ?

India in general and the State of West Bengal in particular are going through a period of dangerous reduction in economic activities. It may be given different names like a trade slump, a recession, industrial unrest, economic imbalance or anything else; but fundamentally it is a slowing down of the work of production, distribution and consumption caused by the inability

and unwillingness of the people concerned to produce, sell or buy various goods and services for reasons which were not the same in all cases. The various reasons which stand in the way of the normal functioning of economic forces are too many, theoretically, to be scheduled completely. Let us take a few important ones. Inflation, for instance, causes a rise in prices and though it may help the activities of the government who can secure funds through the creation of credit for their own use, the general public slowly fall behind in buying and in consumption on account of the falling purchasing power of their incomes due to currency inflation. This has been happening in India over a number of years and has now assumed dangerous proportions. There are thousands of producers and trades people who can no longer sell their goods, because the people cannot afford to buy. Also many producers have had to curtail business on account of lack of imported components which they cannot buy due to foreign currency and import restrictions imposed by Government. The Government have brought about a partial deadlock in their foreign trade by devaluation of the rupee and by borrowing heavily from foreign countries without developing a commensurate ability to pay interest and sinking fund instalments. Their policy of import restrictions has interfered with the nation's productive efforts very greatly and caused damage to and upsets, everybody's personal and business activities and plans. The Government have indulged in overdoing of things all along the line. Their plans have been in excess of the Nation's resources and capacity to adjust and fit in the new establishments and increased demands and supplies created by their forced economic growth. All supplies and services such as of raw materials, transport, power and credit facilities have been largely grabbed by Government to the discomfiture of private businessmen who have had to restrict or to close down production, purchase and sale. Generally speaking, the appearance of a giant in the economic field, namely the public sector, chased all others into those nooks and corners which the Government had no use for, and this naturally interfered

with the smooth flow of the nation's economic life. The recession has been a natural consequence of the Governments' attempts to organise a dual economy; partly nationalised and partly privately managed; with an ever growing monopoly of rights and privileges for the public sector. It is well known to economists that when socialistic ventures come into competition with private ventures on a wide and many sided front, both suffer and the nation faces an economic crisis. The Indian incident has been complicated by the presence of half-baked party interests and by the activities of persons from both camps whose integrity and honesty have been of a doubtful nature. The Government is still playing with institutions of great national importance like General Insurance, Banks, International Trade, etc., and engaging in extensive borrowings and industrial collaboration with foreign parties in a drowning-man-catches-at-a-straw manner. The people who have knowledge of these things believe that the recession may intensify with the growth of "National Ventures" in newer fields.

Strikes, lockouts, ghetaos, demonstrations and useless conferences are symptoms of the crisis rather than its cause. But where the State engages in partisan activities, as some of the West Bengal Government Ministries are reported to have done during the last several months, the crisis is aggravated rather than toned down. Had the West Bengal Ministries concerned had more sense and less ideology, they could have done some good to the suffering public and to the Management-Worker-Shareholder complex. Everybody suffered because some Party Nero wanted to play his ideological fiddle without interference. This fantastic deviation from the path of reason by an accredited Minister of a democratically established Government, has no parallel in history. The accusation that ghetaos, strikes etc., have caused the general slump in business is not tenable: but the West Bengal Government cannot wash out their clear cut involvement in the general disorganisation of trade and industry during the last several months, by quotations from authorities in the field of economics. Nobody can work out the factual weight-

age of the losses suffered by West Bengal due to the misconceived attempts of its Ministries to solve a problem of economics by a peculiar ideological extravagance; but the responsibility attaches nevertheless to those ministers for aggravating the already troubled situation.

"Conspiracies" to Deprive the People

Whenever some people try to so arrange the social system that All People have to obey them and live according to their wishes, suspicions rise in the mind of intelligent persons that the limited few who will become the rulers will deprive the general public of some of their legitimate rights. When kings and the members of the aristocracy acquired ruling power, they decided what rents, taxes, impositions and levies will constitute their share of the national income and what the people will be allowed to possess and keep for themselves. When democracies grew the peoples' elected representatives did what they liked in the name of the people. There usually developed a party system and the majority party customarily took over rulership of the country. The result usually determined participation in gains of various kinds for selected persons, through appointments, licences, contracts, quotas and permits. Such gains as exceed the normal advantages that accrue to persons who organise things, supervise and show enterprise, will have the nature of profit and will come out of the legitimate share of gains that rightfully belongs to those who work and toil. In the language of Communists it comes out of the surplus value produced by human labour. Monarchies, oligarchies and democracies can be benevolent and largely organised and operated for the Welfare of the People. But they usually are not so and illicit exploitation takes away a considerable share of what rightly belongs to the people. A monarch like the Emperor Ashoka should be considered to be a very rare exception. Democracies in some countries are customarily quite free from the creation of privilege, exploitation and nepotism. But most democracies, including the Indian democracy have not been able to establish that degree

of freedom from corrupt practices. Political connections have helped persons to get rich undeservedly and without any hard work or use of extraordinary talent.

When it comes to Communism, the possession of the means of production being prohibited, certain types of acquisition of economic privilege and gain, can be prevented. But large stores of value possessed and produced by the nation, can be depleted and used up by men in power for the satisfaction of their ego and for a spectacular and expensive existence for themselves and their entourage. Houses, planes, cars and the other paraphernalia required by the great men of the inner circle of the Communist groups, cannot be fitted into the rigid conception of equality and common enjoyment of the utilities available to the people. No doubt they charter ships and planes as well as throw big banquets or arrange for spectacular pageants in order to glorify the people; but, everything said and done, leadership in a Communist State becomes quite an enjoyable thing while it lasts. One must admit that the hazards of being a King, a Prime Minister or a President can be as dangerous as those that attach to the leadership of a Communist State. In fact, the glamour and advantages of leadership in any shape or form total up to money equivalents which can be expressed in millions of dollars or roubles. The late Ram Manohar Lohia used to say that the State spent Rs. 25,000/- per day for the glorification of Pandit Nehru. For all we know China may be spending Rs. 2,50,000/- per day for the deification of Mao Tse Tung. In fact, a leader of a Communist group cannot express his leadership without expenditure. And some of that expenditure yields satisfaction and enjoyment to him. And his share of the national dividend thus assumes very large dimensions. May be, he desires leadership for those advantages. Just as there may be Kings and leaders of democracies who seek political power in order to do good to the people, so can there be Communist politicians who are selfless benefactors of society. But most Kings and leaders seek power for self assertion and the fruits thereof. This is true of Communist too. Virtue in political leaders can be measured by the mani-

culations they indulge in and by the gains that accrue to their family members, friends and immediate followers.

Points of View

Politicians have a way of thinking which to ordinary mortals may appear to be inconsistent, illogical and contrary to all rules of common-sense. Mrs. Indira Gandhi became a politician only very recently, but she picked up the ways of the professional rulers of human society quickly enough and began to make assertions with a total disregard for what the common man would call the logic of facts. Her recent announcement that India had not changed her stand on the Kashmir question, no matter if her congratulatory message to President Ayub Khan relating to the Mangla Dam might suggest otherwise, appeared to contradict India's repeated assertion that Pakistan was in unlawful occupation of certain parts of Kashmir. When this matter came up before the Lok Sabha Mr. Nath Pai asked: "Has the Government now started agreeing that the aggressor should enjoy the fruits of aggression?" The Mangla Dam was built on Indian territory occupied unlawfully by Pakistan and a congratulatory message from the Prime Minister of India to President Ayub Khan of Pakistan relating to the completion of the Dam would clearly suggest that India did not resent such lawless use of her territory. If Indian soldiers died in Kashmir fighting Pakistani troops engaged in extending their aggression and if by this supreme sacrifice they recovered India's lost territory, which the Indian Government callously handed back to the aggressors, the statement that India's stand on the Kashmir question remained unchanged really stood for nothing but a spineless acceptance of whatever make believe cease fire arrangements the Foreign supporters of Pakistan imposed on India. Mr. Madhu Limaye joined Mr. Nath Pai in criticising the Government's action or inaction relating to the Kashmir issue.

They all combined to condemn Mrs. Gandhi's action in congratulating President Ayub Khan on the completion of the Pakisthani Dam on Indian

territory. Mrs. Gandhi was not convinced that the building of a Dam by Pakistan made the Dam site Pakistan territory. She believed the territory remained Indian even if no Indian remained on that territory. She was also very pleased that the Mangla Dam would give India more water even if the Pakistanis occupied the land. No doubt India protested when Pakistan planned to build the Dam : but then, India was not getting any water. We do not feel competent to explore the rights and wrongs of Indo-Pak politics, for right from the beginning of Indian independence and the creation of Pakistan, there has never been any justice, truth or recognition of correct realities in any matter connected with Pakistan's Rights, claims or actions.

Mr. Jyoti Basu's Thoughts

Mr. Jyoti Basu, Ex(?) -Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal is much worried about the fate of the people of the State in view of the defections in the State Assembly which have probably caused loss of majority to the U. F. Government. He thinks it will be a great calamity for the people of West Bengal if this loosely knit coalition ceased to remain in power. He also considers Dr. P. C. Ghosh's resignation and attempt to set up a rival coalition the act of a traitor. West Bengal may experience a lot of violence and lawlessness if the U. F. Government lost its right to remain in power.

During the time that the U. F. Government have been in power, the people of West Bengal have experienced greater hardships than they had ever before. The previous set up was bad enough; but the U. F. Government had turned the State into a mad house. The food position also deteriorated but probably not due to any fault of the U. F. politicians. Whatever that may be, in a democracy no Government can stay in power without a majority. Mr. Basu has already had to indulge in taxation by Ordinance which is not what democratic people like. "No taxation without representation" was the war cry of freedom lovers about two hundred years ago. It still

rankles if a man is made to pay taxes in a dictatorial manner. Mr. Basu is a believer in dictatorship and that is why he thinks his Government should continue to exist even without having a majority. Dr. P. C. Ghosh may or may not be a traitor but Mr. Basu is a close associate of many persons who are traitors to mother India, by reason of their collusion with India's enemies. We would hate to see the Congress back in power in West Bengal, but if that happened it would be the fault of the people, who somehow never saw how the political parties of India always betrayed them utterly and in complete negation of all principles of individual and group morality.

Social morality in India perhaps reached its lowest depth during the period that the Congress managed the country's affairs. Bribery and corruption, favouritism and privilege determined almost everything wherever governmental departments functioned. The high principles that Mahatma Gandhi stood for, just vanished with the coming of political power in the hands of the Congress politicians. During these long years the people of India have got so used to unprincipled management of public affairs that they now associate all governmental work with corrupt practices. The defeat of the Congress in several States put new hopes in the peoples mind; but these hopes were not realised. The leftists, as these new groups were called in a general sense, proved less efficient if they were less corrupt and the people found no solace in the fact of removing the Congress from power. The present propaganda that the leftists may be "toppled" out of their position of power and that would be a great tragedy, is not accepted wholeheartedly by the general public. The people are now indifferent as to who comes in power and forms a Government. Even Presidents rule is considered in an unemotional manner. The people do not much care about the people who rule. They are more concerned with food supplies, employment, wages and earnings and similar matters. The end of democracy or the liquidation of Marxism do not worry them, for they want the three dimensional aids to good living.

"Social" Control of Banks Etc.

The word "social" in India does not mean the totality of the people who live in the human society in India. For when we talk of social welfare and account for the thousands of crores of rupees that we appear to spend for that particular type of welfare, we find that the majority of the people living in the Indian society of human beings are left out of all gains from those vast expenses incurred for social welfare. In fact the word social has no meaning which can be precisely and irrevocably attached to it. Those who make use of the word "social" are left free to give it any meaning that suits their purpose. So, when Sri Morarji Desai speaks of Social Control of Banks, no one must assume that there would be public committees of freely elected men and women who would thereafter control the affairs of the Banks in order to assure the most profitable use of the resources of the Banks for the people while providing the maximum security to the owners of those resources. For, no doubt, Banks are created for the advantage of the depositors who desire safety combined with profitability for their money. They also use the banks for the purpose of making payments in a safe and certain manner. The Banks invest such parts of the funds that they have or hold for safe custody, as they do not require for immediate use, in order to earn an income, out of which they meet their own expenses. These include payment of interest to their depositors. Sri Morarji, when he talks of Social Control of Banks, perhaps means bureaucratic control of some other specified kind than what already exists and is exercised through the Reserve Bank of India. These fresh bureaucratic control arrangements will perhaps arrange for investments of a non-profitable and risky nature which will in the opinion of bureaucrats, do good to society at large. Whether any good will actually accrue to society will depend on the degree of *social control that the people of India can organise for keeping bureaucrats in check*. Actually much more good will be done to society by controlling political leaders and bureaucrats than can be achieved by controlling banks, insurance

companies and other economic institutions. We have seen, and are still suffering from, all the controls that the bureaucrats have arranged for us. Food, foreign travel, commerce, trade, production, medical aid, employment, law and order and much else, show up the inefficiency of those who undertake to do everything and achieve nothing. Those who keep money in banks may not find it safe to put their money in the hand of bureaucrats. Then what happens?

Saturation Point of Taxation and Borrowing

Sri Morarji Desai is now devoting his time and energy for the defence of his taxation policy on the ground that taxation in India has not yet reached the saturation point. We do not know what the saturation point is in taxation nor what it is in borrowing; but we prefer to judge the merits of taxation and borrowing by studying their results. We find that in India, in spite of increasing taxes and borrowings the economic development has not been at all satisfactory. We find that capital formation in India has been negligible at the State level when we consider the borrowings at home and abroad, and that at the private level it has been better considering the heavy taxes and the numerous obstacles created by the Government to hamper the growth of private enterprise. When we study the economy of Japan, West Germany, France, Italy, the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Netherlands we find that all these countries have stimulated private capital formation by regulating taxation to the advantage of such accumulations. As a matter of fact the United States Government are now thinking of further liberalising their tax policy in order to emulate the example of Japan and West Germany. Sri Morarji would be well advised to seek inspiration from the countries which have achieved spectacular economic growth and not to go to sources which are against free market economy and believe in authoritarian control of all economic resources, as well as of consumption.

Had the people obtained more freedom and liberty by the sacrifice of their income and sav-

ing, there might have been some compensation for the losses suffered; but in an authoritarian economy the money sacrifices are usually outweighed by the sacrifices in the field of personal liberty and freedom. The sophistry about group freedom and liberty too does not sell excepting to the frantically unintelligent adherents of the particular brand of creed that is put up by the leaders of the oligarchy in power. The Congress type of socialism is not sound from two angles. The first is its lack of a balanced socialistic outlook. The Congress wants to be authoritarian but lacks the courage to be so. The second fault in outlook is contributed by the large number of profiteers, blackmarketers and dishonest capitalists who belong to the Congress camp. So, in view of its authoritarian attitude the Congress cannot sponsor the growth of clean and honest capitalism nor help develop institutions which can destroy the evils of a clean capitalism. Again, as the Congress has many supporters among the socially undesirable type of businessmen, their activities vitiate all Congress efforts at social welfare. The Congress therefore cannot create a balanced economy with a sound social welfare programme. It taxes the people too heavily and borrows money with abandon, but achieves little. We do not want a hundred per cent authoritarian government either: because we do not wish to surrender our personal rights of the legitimate variety. We therefore must create a reorientation of political powers and rights by liquidating all existing political parties and forming new ones with much wider following than we now have. Parties must yield power to the people. Not to cliques.

Sri Morarji should stop thinking about saturation points of taxation or borrowing. He should think whether India has now reached a

saturation point in bad Government and mismanagement of the nation's affairs. All make believe attempts at convincing the people of India that they will be enjoying the benefits of democracy, socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat and various other highly desirable things as a nation, should be accepted by the people of India with the proverbial pinch of salt. No political group of leaders in India, since 1947, could claim political ability, integrity or even sincerity in an unqualified manner. The Indian people therefore must try to take over power from these political professionals as soon as possible. If this is not done, India will go under.

Devaluation of Pound Sterling

The British Pound has been devalued. Britain adopted the Gold Standard one hundred and fifty one years ago and the original pound was 7.98805 grammes of gold of 0.916 $\frac{2}{3}$ fineness. The paper pound was issued in 1914. In 1925 the Pound-Dollar parity was fixed at £ 1 : dollar 4.8666. The pound went off the gold standard in 1931 but steps were taken to prevent wide fluctuations. Upto the time of the Second World War a sterling bloc existed. The Second World War saw the Sterling Area in which the Pound-Dollar ratio was fixed at £ 1 : 4.03 dollar ; but the pound was devalued down in 1949 to £ 1 : dollar 2.80. The present devaluation will make this £ 1 : dollar 2.40 and this has been done to improve Britain's balance of trade and the flow of funds to British banks, Britain has an unfavourable balance of trade which amounts to about £ 1000000000 the most unfavourable balance is with the U. S. A. The Indian rupee will now have a ratio with the £ of 18 : 1. This may require slight price adjustments in our exports.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ECONOMIC THEORIES

DR. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my houses as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

-MAHATMA GANDHI (1921)

"To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. God created man to work for his food, and said that those who ate without work were thieves."

-MAHATMA GANDHI (1921)

In view of the Centennial Birthday Celebration of Mahatma Gandhi to be observed throughout the world in 1968-69, I have chosen as the topic for my paper a facet of Gandhi's ideas fully appreciated neither by the scholar nor by the layman. It would be easier and simpler for me to deal with the qualities of the Mahatma's charisma by drawing upon my own personal association with him as well as upon the experiences of others who had been associated with him. But I have chosen to deal with Gandhi's economic ideas in the hope of dispelling some distorted interpretations of the Saint of Sabarmati.

The Mahatma's Socialism

"I have claimed that I had been a socialist long before those I know in India avowed their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred." Thus wrote Gandhi in his weekly paper *Harijan* of April 20, 1940.

Socialist literature has had no significant influence on Gandhi. His most intensive reading was done during his student days in London and his "Barrister" days in South Africa. Gandhi's reading, for the most part, had been confined to character-building writings, religious, philosophi-

cal, and literary. The Bhagavad Gita and the Sermon on the Mount he had read in London. In South Africa he read Tolstoy, Ruskin, and Thoreau as well as the whole of the Bible, Commentaries on the Bible, Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy, and the history and tenets of world religions. In South Africa he translated into Gujarati Plato's *Apology*, or dialogue on the death of Socrates, and Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. It is not clear whether he first translated Thoreau's *Essay On Civil Disobedience* in South Africa or in India. Gandhi later translated the Bhagavad Gita from Sanskrit into Gujarati, with a commentary, under the title "The Yoga of Detachment." This book is now available in an English translation with notes by Gandhi's secretary, the late Mahadev Desai.¹

Among the formative influences in the early days of Gandhi, the young barrister, may be mentioned Henry David Thoreau (American, Author of "The Essay on Civil Disobedience"), Leo Tolstoy (Russian, Author of *The Kingdom of God is Within You*), John Ruskin (English, Author of *Unto This Last*), the Sermon on the Mount (Christian), and the Bhagavad Gita (the New Testament of Hinduism).

Ruskin's sensitivity to human suffering and his exaltation of labor made an indelible impression upon young Gandhi. From Ruskin he learned the heterodox economic doctrine that the wealth of a people consisted in its people, not in material

things. "There is no wealth but life—life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is the richest who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."² Nor did Ruskin's exaltation of heroism and valour fall on deaf ears: "The difference... existing between regiments of man associated for purposes of violence, and for purposes of manufacture... [is] that the former appear capable of sacrifice, the latter not; which fact is the real reason for the general lowness of estimate in which the profession of commerce is held, as compared with that of arms."³

From *Unto This Last* by Ruskin, the young Hindu lawyer, then sojourning in South Africa, drew the following three conclusions (1904):

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have an equal right to earn a livelihood from their work.
3. That the life of labor, i. e., the life of the tiller of the soil and of the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

We see that as early as 1904, Gandhi began to look upon economic activities in terms of human values. This point of view was to lead him to formulate two basic principles: (1) the right of the farmer to own his farm and the right of the worker to own his tools: (2) the role of the wealthy and the privileged and the educated as trustees for the well-being of the masses.

Gandhi's views on socialism changed with the passage of time. In the early days, he had a vague notion that socialists wanted forcible redistribution of wealth: "I am no socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions. . . I should then be departing from the rule of Ahimsa."⁴ That was said in 1940 he claimed to have been a socialist of long standing. During his last imprisonment in the Aga Khan's Palace,

Poona, 1942-1944, out of courtesy to his socialist friends he decided to read Karl Marx's *Capital*. At the end of that herculean feat of endurance, he quietly remarked; "I think I could have written it better, assuming, of course, that I had the leisure for the study he has put in."

Gandhi's private Utopia

In order to understand Gandhi's economic it is necessary for us to distinguish between Gandhi, the individual, with his private utopia, and Gandhi, the citizen-leader, whose utopia must conform to social realities. Most writers dealing with this phase of Gandhi's thinking and activity have confused the two Gandhis, and, therefore, have failed to present a true picture of Gandhi's economics.

Gandhi, the individual, would feel thoroughly at home in the presocial-contract order, postulated by Rousseau, wherein man lived by the noblest impulses of his nature, neither exploiting nor being exploited, neither impelled by lust for power nor submitting to the will of the tyrant, free from vice and corruption, unencumbered by possessions, eating freely of the bounty of nature, and "like the lilies of the field taking no thought of the morrow."

The private utopia of Gandhi would be an idyllic existence on the Himalyan heights, perhaps with a few others of like mind; an existence in which he could live in harmony with nature, labor for himself a few hours, and commune with his inner self and with God. There would be no need to minister to others since none would need ministration.

In a grand gesture of living his phantasy as a reality, the Mahatma did actually establish a solitary abode in the open countryside near Wardha, with the hope of "living and working there in solitude" (1936). A single mud hut was built. Dr. John R. Mott interviewed Gandhi there in 1937. Village reconstruction workers would visit Gandhi there from time to time. Soon the sick and the infirm began to come in. Other cottages had to be built. A dispensary was established. A barn had to be built to accommodate cows. Dairy

workers were needed, and new cottages went up. Thus, ruefully commented Gandhi, "In spite of myself, the place has developed into an Ashram without any rules and regulations. It is growing and new huts are springing up. Today it has become a hospital. In jest I have called it a 'Home for the Invalid,... I have even likened it to a Lunatic Asylum...'"

This last Ashram established by Gandhi, the Sevagram Ashram, illustrates the story of the Hindu recluse all over again. He lived in solitude the better to perform his sadhana or meditation. A mouse began to distract his attention. He decided to get a cat in order to chase the mouse away. The cat needed milk, and he bought a cow. It soon appeared that if he was to devote himself to meditation, he had to have someone to take care of the cow. And so on and so forth.

Gandhi, the citizen-leader, did not ever attempt, nor even think of attempting, to make society over into his image. He had already come to the conclusion that he could find neither God nor his true self apart from humanity. His private utopia, therefore, has no relevance in a discussion of Gandhi's economics.

An Outline of Gandhi's Economics

What, then, is the outline of Gandhi's public view of economics?

First, from Ruskin he had learned the heterodox economic doctrine that the wealth of a nation consisted in its people, not in its production and consumption goods (1901).

Second, from Sir Daniel Hamilton, an able financier with interests in India, he learned: "That India does not need to look to the gold standard or to the silver standard or to any metallic standard; India has a metal all its own, and he says that that consists in her countless units of labor... since we have all the labor, we do not want to fall back upon any foreign capital... We would be able to produce those things that the world would voluntarily and willingly take from us" (1931).⁶ Here we have the labor theory of value expounded by Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Marx.

Third, his experiments with truth and non-violence led him to believe in the doctrines of non-stealing and non-possession. In lieu of the multiplicity of wants, which is the cornerstone of modern economics, Marxist as well as orthodox, Gandhi counselled a renunciation of wants as the true criterion of civilization. "A multiplicity of hospitalads," he said, "is no test of civilization; it is rather a symptom of decay." Just as he advocated prevention of disease by proper healthful living, so he advocated a renunciation of wants as a cure for the multiplying problems of the disease called modern civilization (1909). As Jawaharlal Nehru neatly put it: "In an acquisitive society madly searching for new gadgets and new luxuries, he takes to his loin-cloth and his mud-hut."⁸

Fourth, in the economy of India, the farmer, perforce rendered idle for six months in the year, used formerly to supplement his income from agriculture with the products of cottage industry—principally spinning and weaving. "The cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses." Further, "the miserable comfort (of town-dwellers) represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter: the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses." The British system of administration in India was "carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures, can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye" (1922).⁹ Here we have practically Marx's thesis, without the Marxian jargon, that national capitalism and imperialism, to subjugate and exploit the colonial masses, and that the bourgeoisie, the town-dwellers, took the side of capitalism against the exploited masses.

Fifth, to be self-respecting and efficient, the worker must own his own tools of production, namely, the spinning wheel and the handloom, and the farmer must own the farm he tills.

Those basic assumptions of Gandhi's economics came into a head-on collision with the infant industrialism of India, ushered into being, first, by British capitalists and later, by Hindustani capitalists. Gandhi's response has been

misunderstood. He has been maligned as advocating a throwback to primitive economy, a retreat from the industrial-urban complex. There is no truth in such a distorted interpretation. I should not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity."¹¹

Time and again Gandhi said, "I am not opposed to machine qua machine"; he himself was adept at the use of the spinning wheel—a machine! What he objected to were the uses to which large-scale machinery was put: exploitation of beings, concentration of power and riches in the hands of the few, technological unemployment, and consequent starvation of those displaced by the machine. .

Economists would accept the first two indictments of the machine, at least so far as past experience is concerned, but would quarrel with Gandhi's third count of indictment. Technological unemployment is at best a temporary phenomenon; indeed, any new technological invention may provide employment for millions while temporarily displacing hundreds. For instance, hundreds of hansom cab drivers were thrown out of employment by the appearance of the automobile: but the automobile industry provided new employment to millions in various phases of industry, and in taxicab service. There is logic in the economist's argument, but Gandhi was concerned with human values. The technologically displaced may appear as a statistical figure to the economist; to Gandhi they appeared as human beings with mouths to feed, with joys and sorrows, with wives and children who would suffer from their unemployment. Furthermore, in the specific conditions of India, the primary problem was, and is, employment of its teeming millions leading to production: not production as a result of employment of labor and use of machinery.

Gandhi stated his point neatly: "I have no objection if all things required by my country could be produced with the labor of 30,000,000. But these 30,000,000 must not be rendered idle or unemployed."¹² That the ultimate test of the validity of mass-production must be general well-being is brought out by Gandhi in the following statement: "My object is not to destroy the machine... I welcome the machine that lightens the burden of millions of men living in cottages and reduces man's labor... If we could have electricity in every village home, I should not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity."¹¹

In other words, Gandhi would have no machine in his private utopia; but in the world of reality he would tame the machine in the interest of the masses. That is hardly a throwback to primitivism!

Taming the machine is not a one-man job; it requires the collective efforts of hundreds of members of society. And since he had no time to spare for such a titanic movement, Gandhi was content to lay down the general principles regarding the limits and possibilities of large-scale machinery in terms of human welfare—in terms of human wealth. He would devote his own active energies to the rejuvenation of village life, to the rehabilitation of village industries, enkindling among village folk the "powers of love, of joy, and of admiration", and transforming this exploited, wretched humanity—85 per cent of India's population—into "noble and happy human beings." And since this activity fitted in with his temperamental and theoretical belief in the validity of decentralization, the Mahatma in his latter days devoted himself wholeheartedly to rural uplift and organised the All-India Village Industries Association.

The American "Point Four" programme will be effective in India—or anywhere else in the Orient, for that matter—only if we keep before us Gandhi's clear-cut analysis of the economic scope, and seek to help in the rejuvenation of village life. What India needs is not large-scale machinery—excepting hydro-electric projects—but technical know-how applied to transform the countryside into farms and gardens and orchards worked by "noble and happy human beings."

Devoted as he was to decentralisation and village reconstruction, Gandhi could not wish out of existence the ubiquitous machine. A retreat from the machine age seemed out of the question. Had there been no railroads, there would have been no hardships for third-class passengers. But since the railroads did exist, Gandhi saw his

duty in terms of a struggle to ameliorate the lot of third-class passengers. And since industrialism is bound up with the emergence of the class of employers and the class of employees—one endowed with power and riches, the other helpless and dependent—it became Gandhi's duty to help the employees, to show them the power of non-violent organisation, to improve their conditions,

Gandhi's Magna Charta for Labor

Both in South Africa and in India Gandhi had shown his interest in the well-being of the worker in transport, factory, mine, and plantation. But his first entry into the labor movement of India dates back to February, 1918. The occasion was a demand for a wage increase by the weavers employed in the textile mills of Ahmedabad. The workers were restless and there was danger of strike, lockout, and violence. Before jumping into the fray, Gandhi wanted to satisfy himself whether there was justice in the workers' demands. To that end, he had an investigation made of the living conditions of the workers in Ahmedabad, and their budgets studied—the first such piece of field work and survey in India. Once convinced of the justice of the workers' demands, Gandhi opened negotiations with the employers, and "strained every nerve to obtain a peaceful settlement. The millowners would not listen. His offer to submit the dispute to arbitration was rejected. The millowners could not brook the interference of any outsider."¹² Whereupon Gandhi proceeded to launch his non-violent struggle for "an equal voice for the workers in the determination of their terms of employment."¹³ After a course of preliminary training in non-violence, Gandhi asked the workers to take a pledge of abstention from work till either proffered terms were accepted or the demand for wage increase was arbitrated. Gandhi kept in constant touch with the strikers, "addressed mass meetings, and issued pamphlets daily. Every day the workers paraded the streets in peaceful procession."¹⁴

Let the rest of the story be told in his own

words by Mr. Nanda, intimately associated with Gandhi and with the Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association ever since its inception:¹⁵

"In about three weeks, demoralization set in among the workers on strike. Some of them began to waver. They said they had no food for themselves and their families. On the morning of March 12, 1918, facing a meeting of the strikers, Gandhiji made an unexpected announcement. He declared he would himself touch no food till the workers' pledge was redeemed. This was Gandhiji's first fast on a public issue in India. It electrified the workers and restored their morale. This was its sole aim. The mineowners on their sides were touched. They shed their complacency and bestirred themselves to find a way out. At the end of three days, arbitration was agreed to and Gandhiji broke his fast. The principle and procedure of arbitration which have played so large a part in making the Textile Labor Association what it is today were thus introduced in the industrial relations in this country for the first time.

"On February 25, 1920, Gandhiji inaugurated the first regular union of the workers in the textile industry. In May he asked the employers to reduce the hours of work from twelve to ten and make a substantial addition to the wages of the operatives. Agreement not having been reached between the arbitrators either regarding the terms of the award or the choice of the umpire, took the workers out on a strike which lasted three days. Work was resumed when a joint award was issued introducing a ten-hour day in the industry and effecting an increase in wages ranging from 25 per cent to 62½ per cent for different occupations. To the workers Gandhiji declared on this occasion that it was not their triumph but the triumph of justice and hence a victory for both sides."

A Charter for Labor, according to Gandhi, ought to include the following ten points:¹⁶

Labor is entitled to an equal voice in the determination of its conditions of employment. In case of disagreement, the decision of an impartial tribunal should prevail.

Labor has the right to a share in the administration and control of the industry.

The remuneration of all engaged in the industry should be as nearly equal as possible.

The standard living wage of a male adult should be sufficient to provide for health and efficiency of the entire family, and a few extra items.

Conditions of work should not prove fatiguing to workers, provision being made for recreation, etc

Workers' health must be safeguarded.

Employers should provide for "the creature comforts" of workers during employment, "decent accommodation for rest and refreshment, sufficient water and satisfactory sanitary facilities."

Employers must provide suitable housing to workers without impairing their freedom in any way.

The workers have an inalienable right to organize, to form unions, and to bargain collectively.

In case of refusal to arbitrate or failure or undue delay in implementing an award, the workers have an unrestricted right to strike.

The constitution of the Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association (1920) specifically emphasizes reliance strictly on truth and non-violence—a provision which was already an integral part of Gandhi's political movement.

While he was willing to speak for the rights of labor, Gandhi was more concerned with duties of employers to employees. The employers, having greater power and riches, he felt, had greater and higher obligations than the employees: they must act as trustees. Gandhi believed that if the capitalist failed properly to discharge his duties as a trustee, then capitalism was doomed.

Gandhism versus Marxism

What are the differences between Gandhism and Marxism; as represented by socialism and communism? Gandhi; as well as the socialists and com-

munists, all accept the labor theory of value; implicit in Gandhi's thinking would be the theory of surplus value; first propounded by Karl Marx. Like Marxists, Gandhi believed that labor was exploited by capital. Unlike Marx; who postulated an inevitable class conflict, Gandhi believed that the antagonistic interests of labor and capital could be and must be harmonized by an equal partnership between employer and employee. Gandhi also believed that "key industries," public utilities in our terminology, employing capital beyond the reach of ordinary citizens, must be owned and operated by the State in the interest of all the citizens; but he clearly visualized the ownership of farms by farmers, of small-scale industries by individuals, partnerships, co-operatives, or corporations; and the ownership of large-scale industries other than public utilities by corporations or co-operatives on the basis of a partnership between capital and labor.

If the essence of socialism be complete collectivism and nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, then Gandhi was not a socialist. If the abolition of property be the crux of socialism, then Gandhi was not a socialist. But if socialism be equated with sympathy and solidarity with the exploited masses, with a passion and striving for social justice, with an economic arrangement conducive to the free development of human personality, with a peaceful international society free from exploitation, then certainly Gandhi was a socialist, as pointed out by M. R. Masani, himself a socialist and author of *Our India*. Indeed, this was precisely the connotation of the term socialism before the founders of so-called "scientific socialism," Marx and Engels, gave it the Marxist meaning. Gandhi would retrieve socialism from the clutches of Marxist.

Let us give Marx the benefit of the doubt, and assume he meant by the term socialism social good and by communism the common good; i.e., the good of society as a whole. With such a goal there can be no quarrel; it was precisely Gandhi's goal. But where Marx erred was in conceiving society primarily as composed of two clashing classes. Society is a complex of groups,

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millions of groups, millions of groups large and small, each intent on pursuing its own interest or set of interests. To be sure; the social process does involve competition and conflict, but it also involves socialization of the new born; co-operation; accommodation, assimilation, social control, social change.

Having simplified society and the social process into interplay between two conflicting classes, it was inevitable that Marx should set up as the goal of his economic system a classless society. However, on both theoretical and practical grounds, the existence of a classless society is an impossibility. Every attempt to submerge classes leads to the emergence of a mass society; resting upon totalitarian dictatorship. In Soviet Russia's efforts to achieve a class-less society; we witness rule by the elite class on the one hand and mass-mindedness of the bottom of the layer on the other. Democracy, to be meaningful, must permit the emergence, organization, and functioning of voluntary groups and associations: it must set forth rules for the minimization of conflict between classes. There is a great deal of truth in Marx's assertion of the existence of class struggle in society; in the labour theory of value; and in the theory of surplus value. The economic interpretation of history and literature; has an important element of truth; but as an all-sufficient explanation for human behaviour, it is misleading, false, and mischievous.

Furthermore; the Marxist dialectic of class struggle, the economic interpretation of history, was based upon Marx's concept of history, past and present, as being a record of conflict between two contending parties or classes—from freedom and serfs to present day bourgeoisie and proletariat. Gandhi, on the other hand, viewed history as a continuum of goodwill and love and cooperation among men, interrupted now and then by conflicts. Said Gandhi: "History is a record of the interruptions in the even working of the force of love or of the soul;"¹⁷ which is to say, history as it is written, not "as it happened," record of the interruptions in cooperation and non-violence. But the major portion of human existence is, for Gandhi, compounded not of conflict

but of harmony. The class conflict between employers and employees was but an aberration and had to be settled by non-violent methods.

Contrast the Marxist dialectics with Gandhi's vision of society in a Free India (1931) to be achieved by non-violence:¹⁸

"I shall strive for a constitution which shall release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to err. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and as low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks or drugs. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb (i.e., inarticulate) millions will be scrupulously respected whether foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams for which I shall struggle at the next Round Table."

His vision of a free India within the bounds of practical politics was realised on August 15, 1947. But Gandhi had his ideal dreams as well. In 1939 he said: "Sometimes a man lives in his day dreams. I live in mine, and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goody-goody human beings. In the socialist's language, there will be a new structure of society, a new order of things. I also am aspiring after a new order of things that will astonish the world."¹⁹ The outlines of this new structure were not left to us by Mahatma Gandhi; but as the basis of our discussion, it should not be difficult to visualize Gandhi's ideal structure of society.

To exorcise the demon of misunderstanding once and for all, let me repeat: Gandhi had his private utopia; he had his public utopia, i.e., an ideal order for the public at large; but he actually worked for the fulfilment of his vision of a free India—a vision which was well within the scope of practical politics and economic realities.

A Footnote to Gandhi's Economics

I have chosen to discuss Mahatma Gandhi's economic theories not just as an exercise in scholarly research but as an aid to our understanding of the economic and social welfare programme undertaken and being implemented by the Government of Free India and by private agencies. The Government of the Republic of India is committed to the realization of Gandhian Socialism—the achievement of the well-being of all sections of society through democratic and non-violent methods.

Gandhi's basic economic tenets are being implemented by Free India in unexpected and extra-ordinary ways. First, the Government of India had enacted progressive social legislation in behalf of industrial workers. Second, the Trade Union movement is flourishing, and promoting the well-being of workers. Third, legislation, bringing relief to debt-ridden peasantry, is in operation in some of the States of the Republic of India. Fourth, with American technical aid, the Government of India has been building hydro-electric works which will help realize Gandhi's dream of having "electricity in every village home." Fifth and most spectacular, one of Gandhi's followers, Vinoba Bhave, has been engaged in realizing two of Gandhi's basic economic principles in the strictly Gandhian fashion. We have pointed out that Gandhi believed (1) in the right of farmers to own farms and (2) in the role of the wealthy as trustees. These two points are being realized simultaneously by Mr. Bhave in a very unorthodox fashion. Bhave's movement is known as the Sarvodaya Movement. *Sarvodaya*, i.e., Welfare of All, was Gandhi's rendition into Gujarati of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*.

In the Summer of 1951 Vinoba launched his Bhoo-Dan; Land-Gift; Movement. Since then the movement has changed its direction from Bhoo-Dan to Grama-Dan, Village-Gift, so that all parcels of cultivable land belonging to former owners could be consolidated as the property of the village as a whole and integrated agriculture could be carried

out by the entire village acting as a cooperative association.

This transition from the gift of land by landlords to the gift of a whole village marks a milestone in the reconstruction of Hindese economy. With the casting out of the divisive notions of "mine" and "thine," with the co-operative effort of Gramadan citizens, and under the leadership of dedicated social workers, India should be able to transform her "dung-heap" villages into a smiling countryside; into veritable garden villages with all the amenities of modern civilization—filtered water, sanitary sewage, flush toilets, electric lights, model schools, etc.

Such garden villages would be worthy monuments to Mahatma Gandhi—and to his distinguished disciple, Vinoba Bhave!²⁰

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DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY

C. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO

In a fast changing world where traditional values of life are fast disappearing and looked askance at with much derision, it is not an easy task to uphold these values of life and point out to the world ultimate truths embedded in age long traditions, without which life will lose much of its meaning and man becomes a derelict in the sea of samcara. It is the common belief of Indians that when the traditional values of life (Sanatana dharma) are in jeopardy of extinction, Great Teachers, saints or seers, who are the messengers or incarnations of God, will appear on the earth and (try to) resuscitate those values, which constitute the Dharma. True to this belief, in the long spread of time, India has produced Great Men, saints and seers, who made it the mission of their life to inculcate among the people, the age old virtues of the race, their Svadharma, without which Indian civilisation, religion and culture would signify nothing. Srirama, Sri Krishna, Badarayana, Sankara, Ramanuju, Madhva, Chaitanya, Tulasidas, Kabir, etc.. were all such great teachers who by their great teachings, precept and practice, influenced and set the norm of life for their age. Among the names of the galaxy of great teachers who appeared at the turn of our century, whose thoughts and precepts as expressed in their speeches and writings form the zeitgeist of this ancient land, among such names as Sri Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Ramana Maharshi, Dr. Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, the name of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. (referred to hereafter as Dr. A.K.C.) is certainly one.

The life and work of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy is not widely known in India, as it deserves to be. Dr. A.K.C. was born of a Ceylonese father, Sri Mutu Coomaraswamy, the first Ceylonese-Hindu to be called to the English Bar. and an English mother, Elizabeth Clay Beeby, a woman of great artistic and cultural talents, on August, 22nd, 1877. After the death of his father, when Ananda was hardly two years of age, his mother took him away to England, where he had his entire education. He studied in the Wycliffe College, Springfield and the University of London. In 1900, he came out of the London University with a First Class Honours in Geology and Botany, and a few years after, in 1903, was appointed Director of Mineralogical Survey, Ceylon, in which capacity he continued till 1906. His work on the geology of Ceylon won him the degree of Doctor of Science from the University of London. We do not know what exactly was the influence of his mother in the shaping of A. K. C's youthful mind. Certainly he was indebted to her for his great love of traditional cultures and catholicity of mind. In a speech made at the Jaffna. Hindu College in 1906. he said : "Of my mother I may say that it was her hope that her marriage with my father would contribute to a better understanding and sympathy between English and Tamils for whom she felt great admiration and affection and I may say I am now working for a cause which has her fullest sympathy," But it was during his peregrinations round the island country as a geologist, he came to know of the traditional crafts and crafts-men,

and was imbued with a pride in the great traditions of his country. The results of the research that he subsequently carried on in the traditional arts and crafts of Ceylon came out in that great work of beauty, "Mediaeval Sinhalese Art" (190), dedicated to his mother.

Dr. A.K.C. bemoaned the rapid decline and vulgarisation of the great cultural traditions of India and Ceylon (for to him India and Ceylon were never two separate countries) as a result of Western influences and industrialisation. In many a speech and writing he exhorted Indians and Ceylonese against slavish imitation of the West, which made them look like stuffed men with no soul of their own, and warned the West that their attempts at the slow liquidation of ancient living cultures for the ephemeral advantages of political domination over the peoples of these cultures was a loss not of this country or that country, but of the whole world. In an article entitled, "Vegetarianism in Ceylon" (1908) he wrote "The strange thing is that it seems impossible for Indians and Ceylonese to change or 'Progress' without throwing out everything of the past, also good and bad together, and taking on the outer life of a European in its place, also good and bad together. If they could keep the many excellent features of their own culture and civilisation, and profit only by adopting a few new ideas from the culture and civilisation of others, they might make real progress instead of progressing, as so often happens, backwards." In the foreword to "Mediaeval Sinhalese Art" (1908), he writes: The 'educated' Sinhalese of to-day, often, on the one hand, a century of foreign government, and of education in which the national culture has been completely ignored, and on the other hand, an equal period of subservient and obsequious imitation of foreign

manners, have little reason to be proud of their present achievement in the Art of Living. Evidence of shallow thought is everywhere to be seen in an exaltation of the present age at the expense of the past. It is, however, only in an effort to realise the ideals of this very past, and of the past of India, that there lies the possibility of a true regeneration and revitalising of the national life of the Sinhalese people." These words, are no less true to a great extent, of the present day education in India. Again in the same foreword, "in Ceylon as in India, the direct and indirect influence of contact with the West has been fatal to the arts. The two most direct causes of this adverse influence have been the destruction of the organisation of state-craftsmen, following upon the British occupation and the systematic neglect, by British and Sinhalese alike, of a local architectural tradition; A less direct, but equally sure and certain, cause of the decline of the arts has been the growth of commercialism,—that system of production under which the European machines and machine-like men has in the East driven the village weaver from his loom, the craftsman from his tools, the ploughman from his songs, and has divorced art from labour." He has correctly diagnosed the disease of the modern age, when he wrote, "Talk of progress and the reality, are not the same. Civilisation is supposed to advance by the creation of new desires, to gratify which the individual must endeavour to improve his position. But in reality it is not quantity, but quality of wants that may be taken as evidence of progress in the art of Living. Indeed it is sufficiently obvious that quantity, variety and novelty are not really compatible with quality. Commercialism and irreligion are enemies to the existence of a worthy art. Here is an exhortation for men who control the destinies of modern India. "Cheap work,

cheap men ; and the community suffers accordingly. A society which sees wealth in things rather than in men is ultimately doomed. It appears, therefore, that it is absolutely essential that mechanical production should in the future be, not abandoned, but controlled in the real interests of humanity. If this appears to be impossible, as I am unwilling to believe, it must be admitted that civilisation is not much better than a failure ; for it is not much good being more ingenious than our forefathers if one cannot be either happier or better" and again "The problem is not how to abolish machinery, but how so to regulate it that it shall serve without enslaving man ; how to stop competition between machine and hand-work, by defining and delimiting intelligently the proper spheres of each. The community cannot afford to dispense with the intellectual and imaginative forces, the educational and ethical factors which go with the existence of skilled craftsman and small workshops, must therefore protect these in their proper sphere" and he offers the solution : "This can be done only by restoring the entire control of production to the actual workers, as in the old guild systems or by the endowment of craftsmanship in Ceylon, in the feudal manner, but substituting for the king or overlord, the democratic community as patron."

Dr. A.K.C. was not a mere preacher ; his efforts to stem the tide of western influence, took the shape of the Ceylon Social Reform Society, which he founded in 1905, and of which he was President for four years, the "Ceylon National Review," the organ of the society, and the Ceylon University movement.

Though A.K.C. spent all his life in interpreting and explaining to the world the greatness of India's past, his actual contacts, his physical stay, with this ancient land, which he loved so much, appear to be

very few and far between. In 1901, he made an extended tour in Northern India, collecting an enormous quantity of the finest specimens of Indian painting and drawings, and during 1910-1911, was in charge of the Arts section of the United Province's exhibits in Allahabad. It was during this period that he together with Sir William Rothenstein and F. B. Havell, founded the Indian Society, London, and gave a brilliant lead to the Swadeshi movement in India by his lectures and writings. It was the belief of Ananda Coomaraswamy, that politics represent only a passing phase of a nation's life, and any national movement should have its deeper foundations in its culture. In his collection of essays, "Art and Swadeshi," (1910), he writes "Learn not to waste the vital forces of the nation in a temporary political conflict but understand that art will enable you to reestablish all your arts and industries on a surer basis. Swadeshi must be something more than a political weapon. It must be a religious artistic ideal. True Swadeshi is none of these things ; it is a way of looking at life. It is essentially sincerity. Seek first this, learn once more the art of living, and you will find that our ancient civilisation, industrial no less than spiritual will re-arise from the ashes of our vulgarity and parasitism of to-day." "True Swadeshi would have attempted to preserve the status of our skilled artisans and village craftsmen, for the sake of the value to our country of men Men"—views which were echoed by the Mahatma a few years later in his struggle against the British. In 1912, he came into contact with Rabindranath Tagore, a kindred soul, working for the spiritual regeneration of his countrymen, whom he visited at Santiniketan and was greatly impressed by the greatman's ideas. During this period, or shortly after, he seems to have approached Dr. Bhagawandas, in vain, for a Profe-

ssorship of Fine Arts, in the Banaras Hindu University, with the aim of probably settling down in India. But God knows what to do with his chosen men, for in the stifling atmosphere of Indian Universities, it would not have been possible for A.K.C to make that monumental contribution to the knowledge of the world, which the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, made it possible. His appointment in 1917 as the Keeper of Indian and Mohammedan Art in the Museum of Fine arts, Boston, once for all settled him down and set him on the great mission of his life, to explain and interpret to the Western world the spirit of Eastern cultures in general and the glory of India's past in particular. For the Boston Museum, he gathered the finest collection of Far Eastern and Indian Art, which made it truly world famous, and he remained its Docent until his death.

It is not possible, here, even to make a cursory review of A.K.C's writings, a great majority of which form his addresses to learned societies and contributions made to Research journals of international repute. With a supreme command over the English language, and with felicity of phrase, dignity of style and sublimity of thought worthy of the great subjects he wrote upon, it is a divine experience to go through the writings of Dr. A.K.C. A polyglot and a polymath, he confesses the following great works, and teachers to have been his source of inspiration : Indian—Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads and the Bhagavata Gita, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana ; "Bhagavata Purana" ; "Gita Govinda", Kabir, Vidyapati, Ramkrishna, St. Ramana ; "Tripurarahasya" "Tiruvachagam" ; The Buddhist Nikayas ; "Sutta Nipata" "Dhammapada" ; Milinda Panha" ; "Sadharma Pundarika" ; European—The "Edda" and Icelandic Sagas ; the Mabinogion ; the whole Aurtherian Cycle ; William Morris, especially "Sigurd the Volsung" and the "Well at the

World's End" ; Plato ; Plotinus ; the Gospels ; Dionysius ; St. Augustine ; St. Bonaventura ; St. Thomas Aquinas ; Meister Eckhart ; Tanka ; Nicholas of Cusa ; William Blake ; supplemented by a few Islamic, Chinese and Japanese great works. In his monograph, "The Religious basis of the Forms of Indian Society" (1916), he writes : "As for myself I will only say that no day passes in which I do not read the scriptures and the works of the great philosophers of all age so far as they are accessible to me in modern languages and in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. I am wholly convinced that there is one truth that shines through them all in many shapes, a truth greater in glory by far than can be circumscribed by any creed or confined by the walls of any Church or temple". In an address at Kenyon College, 1946, he set forth his attitude and purpose as a writer : "... I am in fact almost as much of a Platonist and Mediaevalist as I am an Orientalist, and that in writing and cultural relations my work has always been directed towards an exposition of the common metaphysical tradition that underlies both cultures, European and Asiatic, and to showing that their differences however, great are accidental rather than essential, and of comparatively modern origin and so not necessarily insurmountable." About A.K.C's method of writing, Gai Eaton writes in "The Richest Vein" (Faber & Faber, London) : "His method of writing, however, is one that makes considerable demands upon the reader ; sometimes the printed page is a mosaic of quotations, in which Sanskrit and Pali (the language of the Hinayana Buddhist Canon), jostle with Greek and Latin, French, German and Italian, and the English language itself is here used with a precision which, in these days when words are employed so loosely, seems to belong more to the region of mathe-

malities than to that of prose ; Coomaraswamy splits up certain words which have lost their meaning through long misuse, with a hyphen between the two parts, to show their true derivation (so in-genious and 'conform') Further, and this is a stumbling block not to be underrated in an age when reading is regarded mainly as a relaxation and an aid to slumber, is followed by several pages of notes, in extremely small print. and many of his most important reflections are compressed into these notes." He writes, as he has elsewhere explained, "from a strictly orthodox point of view . . . endeavouring to speak with mathematical precision, but never employing words of our own, or making any affirmation for which authority could not be cited by chapter and verse ; in this way making even our technique characteristically Indian" ; in other words his method of writing is after the model of the great Indian commentators. A.K.C's writings on Religion, Art, Education and Culture have become source-books and standard works of reference for scholars and students of research. "The Dance of Siva," a collection of fourteen essays on Indian culture, is justly praised, as one of the few classics of the world. in the twentieth century. In the essay, "The Dance of Siva," which is taken as the title for the collection, A.K.C. has explained to the West the Cosmic Dance of the Lord, in a way that he only could do ; the sheer beauty of composition compels one to quote a few lines from the essay : "it may not be out of place to call attention to the grandeur of this conception (Nataraja) itself as a synthesis of science, religion and art. How amazing the range of thought and sympathy of these rishi-artists who first conceived such a type as this, affording an image of reality, a key to the complex tissue of life, a theory of

nature, not thereby satisfactory to a single clique or race, nor acceptable to the thinkers of one century only, but universal in its appeal to the philosopher, the lover and the artists of all ages and all countries. How supremely great in power and grace this dancing image must appear to all those who have stricken in plastic form to give expression to their intuition of life. It is not strange that the figure of Nataraja has commanded the adoration of so many generations past ; familiar with all scepticism, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and infinitely small, we are worshippers of Nataraja still." A. K. C's "Art and Architecture in India and Indonesia," has become the mainstay for all future historians of Indian art and Architecture. "The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon," published in 1913, in a volume uniform with those on Arts of Ancient Egypt, by Professor Flinders Petrie and on Teutonic Arts by Professor Baldwin Brown, is a standard work of reference on the subject The Transformation of Nature in Art", (O.U.P. 1934), "Why Exhibit Works of Art" : (Luzac, 1943) and "Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought" (Luzac, London) 1946, may rightly be called the "Tripitaka" of the devotees of Art. Coomaraswamy never believed in the merit of an art, that is separate from life or as it is called Fine Art. He vehemently denounced the narcissistic magpie aestheticism that are characteristic of modern art. He writes : "The Hindus have never believed in "art for arts sake" ; their art like that of mediaeval Europe was art for loves' sake." "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism" (London 1916). is the finest exposition of that may be understood from the following story, given by La Meri, a famous American exponent of Eastern Dances. In 1931 she appro-

ached the famous dancer Uday Shankar in Paris, and begged him to teach her the Dance of India. Uday Shankar refused to teach her, but gave her his own copy of A.K.C's "Mirror of Gesture" (1917), an English rendering of Mandikesvara's Abhinayadarpana, which A. K. C. did in association with Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, and said to her, "Here is my teacher, let him be yours." She studied the "Mirror of Gesture" and the "Dance of Shiva" and created her first Indian dance. "A New Approach to the Vedas" is the best exegesis on the Vedas, in English. Whereas some of A. K. C's essays, in such titles as "The Dance of Shiva", "Essays on National Idealism", "The Bugbear of Literacy" etc., are rich fare for the general reader, a majority of these writings are meant for the scholar and the specialist and may be taken as caviare to the general. In his exposition of things it is always A. K. C's aim to go to the innermost meaning of things, and lay bare to the reader the soul of the subject. As A. K. C advanced in years his thought became cosmic in compass and touched mystical heights. A.K.C never claimed that he had any special philosophy of his own, or any special message to deliver to the world. In his seventieth birthday speech at Harvard Club dinner, he said: "At this time I should like to emphasise that I have never built up a philosophy of my own, or wished to establish a new school of thought. Perhaps the greatest thing I have learnt is never to think for myself, I fully agree with Andre Gide that "Toutes choses sont dites deja", and what I have sought is to understand, what has been said, while taking no account of the 'inferior philosophers. Holding with Heraclitus that the WORD is common to all and that wisdom is to know the WILL whereby all things are steered, I am convinced with Jeremias that the human cultures in all their apparent diversity are but

dialects of one and the same language of the SPIRIT that there is a "Common universe of discourse transcending the differences of tongues." A.K.C is the foremost exponent of the philosophia perennis, the *hagia sophia*, the Sanatana Dharma, which in the words of St. Augustine is, "Wisdom uncreate, the same now that it ever was, and the same to be forevermore." It was a creed with Coomaraswamy that knowledge is no man's exclusive province; it is a kingdom of God, where all worshippers have a right to enter. It is in conformity with this belief that he has not copyrighted many of his works; (a generous gesture which I am told, has been exploited by some unscrupulous publishers) on the back of the title page of his book, "Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought," it is written, "No Rights reserved." Why? As Geoffrey Grigson in a B. B. C. Broadcast says: "Because Coomaraswamy performs an act of ministration; not an act of flattery. He is a minister, not an aesthete. A man in earnest, not an admirer of goodies." Even the chronological list of A. K. C's works and essays runs to several pages. (One such list was prepared by Durai Raj Singam of Malaya). Let us eagerly look forward to the day when our modest home-libraries may be enriched with a set of the complete works of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. (My friend, Sri N. S. Krishna Murty, who is a good friend of Mrs. Coomaraswamy, and in correspondence with her, informs that efforts were being made by Mrs. Coomaraswamy towards this end.)

Dr. A. K. C's writings on Religion, Art, Education, Culture and Nationalism have a classic significance in the modern context. Especially, his views on Education, deserve the attention of our educationalists. I shall give here only a few excerpts: "None can be true educators of the Indian people who cannot

inherit their traditions, or cannot easily work in a spirit of perfect reverence for these traditions. Others can be, not educators, but merely teachers of particular subjects." It will be for us to develop the Indian intelligence through the medium of Indian culture, and building thereupon, to make it possible for India to resume her place amongst the nations, not merely as a competitor in material production, but as a teacher of all that belongs to a true civilisation, a leader of the future, as of the past."

Dr. A. K. C. is an Indian of Indians. He says: "I was not bred on Indian soil. yet now when I go about my friends in India, I often find they quarrel with me because I am much too Indian in my ways of thinking for their anglicised tastes," and again, 'Every man holds dear his homeland. As for me, my love for India is my destiny. I feel for her what a child feels towards her parents.' Dr. A.K.C. wished to spend his last days of superannuation in the quiet retreat of the Himalayas. On his seventieth birth-day dinner at Boston, he said, "This is seventieth birth-day, and my opportunity to say 'Farewell.' or this is our plan, mine and my wife's, to retire and return to India next year, thinking of this as an *astamgamana*, 'going home, and for me the time has come to exchange the active for a more contemplative way of life in which it would be my hope to experience more immediately at least a part of the truth of which my understanding has been so far predominantly logical. And so, I may be here for another year, I ask you also say 'Good-bye'. But the year was never to pass, for hardly three weeks after his seventieth birth-day, Dr. A. K. C., a *Stithaprajna*, joined the Lord on 9th September, 1947, leaving a number of friends and admirers to mourn his loss. At the time of his death he was a fellow

of the British Geological and Linnean Societies, and the University College of London, Honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and honorary correspondent for the Archaeological Survey Institute, and was connected with various other societies on three continents. A number of his works yet await posthumous publication, and his *sahadarma charini*, Zlata Zlamas Coomaraswamy, has taken on herself, this obligation, which in a way, she owes to the world. (Mrs. A. K. C. has written to my friend, Sri N. S. Krishnamurty, that three manuscript works, namely, 'Sphinx', 'Re-incarnation' and 'The Bhavadgita' are ready for publication.)

There is much talk in our country about national integration, and the revival of our ancient culture. As a teacher, working in a college, it is my sincere belief that the best way to do it is to make the coming generation of students study such works of Dr. A.K.C. as "The Dance of Siva," "Essays on National Idealism," and "The Bugbear of Literacy," "General Education", forms a subject of the curriculum for under-graduates in all Indian Universities; under-graduates can be made to study these books under "General Education." The framers of our educational policy, it is hoped, will make a note of this suggestion. In this connection let me quote what Sri S. Radhakrishnan, wrote to Mr. Durai Raj Singam, Editor, "Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy, in 1951", "I had been a student of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's writings for many years and had the great pleasure of meeting him at Boston in 1946. Among those who are responsible not only for the Indian Renaissance but for a new Renaissance in the world Dr. Coomaraswamy holds a preeminent position. It is my hope that students who are now led away by the passing fashions of our age will turn to his writings for a proper orientation."

LABOUR LEGISLATION AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA

Prof. Dr. C. B. MAMORIA & R. L. SHARMA

Labour legislation is that body of legal enactments and judicial principles which deals with industrial employment and non-employment, wages, working conditions industrial relations, social security and labour welfare of industrially employed persons. It is that part of State action by which the "State through parliamentary enactments has intervened in the conduct of industry and imposed statutory obligations for the most part, on the employers and to a subsidiary degree on the workmen."

Truly speaking, Labour Legislation is a result of evolution of the concept of social justice. Therefore, its nature reflects the social, economic and political ideas current at a given time. Labour Courts and Industrial Tribunals have a different approach to the settlement of disputes.

NEED FOR LABOUR LEGISLATION

The Government of India Act, 1919, introduced constitutional changes in the field of labour. The Central legislature was given powers to legislate in respect of those labour subjects which fall in their jurisdiction.

The need for labour legislation is felt to create statutory obligations on the employers so long as the workers are not in a position to enforce favourable contractual obligations on them. *Secondly*, industrially employed workers in India, as a class have low wages and

weaker bargaining power and moreover, they are poorly organised. *Thirdly*, industrial peace is fundamental to the economic development and national progress and finally the state is pledged to the welfare of its citizens. Industrial workers being more vocal and aggressive as a group often demand and sometimes get the attention of the Government more than other sections of the Community.

National economy is another guiding principle of labour legislation. It has three-fold concern, viz., first the ensuring of normal growth of industry for the benefit of the country as a whole ; *second*, the satisfaction of physical and intellectual needs of the growth of industrial efficiency and *third*, the adjustment of the wage system with a view to increasing the productivity and prosperity of the worker. State intervention develops the desired type of psychological climate for workers wherein they feel that they are being looked after and their contributions' worth is recognised.

Labour Legislation has got a vast scope of activities and wide coverage. Industrial relations is a part of the labour legislation. It is basically designed for the labour legislation. It is basically designed for the industrial harmony and peace and presupposes the absence of industrial disputes. A country's economic progress is bound up with industrial peace. The employer employee relation-

ship is essentially a partnership to promote the Country's economic needs. Industrial relations should be so developed as to enable the worker to take a greater share in the working of the industry. The importance of good industrial relations has also been emphasised in our plans.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Importance of industrial peace has been realized in our Country especially after Independence. The First Plan emphasised the need for peace in industry, the ultimate oneness of interests and virtue of harmonious relations. It recommended that, "it is incumbent on the State to arm itself with legal powers to refer disputes for settlement by arbitration or adjudication, on failure of efforts to reach agreement by other means." 1

The Plan also emphasised two principles : (i) the workers' right of association, and (ii) the employer-employee relationship as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the Community in the best possible manner." The Second plan reiterated that emphasis should be placed on avoidance of disputes at all levels, including the last stage of mutual negotiations. It emphasised the importance of preventive measures for achieving industrial peace." The Third Plan stressed on moral rather legal sanctions for the settlement of disputes. This finds confirmation in the statement that "the development of industrial relations in Third Plan rested on the foundation created by the working of the Code of Discipline and has stood the strain of the test. It pinned its faith on

voluntary arbitration in preference to a recourse to adjudication." And now the Fourth Plan "places greater responsibility on labour and trade unions. Labour has vital role in increasing productivity and management has to help create conditions in which workers can make their maximum contribution towards this objective." It further emphasises that, "there is wide agreement on the need to strengthen the machinery at present available for conciliation, adjudication and voluntary arbitration".

Industrial Unrest

The industrial unrest is said to have taken place in an organised form when the work-people make common cause of grievances. Whenever, there is friction between management and labour, the workers suffer adversely and the only weapon according to them by which they can enable their employers to accede to their demands is to resort to strikes.

A strike has been defined as "a spontaneous and concerted effort for withdrawal of labour from production.

A strike is always organised by common agreement on the part of workers with a view to obtain or resist a change in their conditions of work". 7

Parallel to the strike is the practice of lockout, lay-offs and retrenchment, which is resorted by the employers to curb the militant spirit of the workers. "When the employers want to dominate over human rights of workers, and impose their property rights upon them, they turn them out of their business premises and prevent them from doing work. This is called lock-out."

It would not be out of place to give here

in a nut-shell a short description of industrial disputes since 1951 :

INDUTRIAL UNREST SINCE 1951 : For the first four years (1951-54), the number of disputes and man-days lost due to work stoppages in the country remained at a steady low level, but during next five years (1955-60) the number of the disputes showed an upward trend and the man-days lost almost doubled over the average of past five years. In the year 1961, the number of disputes declined and remained at a steady level up to 1963 ; then there was a sudden rise in the number of disputes in the year 1964. An yearwise breakdown of the number of disputes, workers involved and number of man-days lost is given in the following table :

one third were concerned with wages and allowances, 5 per cent to bonus, 25 per cent related to personnel questions, such as discipline, dismissal, employment of particular classes of operators, 2 per cent related to retrenchment. 10 per cent were connected with hours of work or leave and holidays and 30 per cent arose out of other causes such as working arrangements rules and trade-union recognition.

Of more recent disputes the latest figures available disclose a similar state of affairs. Wages continue to be an important single issue in disputes, although personnel issue has also assumed great importance in recent

Table 1 : Industrial disputes since 1951,

Year	No. of Disputes.	No. of workers involved.	No. of mandays lost.
1.	2.	3.	4.
1951	1071	6,91,321	38,18,928
1952	963	8,09,242	33,36,961
1953	772	4,66,607	33,82,608
1954	840	4,77,130	33,72,630
1955	1166	5,27,676	56,97,848
1956	1203	7,15,130	69,92,040
1957	1630	8,89,371	64,29,329
1958	1524	9,28,566	77,97,585
1959	1583	6,93,616	56,33,148
1960	1583	9,86,268	65,36,517
1961	1357	5,11,860	49,18,755
1962	1491	7,05,059	61,20,576
1963	1471	6,00,000	33,00,000
1964	2151	10,02,955	77,24,694

It may be interesting to note that of the 6850 labour disputes during 1946-51, nearly years (1966). A cause-wise classification of disputes is given below :

Table 2
Cause-wise Classification of Industrial Disputes
(In Percentage)

Causes	Average for 10 years (1948-57)	1958	1959	1960	1961	1963	1965	1966
1		3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Wages & allowances	28.1	30.5	26.4	37.2	30.4	27.8	33.3	26.0
2. Personnel	30.9	33.0	28.4	24.6	29.3	25.9	31.7	27.4
3. Bonus	9.1	11.5	10.0	10.5	6.9	10.0	8.3	13.8
4. Leave & Hours of work	7.2	3.2	3.6	2.4	3.0	4.6	3.3	3.8
5. Others	21.0	21.8	29.0	25.3	30.4	31.7	16.7	16.8
6. Unknown	3.3		2.6				6.7	12.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PREVENTION OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

A brief description of the prevention and settlement machinery is given in the following paragraphs :

1. Code of Discipline : Its aim is to promote constructive cooperation between management and worker's representatives at all levels. It avoids work stoppages and litigation, secures settlement of disputes and grievances by mutual negotiations ; facilitates the free growth of trade unions. It eliminates all forms of coercion, intimidation and violence of industrial relations. The Code lays down that strikes and lockouts cannot be resorted to without notice and no damage to property can be made.

2. Code of Conduct : It aims at mitigating rivalry and promotes harmonious among the trade unions.

3. Code of Efficiency and Welfare : It gives the workers a sense of direct participation in industrial decisions and make them feel that they are part and parcel of the

industry. It aims at raising levels of productivity with due regard to the well-being of the workers.

4. Workers' Participation in Management : The system aims at,

- (i) promoting increased productivity for the general benefit of the enterprisers, the employees and the community ;
- (ii) gives the workers a better understanding of their role in the working of the industry and of the process of production ; and
- (iii) satisfying the workers' urge for self-expression, thus leading to industrial peace, better industrial relations and increased cooperation.

5. Workers' Education : It aims at increasing the bonds of loyalty of the workers for the union ; training them to make good citizens ; giving them better opportunity for advancement, giving a better understanding of their duties and responsibilities in handling machines and developing leadership from

the rank and file, and finally it promoter industrial peace. The Central Board for Workers' Education has established 30 regional and 43 sub-regional workers' education centres in the country, which trained 2,94,891 workers up to 1965.

6. Works Committee : They are set up in all industries, having an equal representatives as the workers and management. They deal with day-to-day questions of mutual interest. These cover matters ranging from the conditions of work to amenities, educational and recreating facilities promotion of thrift and savings, safety and accident prevention, occupational diseases and protective equipment. and the implementation and review of the decisions arrived at the meetings of the works Committees ; training, wages and discipline. Under the industrial Disputes Act, 1947, 963 works Committees in Central undertakings were functioning at the end of second quarter of 1965.

7. Grievance Procedure : Clause 15 of the Model Standing Orders lays down that all complaints arising out of employment including those relating to unfair treatment or wrongful exaction on the part of the employers shall be submitted to the manager or the person specified in this behalf with the right of appeal to the employers. It lays down that an aggrieved employees should first present his complaint verbally to the officer-in-charge, who should answer it within 18 hours of its submission. If the employee is not satisfied with his decision, he should put it before the Head of the Department who is required to give answer within 3 days. If his decision is unsatisfactory, the aggrieved worker may request that the grievance be forwarded to the Grievance Committee, which

give its decision within 7 days. If the decision is not satisfactory, the worker has the right to appeal to the management for revision.

8. Voluntary Arbitration : Under it the parties by written agreement refers the disputes for arbitration to an arbitrator and in such case the subsequent attendance of witnesses may not be necessary. Since November 1962, till the end of 1965 employers and workers agreed to settle their disputes through voluntary arbitration in 518 out of 2,264 cases in the Central sphere in which Conciliation had failed.

9. Collective bargaining : A Collective agreement may be arrived at the level of plant, industry or at the national level. It helps in the promotion of good relations between workers and management by mentioning rates of wages, hours of work, conditions of employment. It minimises the scope of friction and leads to prosperity of the industrial undertakings and the continued welfare of the workers.

10. Industrial Truce : A joint meeting of the central organisations of employers and workers adopted an Industrial Truce Resolution in November, 1962 to the effect that during the emergency, there would be neither interruption, nor slowing down of production would be maximised and defence efforts promoting industrial peace, production, price stability and savings.

SETTLEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

The machinery used for settling the industrial disputes consists of ; (1) Conciliation (ii) Arbitration, and (iii) Consultative machinery.

(i) Conciliation : It is a process by which the group representatives of the workers and the employers are brought together before a third person or a group of persons with a view to persuading them to come at an agreement among themselves by mutual discussion between the two parties. Conciliation machinery may start working as soon as a conflict is expected or threatened and also after a strike or lockout has been announced. A natural party, without using any force seeks to find some middle course of action for mutual agreement between employers and the employees. Conciliation is made compulsory in case of disputes in public utility services, while in others it is optional. Agreement reached between the parties concerned during the course of conciliation proceedings becomes binding on the parties and is effective from the date agreed upon. If no agreement is reached, the Conciliation body has to submit a report to the Government stating the causes of failures and its recommendations.

In the case of failure of conciliation, reference may be made to a Tribunal or other authority directed by the Government. The Industrial Disputes Act provides for a three system of tribunals i.e. Labour Courts, Industrial Tribunals and the National Tribunals. The agreement reached and the award of the Tribunals becomes binding after the expiry of one month from the date of its publication. Unless otherwise specified, the settlement is to be binding for a period of 6 months and an award for one year.

(ii) Arbitration : It is the means of securing a definite judgement or award for

any controversial issue by referring to a third party. The aim of this method is to reduce to the minimum the possibility of industrial warfare. The compulsory arbitration implies a compulsory attendance of witnesses, compulsory powers of investigation and awards with penalties for breaches of these awards.

(iii) Consultative machinery : Such machinery exists at every level, bringing parties together for mutual settlement of differences in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, provides for the setting up of the Conciliation, machinery to settle unresolved differences. Thus, at present, In India there is a Tripartite machinery to : (i) promote uniformity in labour legislation ; (ii) to determine a procedure for settlement of industrial disputes ; and (iii) to consult on all matters of industrial interests affecting the Country as a whole.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

Before 1929, the only law relating to the settlement of industrial disputes was the Employers and Workmen Disputes Act of 1860. In the absence of any legislation, the disputes were settled amicably by the several officials and non-officials.

The Act of 1929, made three types of provisions :

- (i) it provided for methods and machinery for the investigation and settlement of trade disputes ;
- (ii) it aimed at the prevention of strikes without notice in the public utility services ;

- (iii) it emphasised for the protection of the community against general strikes which are not purely trade unions ; and
- (iv) it made strikes (general and sympathetic) illegal.

The Act was criticised on several grounds such as that, "any attempt to deal with unrest must begin with the creation of an atmosphere unfavourable to disputes rather than with the machinery for their settlement." (Royal Commission on Labour). It only provided for an ad-hoc machinery for the settlement of disputes. Its conciliation proceedings were neither mandatory nor the findings of the authorities binding. The Act was rarely used by the Government, workers and employers.

After the out-break of the Second World War, several strikes occurred and, therefore, it was felt necessary to devise a suitable machinery to avoid strikes and lockouts. With this object in mind, Rule 11A of the Defence of India Rules was issued in January 1942. Accordingly, the Government were authorised to (i) issue orders and declare strikes and lockouts illegal ; (ii) to require the employers to observe certain conditions of employment ; (iii) to make it obligatory to refer the disputes for conciliation or arbitration, and (iv) enforce the award of the authority.

With the close of the War, the conditions of work became worse and bickerings and bitterness from both the sides led to deeper gravity of industrial unrest. In the year 1946, The Government passed the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, with a view to regulating the conditions of recruitment, discharge, disciplinary action, holidays,

etc. and minimising the friction between the employer and employee. This Act was applicable to the whole of the Indian Union (except J. & K.) and applies to every industrial establishment where 100 or more workers are employed.

The main provisions of the Act relate to : (i) procedure of submission of draft Standing Orders, (ii) conditions for certification, (iii) date of operation and display of these orders, (iv) procedure for modifications and (v) machinery for implementation of the Act.

The Act was amended in 1961, inter alia, empowering the appropriate Governments to establishments employing less than 100 workers, making provisions for appointment of additional certifying officers and enabling the Central Government to delegate its powers to State Governments whenever necessary. The Act was further amended in 1963, making the Model Standing Orders framed by the appropriate Governments operative in all industrial establishments covered by it, until the Standing Orders are certified, restricting jurisdiction of the State Industrial Courts to establishments in the State sphere and enabling State Governments to delegate powers to their officers,

The Act has now been extended to all establishments in Gujrat, Maharashtra, and West Bengal employing 50 workers or more. In Assam the Act applies to all industrial establishments (except mines, quarries, oil fields and railways) which employ 10 workers or more. In Madras, all the factories registered under the Factories Act, 1948 are within the purview of this measure.

Soon after the year, when India got

freedom, the Industrial Disputes Act was passed in 1947. Some of the provisions of the Act, were :

- (i) For the establishment of Works Councils (consisting of representatives of employers and workers), and Industrial Tribunals (consisting of one or more members possessing qualifications of that of a High Court Judge) in all industrial undertakings employing 100 or more workers, with a view to iron out day-to-day differences between the management and workers so that amity and good relations could be established between the two ;
- ii) the Government or the parties could make a reference of the dispute to the Industrial Tribunal for adjudication and could enforce the award either partly or wholly ;
- (iii) strikes and lockouts were declared illegal in public utility services and were not allowed during the pendency of conciliation or adjudication ;
- (iv) Conciliation was made compulsory in public utility services but optional with regard to other industrial units. The work had to be conducted within a fixed time by the Conciliation Board, and their award was binding until either party revoked it with a two month's notice ; and
- (d) the Government had authority to declare in public interest strikes illegal in any of these industries—transport (other than railways) for carriage of passenger or goods, by land, water, or air, Coal, Cotton textile, Food stuffs, and Iron and Steel.

The year 1947 may be regarded as an eventful year in the history of industrial relations. At no previous time so much attention was paid to the amelioration of the conditions of the labour. An Industrial Truce Agreement was reached between the representatives of the employers and employees on December 15, 1947.

The working of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, revealed the need for a Central Appellate Authority which by its decision could co-ordinate the activities of a large number of Industrial Tribunals set up by the States and the Central Government. It often happened that the tribunals took divergent views on important issues, such as profit-sharing, retirement benefits, etc. with the result that industrial undertakings with branches in more than one State and particularly those that employed transferable staff, had to face anomalies and complications arising out of the conflicting decisions of Tribunals in different States. Therefore, the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act, 1950 was passed to meet the persistent demand of both the employers and employees for a central appellate authority.

The Industrial Disputes Act was amended in 1951 with a view to maintain the '*status quo*' pending fresh settlement of disputes between the banks and their employees. It was further amended in 1952 with a view to removing the doubt that arose by providing that a person holding shares in an establishment was entitled to appointment for adjudication in a dispute. The 1953 Amendment provided for the payment of compensation to workmen in the event of their lay-off or retrenchment in certain circumstances. The 1954 Amendment provided for payment of lay-

off compensation to workers in factories and those working in plantations.

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1956 made some long-needed changes in the Act of 1947, the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946 and repealed the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act, 1950. The salient features of this Act were :

(i) The definition of 'workmen' in the principal Act has been enlarged so as to cover supervisory personnel and technical staff whose emoluments do not exceed Rs. 500 per month ; (ii) it provided for a three-tier system of labour courts, industrial tribunals and national tribunals for ensuring expeditious settlement of disputes ; (iii) it excluded certain industrial establishments from the operation of the Industrial Employment Act, 1946 ; (iv) it abolished the Labour Appellate Tribunal ; (v) it incorporated provisions for the voluntary reference of disputes to arbitration ; (vi) it enhanced the penalty provisions so as to secure the implementation of the award ; (vii) it provided for enforcement of agreements reached between the parties ; (viii) it made changes with regard to the Standing Orders. The employers were not allowed to introduce any changes in regard to conditions of work without giving the workmen concerned 21 days' notice of their intention to do so ; (ix) it authorised the certifying officer to consider the fairness of the Standing Orders before certifying them ; (x) it also empowered a workman to apply to the certifying officer for modification of the Standing Orders in the same way as the employer ; (xi) it empowered the employer to dismiss an employee for 'any misconduct, during the pendency of a dispute,

though the employer was liable to pay in such cases, a month's wage to the worker concerned, and (xii) it empowered the Government to modify the award.

MACHINERY UNDER THE INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT, 1956.

Labour Courts: These consist of one-man authority to adjudicate in labour disputes. The Labour Courts can adjudicate on the following matters :—

- (a) the propriety or legality of an order passed by an employer under the Standing Orders ;
- (b) the application and interpretation of Standing Orders ;
- (c) discharge or dismissal of workmen including reinstatement or grant of relief to workmen wrongly dismissed ;
- (d) withdrawal of any customary concession or privilege ; and
- (e) legality or otherwise of a strike or lockout.

Industrial Tribunals : There are other authorities for adjudication. It also consists of only one-man, either District or a High Court Judge. He may be assisted by two assessors duly nominated by the Government. Disputes involving more than 100 workers and matters of sufficient importance like rationalisation, retrenchment, discipline, wages, bonus, hours of work are referred to them. The Tribunals can not alter, modify or interpret the award once gazetted.

National Tribunals : These also consist of one-person assisted by assessors. Disputes of national importance or of such nature that industrial establishments situated in more than one State are likely to be affec-

ted, may be referred by the Union Government to a National Tribunal.

Both the employers and the employees are prohibited either from declaring a lockout, or going on a strike, unless they give a notice thereof at least 6 weeks before the contemplated strike or lockout. During Conciliation proceedings and 7 days' after their conclusion, strikes and lockouts are statutorily prohibited, contravention of which makes the strike or lockout illegal and punishable under the Law.

Defects Of The Industrial Disputes

Legislation

Certain defects are discernible in the Act, such as :

- (i) It does not ensure joint consultation for settlement of disputes and makes arbitration compulsory. This saps initiative and has divided the employers and employees into two warring groups. The principle of voluntary agreement or arbitration in industrial disputes is much more conducive to the improvement of industrial relations rather than compulsory adjudication or arbitration.
- (ii) While the machinery for settlement of disputes has been well conceived it has not worked in actual practice ;
- (iii) there has also been an absence of provision for preventing lightning strikes or lockouts except in case of public utility services ; and
- (iv) the main principle of settling disputes under the provisions of the Act, have been out-weighted by other serious defects. In particular, as the Act is applied, it has (a) acted as a serious deterrent to the development of voluntary settlement between the two ; (b) seriously weakened the growth of constructive trade unionism based on mutual and helpful cooperation ; (c) increased the number of disputes and in many cases intensified them, and in particular increased the number of references to compulsory adjudications ; and (d) resulted in terms of settlement often unreal and unsatisfactory which have led to a worsening of and not an improvement in labour relations.



INDIA'S POPULATION PROBLEM

NIHAL SINGH

POPULATION PROBLEM : A GENERAL CASE

Even after much achievement in the field of scientific development, one of the most intractable problems facing the world is the Malthusian fear of over population. To-day, world population, which was almost stagnant until 1950, has reached the figure of about 3.3 billion. Until about 1650 the population of the world increased very slowly, so slowly that the numbers were almost stationary for stretches of time. High birth rates were almost matched by high death rates—'Cemetery was larger than the village because death occurred so early in life.' After 1650, the modern age began. By 1750 the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions had made headway in England and Europe and by 1850 had spread to the U.S.A. By 1850 the world's population increased to one billion which was only 540 million in 1650

The major impact of nineteenth-century industrial investment on rates of population growth probably came through the accompanying reduction in mortality rates. Western Europe and America began to enjoy the health revolution. Death rates began to fall and the world population reached the 'second billion' by about 1930. That is, it took only about 100 years to reach the second billion. By now, the health and scientific revolutions were under way in most parts of the world, including parts of the underdeveloped world. It took only thirty years for the world population to reach the third billion. The United Nations estimates that, at the current rate of increase, the world might have about 6.4.

billion people by A.D. 2000, which is only 34 years away.

Although birth rates and death rates have become stable at low levels in most of the developed countries yet the problem of over-population is a characteristic feature of the peasant economies. The most rapid gains in population are taking place in lands least able to cope with them.

The developing nations of the world which were economically backward in the near past, have started marching ahead on the road of economic prosperity. Therefore, it is but natural that their numbers should increase very fast. According to the theory of demographic transition when a country enters into its economic development, it has to pass through the second stage of its population growth when the death rate starts falling very quickly due to improvement in health and sanitation without a corresponding drop in the birth rate. The same trend is witnessed in almost all underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America which were recently economically very backward and where populations were stagnant until 1900 or so. In Africa, slave trade, apart from high birth and death rates, served a check on population increase from 1650 to 1850. It was only after 1900 that the African population doubled in a matter of some fifty years. The same trend is witnessed in other underdeveloped countries of Asia and Latin America. Asia is the most populous continent in the world inhabiting more than half of the world's population and for Latin America the

rate of population growth is the highest in the world. Rate of growth of population with figures of 3% per annum or thereabouts is common and some times exceeds ; e.g., the rate of increase in Singapore was 4.3% per annum from 1947-57. Also, some of the advanced countries of the world have started experiencing greater rates of population increase in recent years. Keeping these things in view very fantastic estimates about world population are being made. It is estimated that at the present rate of growth population may reach to 70000 crores by 2200 A.D. and 150000 crores by 2510. A.D. By the year 2000, the world's population could be so great that each person would have one square inch of earth's surface for himself. Therefore, winning the global war on population problem is the most crucial task facing the nations of the world.

INDIA

India is no exception to the problem. It is the seventh largest and the second most populous country in the world. Indian population, which was almost stationary till the end of the 18th century, started increasing very slowly, so slowly that even long stretches of time could not evince any considerable increase. In the Malthusian sense : positive checks—wars, epidemics, famines etc,—did not allow our population to increase. By the end of the nineteenth century we got rid of some of the positive checks,—wars and banditry have been eliminated owing to the establishment of a firm and ordered political system. But others, disease and famine, had their full sway during the period : famine in several parts of the country occurred in 1891-92, 1895, 1896-97 and 1899 ; bubonic plague, which had made its first appearance in modern times in India in 1896, could not be controlled till the end of the next decade.

1901-10 ; and the influenza epidemic of 1918 was specially severe in its ferocity. After the influenza epidemic of 1918, owing to introduction of modern public health services resulting in the control of epidemics, and improvement of transport and communication facilities both inside and outside the country, resulting in control of scarcity and famine conditions, which were usually local affairs, the subsequent period 1921-61 except for the Bengal catastrophe of 1943-44, was free from visitations of large scale disease or famine. Thus it was not until 1921 that the Indian population started increasing very fast. The following figures will show that after 1921 the pace of population increase became faster and faster—

Year	Population (in millions)	% increase or decrease compared to previous decade.
1891	235.9	—
1901	235.5	- 0.2
1911	249.0	+ 5.7
1921	248.1	- 0.4
1931	275.5	+ 11.0
1941	312.8	+ 13.5
1951	356.9	+ 14.1
1961	439.2	+ 21.5
1966	498.9	—
1957	510.3 (estimated)	

It is clear from the above figures that the rate of population growth was less than 1% per annum prior to 1921. Then it rose gradually from 1.1% per annum during 1921-31, 1.35% during 1931-41, 1.41% during 1941-51, to 9.15% per annum during 1951-61. The growth rate was estimated to be 2.4% per annum during the period 1961-65. This rate of growth was expected to rise still further to 2.5% per annum during the period 1966-70. Estimates about future populations have been made :

Year	Population in crores
1966	49.2
1971	55.5
1976	62.5

The actual rate of population growth has exceeded the estimated rate. According to the estimated rate of 2.4% per annum during 1961-66 the population would have risen to 494.3 millions. But the estimated mid-year population of 1966 was 498.9 million which was 4.6 million above the estimated population. Therefore, the actual rate of population growth during 1961-66 has been near about 2.5 per cent per annum. If this is so, it is likely that the actual rate of population growth may exceed 2.5% per annum as estimated for the period 1966-70. Even if we take 2.5% per annum as a normal rate of population growth, Indian population will rise to 549.5 million by 1970 and 637.2 million by 1976.

BIRTH RATE AND DEATH RATE—The average birth rate, to-day in our country, is around 40 per 1000 per year. There are various reasons why India's birth rate continues to be high. There is the well known feature of the universality of the married state in India. Secondly, early marriages are still the rule in India. Thirdly, the high birth rate in India is a part of our culture affected by our social systems and religious beliefs. According to Manu "a man conquers the world by the birth of a son ; he enjoys eternity by that of a grand-son ; and the great grandfathers enjoy eternal happiness by the birth of a grand son's son." In a country where social prestige depends upon the number of children, the burden of additional children do not fall on the biological parents alone but are borne by the joint household, considerations of limiting the numbers do not hold good. And, fourthly there is the absence of any effective, wide spread family planning habit among the rural

population. All these and some other factors contribute to India's high birth rate.

The decisive factor behind the growth of India's population, however, is not so much the high birth rate as the dramatic decline in the nation's death rate. The table below shows this fact :

Decade	Birth and Death Rates	
	Estimated	
	Birth rate	Death Rate
1901-10	48.1	42.6
1911-20	49.2	48.9
1921-30	46.4	38.3
1931-40	45.2	31.2
1941-50	39.9	37.4
1951-60	41.7	22.8

It is clear from the above table that at present death control is having bigger effect than birth control. Infant lives are being saved, medical attention means we are living longer. Therefore, we cannot expect any considerable reduction in the acceleration in population growth in the near future.

How to solve the problem ?

Slowing down the rate of population growth at present is the only logical solution of many economic problems. There are only three ways of doing this : by raising the death rate, increasing external migration and lowering the birth rate. The first course cannot be pursued because it is against humanity, against democracy and against all the human values. Human life is an end in itself and not a means to an end. Therefore, our discussion of population control is limited to migration and lowering the birth rate.

MIGRATION : External migration, as a means a reducing population pressures, is not a practical suggestion. The doors of almost all countries are already shut to India's nationals. Indians already settled in foreign countries

e. g., in Ceylon. Burma, Kenya etc, are becoming a great problem to us. We have already experienced what has happened with the Indians in Burma and Kenya and what is happening in Ceylon. We had to enter into an agreement to accept the Indians already living in Ceylon. Therefore, when our people are meeting and would continue to meet with serious resistance if they seek to migrate to foreign countries on a permanent basis, it is useless to talk of foreign migration. Even if there is no resistance, external migration, with a continuing high birth rate and declining death rate would afford no relief. The benefits from their departure would be very temporary and large parts of the world would soon become filled with Indians.

LOWERING THE BIRTH RATE : It needs no elaborate argument that the curtailment of birth rate is the only alternative left to us. If death rates continue to fall, as they will, we will soon be in a mess unless birth rates also fall to about the same extent. Therefore the following ways are suggested to achieve it :

(i) **BIRTH RATE AND LIVING STANDARDS :** The most important factor determining the birth rate is the economic factor. There is, what may be called, a wealth check on population which indicates that with a rise in the standard of living, after a certain minimum, there is a diminution in the size of the family so that growth of income acts as a restraint on the growth of population. Birth rate will tend to fall because the people, having, tasted the benefits and pleasures of a higher level of living, would want to retain it, at any cost, and hence would have fewer babies. Therefore, the Government must help to increase the overall agricultural and industrial production and raise the per capita income of the people significantly. ii) **BIRTH RATE AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES :** It has been

proved in recent years, mainly since the late 1950's, that birth rates in underdeveloped countries can be reduced by proving certain economic incentive involving the expenditure of financial resources. Such schemes have been successful in some countries. In Ceylon such a programme introduced by the Ceylonese Government in collaboration with the Swedish Government reduced birth rates in a peasant population by 23% between 1959 and 1961. A programme of population control started in 1962 in the small town of Taichung in Taiwan by the Population Council, New York, lowered pregnancy rates by 50% in the course of one year. A similar programme sponsored by the Korean Government in certain villages of Koyang county reduced pregnancy rate by 37% during the period between October, 1952 and September 1965. Therefore, we in India should sponsor such programmes as giving 'Impregnancy Bonus', cash payments and transport charges for those who sterilize and use other contraceptive devices and cash awards for ideal families.

(3) **Birth Control :** Fortunately, to day the people of India no longer debate as they did two decades ago, the pros and cons of birth control. The importance of controlling fertility is generally recognised and more than 67% of married couples, according to a number of attitude surveys, are convinced of the need for some kind of family planning.

The vital problem before us is to find out an ideal method. There are four direct methods of birth control, viz. delayed marriages, voluntary restraint or abstinence, abortion and artificial control of conception.

(A) **Delayed marriages :** One of the suggestion made at a meeting of the Family Planning Council for checking population growth is that the age of marriage for girls should be raised to 21 years or at least 20 years. For at

analysis of the suggestion we may consider an empirical study conducted by the demographer, Dr. Chandrasekharan, who states that, if during the child bearing ages of 16 and 44 the average Indian married women bear six to seven children, then raising the age of marriage to 21 years will reduce the fertility period to the extent of two children less for each woman. Although it is a good suggestion, it is not without certain difficulties. The programme from the point of view of social acceptance and enforcement may run into difficulties. Although the Sarda Bill raised the age of marriage to 16 years, one cannot say with certainty that all girls under 16 are unmarried, for it is stated that marriages are still arranged for nine year olds. According to the data available in the 1956 Census, average age at marriage of Indian females of all religions was 15.6 years. The average age of marriage for girls in UP is 13.5 years. Therefore, merely raising the age of marriage for girls not accompanied by proper enforcement may not reap the benefit.

(B) Abstinence: It is not a practical suggestion, for the abstinence from conjugal relations is not acceptable to the majority in any culture and to many would constitute a negation of a major objective of marriage.

(C) Abortion: There are only two countries, Japan and China, where abortion, as a means of population control, has been legalised. In 1947 the birth rate in Japan was 34.3 per thousand. In 1958 it was brought down to 18 per thousand. This miracle was achieved through abortion.

Today the question of legalisation of abortion is much talked about in India. But really it may not fit in the Indian circumstances. Also, it is not desirable in a country like India with no proper hospital facilities and it may cost many lives. People may not accept it on moral grounds. Also, it is better not to allow conception than to seek for abortion.

But, abortion as a method of last resort may be acceptable.

(D) Artificial control of conception: It is of three kinds, viz., the non appliance method, and sterilisation. The first is more or less synonymous with coitus interruptus. The second consists in the use of chemical or mechanical devices which interfere with the natural results of sexual intercourse. They are designed to immobilize or destroy the spermatozoa or to prevent them from entering the womb. The use of douches, jellies, loops and pills is very well suited to the Indian population. For the moment loop is the main plank on which the Government's family planning programme rests. It has been found to be comparatively cheap and more effective. The third is the method of permanent conception control - vasectomy for fathers and salpingectomy for mothers.

During Five Year Plans, Government has spent large sums of money on Family Planning Schemes but, the result has not fulfilled expectations. True, in a country where most of the population is uneducated, it is but natural that the success of our family planning schemes should be slow until and unless our people should know for what they need to limit their numbers. For lack of knowledge three schemes are not successful even in areas comparatively more educated. For example a sample survey of Aligarh Town was conducted and very discouraging facts were found. It was found that to 98.1 per cent of the population it was unknown when family planning schemes were started, 43.9 per cent of the population did not know what the objective of the schemes was, and 45.1 per cent of those who knew about it were indifferent.

Therefore, an intensive propaganda throughout the country with regard to various methods of family planning and their importance in the present circumstances to the family and the nation as a whole is equally important.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

KARUNA K. NANDI

The Western Asia Crisis

The years following the close of the Second World War brought in their wake a new technique of belligerency between nations at cleavage with one another: it was given the name of a *cold war*. It was, to all intents and purposes, a very peculiar technique of warfare; even while apparent diplomatic exchanges are maintained on the surface, nations have been found to have been in a state of belligerency with one another and, short of actually resorting to shooting at one another, every effort has been found to have been made to mutually paralyze each other's normal peaceful pursuits. But, in course of time, further refinements of warfare appear to have been developed by modern human ingenuity in which actual shooting is resorted to within comparatively limited ranges with a view to achieve certain predetermined diplomatic and economic advantages.

One of the most devastating aspects of such warfare is the indefiniteness of the periods over which such belligerent action is generally found to being prolonged giving no respite to either belligerent to settle down to a routine of normalcy. The current West Asia crisis is an instance of this latest technique in warfare. The short and, on the part of one of the belligerents, a decisive six-day battle has been followed by a period of continuing belligerency and crisis of which it is yet difficult to see the end. Efforts are, no doubt, being made from time to time by so-called neutral nations—some of whom are really not so neutral as they might appear to be on the surface—to persuade the belligerents to accept mediation or otherwise settle their difference and re-establish peace; but so far no

substantial result has followed these peace-meal efforts by other nations.

This state of unsettlement and suspended hostility (which occasionally burnt forth here and there in quite devastating forays by one side or the other) has not, however, been involving the actual belligerents only but have also been affecting the normal pursuits of quite neutral and really otherwise unconcerned nations. For, the dispute has resulted in the closure of a most vital sea lane for all international shipping including those of the belligerents themselves. This has been causing the shipping of the nations bound for Western and Mediterranean ports or vice versa to be diverted to a long detour around the Cape of Good Hope and across the vast Atlantic and the consequent cost of carriage, increase of freights, delays in deliveries of merchandise and similar other difficulties. It is vital for the maritime nations of the world that this closed-down sea-passage should be reopened as soon as possible and shipping movements restored to their old time and normal routine. But with the state of things as they are, it is difficult to see the end of the stalemate so far as the Suez Canal is concerned until a more or less permanent solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute has been arrived at.

It is more immediately on this account, if not so much in the interest of the maintenance of world peace, that a settlement of the dispute should be ensured without any avoidable loss of time and any effort in this direction, whoever may be responsible for initiating it, should be welcome to all the world. The attitudes of the actual belligerents have not, however, been conducive, so far, to the success of such efforts. While the

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Israeli appeared to publicly announce that the "Arabs must be taught to learn their lesson" and must themselves directly sue for peace, the Arabs—or at least some of the constituents of the UAR—were reported to have told some self-appointed mediators that they would rather that the mediator helped them to rearm themselves with a view to finding an eventual permanent settlement.

Efforts have continued to be made at the U. N. level from time to time to find acceptable formulae of settlement which have, so far, failed to achieve anything substantial in this direction. This was primarily because in all formulae of settlement so far evolved by neutral powers either from within the organ of the U. N. or outside it, failed to cope with Israeli intransigence in respect of vacation of Arab territories occupied by Israel in the June war or of a satisfactory settlement of the Palestine refugee problem, without which the Arabs could not possibly be expected to accept a formula of settlement consistently with the honour and self-respect of the UAR. Efforts in this direction by neutral nations in the U. N. to incorporate these items in any terms of settlement have been consistently blocked by Israel and her friend and ally, the U. S. A. On this we have already commented in these columns last month.

As we write, however, a new move towards the enunciation of a fresh formula of settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute appears to be on its way. This time the sponsors of the move seems to be the U. S. A. As it is reported in the press, the initiative, this time, is that of President Lyndon B. Johnson himself and incorporates five points, viz, (i) acceptance of the principle that every nation has a right to exist; (ii) justice for refugees; (iii) right of innocent maritime passage for all nations; (iv) ending the (Middle East arms race; and (v) respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of all Middle East nations.

Earlier in the week there was already an

Afro-Asian draft incorporating proposed terms for the Arab-Israeli dispute. This draft was reported to have stressed that Israeli troops should withdraw and demanded that all states in area to "terminate the state or claim of belligerency and settle their international disputes by peaceful means". President Johnson's formula was enunciated as counter-proposal to the Afro-Asian draft.

While Israel was reported to have rejected the Afro-Asian proposals outright, it also was said to have expressed disappointment with Johnson's counter-proposals. The UAR has already been reported to have signified its acceptance of the Johnson-formula but insisted that two conditions must be clearly laid down, viz, that a clear-cut call be made for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories to positions they held before June 5; and linking a guarantee of free Israeli navigations across the Suez with a just solution of the problem of Arab refugees in accordance with U. N. resolutions urging the Israeli to repatriate and compensate the victims of the 1948 war. The UAR was, moreover, reported to have expressed its willingness to resume diplomatic relations. In a separate news report it is mentioned that President Nasser has announced that he has set deadline for Israeli acceptance and implementation of the Johnson formula at the 23rd November, this year, failing which he would presume that a military solution of the dispute was the only means of settlement open to his side. This last order of the current news on the subject has an ominous ring.

There is hardly any reason or room for doubt that flushed with her overwhelming success in the June battle, Israel has become quite overbearing in her attitude not merely to the Arabs but also to the efforts for peace that were being made by other wholly neutral and uninvolved nations. It is not likely that Israel, nevertheless, would have the temerity to ignore or reject President Johnson's terms of settlement,

but the two *clear-cut conditions* made by Nasser as an element of their acceptance by the UAR may provide Israel with the pretext to get out of her obligation to seek a peaceful settlement of the dispute; but these would also appear to be a fundamental requirement of UAR's acceptance of the terms of settlement.

Viet Nam

The Viet Nam war does not yet, in spite of the numerous so-called peace offensives by several U. S. public opinion organs and those of other nations, shew of moving towards a satisfactory settlement. The attitudes of the U. S. Administration remain intransigent in their demand that a bombing pause by the U. S. armed forces must be preceded by a definite undertaking that it would lead to a conference table. President Johnson has spelled out his demand that Hanoi must be ready to talk; he, on his part would be prepared to send a special representative to any part of the world where Hanoi would be agreeable to talk to the latter to define the preliminaries for a negotiated peace. He appears to remain steadfast in his requirement that negotiations must lead to terms of restoration of peace which would be acceptable to both his Government and to its South Vietnamese allies. Underlining the President's conditions, Dean Rusk was reported to have asked—when certain sections of American public opinion insisted that the U. S. armed forces must agree to an unconditional bombing pause of North Vietnam—if such a suspension of U. S. bombing raids over North Vietnam and upon the Vietcong does not persuade Hanoi to come to a conference table,—what then? It was necessary therefore, from the Administration's point of view that there must be definite undertaking that a bombing pause must be followed by negotiations.

Hanoi, on its part, had already spelled out its own conditions for a pause in belligerent activity in quite unmistakable terms some time ago. If David Schoenbrun's report can be accepted as a correct assessment of North Vietnam's

position in the matter—and there should be no doubt about it since his report was based on a personal interview with Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of North Vietnam—then the Johnson Administration should know quite definitely what the North's terms are. As a matter of fact, these terms have been made known to the U. S. Administration quite a while ago and the North Vietnam Government does not seem to have budged from their position even by a fraction of an inch so far. First and foremost among these conditions was the demand that American bombing must stop unconditionally as an essential condition precedent to opening of negotiations. North Vietnam's experience has so far demonstrated that whenever there has been any talk of peace negotiations, the U.S. forces have invariably stepped up their bombing raids; in other words Washington has always used coercion as an instrument of inducement for opening negotiations. This is something to which the North Vietnamese Government and the people will never submit; this, as the North Vietnamese Prime minister was reported to have underlined, was "categorical." The initiative for opening negotiations, it was insisted, must come from Washington and there must be "no bargaining, no blackmail and no ransom would be paid." The North Vietnamese Prime Minister was reported to have added that the U. S. was the aggressor in Vietnam; therefore it must be the U. S. who must make the initial gesture "required by the circumstance." There will be no reciprocity for cessation of bombing and other acts of war, it was added. As regards what might be the nature of the agenda in the peace negotiations should it be possible to open them, Hanoi was reported to have challenged that there was no ambiguity, no complication; the issue is really very simple. If Washington stops its aggression and accepts the reality that it cannot *dominate Vietnam*, that it cannot set up and uphold a *puppet regime* and if Washington sincerely desires peace, it can be achieved *very rapidly*. The North Vietnamese Prime Minister was then reported to have set down his conditions for peace in quite *categorical terms*.

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and free from all ambiguity. First, there must be complete cessation of bombing and other acts of war; secondly, there must be a recognition of the National Liberation Front as the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people; thirdly, and following these, there must be wholesale withdrawal of American and all satellite troops from South Vietnam; and, finally, and only following these preliminary conditions, the Vietnamese people will settle their own affairs.

In other words, Hanoi remains steadfast in its determination that the only matter that is subject to negotiation between the U. S. and Vietnam, should be the modalities of a complete and wholesale withdrawal of the U. S. from Vietnam. There are only two possible ways to peace in Vietnam according to the North Vietnamese Prime Minister: one that might lead directly to Hanoi or a possible second that will lead to talks with the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam: there was no third way. North Vietnam, it was made categorically clear would have nothing to do with or through the U. S. puppets, Messrs Thieu and Ky.

This is categorical enough and it is quite clear that North Vietnam would never be persuaded to a conference table unless these conditions have been endorsed and accepted by the U. S. Administration. The North Vietnamese Government considers the U. S. as veritable interlopers in Vietnam, not without substantiable reasons. It could not be blamed if it continued to regard the American role in Vietnam as a veritable imperialist adventure being pursued in the name of a puppet regime seeking to snatch and separate South Vietnam from the body of the Vietnamese nation and make it the spearhead, as apparently it is being done, of U. S. imperialist aggression upon the people.

Attitudes of the U. S. Administration do not seem to encourage the hope that North Vietnam's conditions of negotiations can or would be accepted by the Johnson Administration. Even recognising President Johnson's claim that

but for the Americans in Vietnam the whole of South and South-East Asia would soon be converted into a huge Communist camp as nothing but hot air, it is a moot question as to what legitimate right America can claim in forcing down its own social, political ideologies the throat of an alien people at the point of the gun. It may also be asked as to what concern it may be of the U. S. as to what political and social ideology should be followed or pursued by an alien people. Vast areas of the modern world are already under communist influence; the U. S. can do nothing to change or even moderate their political loyalties and faiths. What special claims can the Americans have upon the Vietnamese people that the latter must follow the example and the dictates of the U. S.? There is only one very remote and rather transparently hypocritical pretext,—that a substantial proportion of the people of Vietnam have foreworn communism and have decided to pursue the democratic ideal and it is, presumably, to keep this feeble spark of so-called democracy alight, that the Americans have rushed to the region and have, over the decades been committing itself more and more, in money, men and materials, to the conflict. It is transparently ridiculous to claim that the present South Vietnamese Government or its predecessor are or have been democratic in composition or ideology. It is equally ridiculous to claim that the South Vietnamese Government represent the views and loyalties of the people of the region. To test the truth of this assertion it would be a very simple matter. A referendum of the South Vietnamese people held under neutral international auspices which would be free from American or North Vietnamese influence, would at once establish the hollowness of U. S. claims or those of its puppets, the Thieu-Ky regime in South Vietnam.

Shorn of all sanctimoniousness of so-called sanctities of freedom of opinion and the right of a people to choose what kind of Government it should have, the Vietnam War is, frankly, a war of attrition to enable fulfilment of American

imperialist designs in the region. It must be recognised as such and world opinion should be categorical in its condemnation of the U. S.'s illegitimate intrusion into these people's lives. It is quite possible that there may be basic political and ideological differences between and cleavages among the Vietnamese people; it is even conceivable that, despite the so-called popularity of and popular support to the National Liberation Front, there may be a considerable body of South Vietnamese public opinion who would prefer to have a democratic order of society rather than a communist dictatorship of the proletariat. Those are domestic matters for the people of Vietnam for themselves to iron out among themselves and settle. There have been similar differences and cleavages in other parts of the world even during recent years; in certain regions of Afro-Asia established democratic instruments have been destroyed and supplanted by communist, authoritarian and other kinds of rebellions by sections of the population concerned. But the U.S. or any other democratic power of the West does not appear to have felt called upon to intervene in those domestic quarrels and squabbles. Even where incidents of vital international significance have occurred to suborn democratic institutions and erode the freedom of majorities of a national population, these powers have not demonstrated any anxiety to intervene beyond passing a few sanctimonious resolutions or imposing sanctions which have never been intended to be applied effectively. The Ian Smith rebellion in South Rhodesia is an outstanding example in point where international forces of law and order might legitimately have intervened to uphold the fundamental rights of freedom of the vast majorities of the Rhodesian people against the seizure of power by a microscopic white minority; but they have done nothing to uphold the principles of democracy in this region.

Frankly, therefore, the Vietnam War is nothing more or less than a struggle for power between the Vietnamese people and illegitimate

American intruders into the region with imperialist ambitions in their heart. It is never difficult for a powerful aggressor to find quislings and puppets to lend verisimilitude to the aggressors, claims that they are there not for the fulfilment of any selfish objective of their own, but to uphold certain well established public principles in the name of such puppets. This, however, should not deceive any one, least of all the clever people of the U. N. Security Council. However, as things stand there does not seem to be any common meeting ground between American imperialist ambitions in South Asia and the nationalist aspirations of the Vietnamese people. The present writer has no faith in the Communist order of things and he would much rather the Vietnamese people were able to establish the democratic order in their country. But communist or otherwise, right is on the side of the Vietnamese people and the Americans are frankly imperialist adventurers and interlopers in the region. So-called peace negotiations between the two are, therefore, an impossibility. It is impossible, accordingly, to visualize where, when and how the Vietnam conflict may end.

The West Bengal Political Imbrolio

The present writer does not hold any brief for the much derided United Front Government of West Bengal. In fact he has been, perhaps, far more trenchant and relevant in his published criticisms of the many failures of this Government during the past several months in these columns than most other critics of the U. F. Especially the Government's failures to enunciate realistic and practicable policies in regard to two vital matters affecting the day to day life of the community as well as the future of the nation, have merited the severest criticisms in these columns; those relating to the Government's administration of its Food Ministry and its failure to enunciate realistic industrial relations policies.

And, yet, no honest citizen could condone the dirty conspiracies which were being hatched

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and have recently come out in the open to topple the Government through patently dishonest expedients. Dr. P. C. Ghosh and his *sanctimonious* accusations against the Communist partners in the Government should not entice anyone with an ounce of sense or honesty. He had joined the Ministry knowing full well that the Communists were bound to assume an important, perhaps a very vital share in enunciating the new Government's policies and executive action; so did Mr. Humayun Kabir who insinuated Dr. Ghosh, who was without any following whatever at the time of his joining, into the counsels of the State Government. Anyone who has been familiar with Dr. P. C. Ghosh's political career—or perhaps, the absence of it as a consistent factor of his life—should have been able to anticipate that he was being deliberately scaffolded up into the Government to prevent crystallization of its policies and actions into an integrated and cohesive force; he could always be expected to prove a dividing line within the counsels of the Cabinet. Far, from the day of Independence onwards, Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh has proved himself wholly unreliable and, of course, so highly opinionated and conceited that it has never been possible for any self-respecting person to continue to work with him for long. One's lips short at mentioning the betrayal of East Bengal Hindus for which he had been responsible at the juncture of the partition of the country, a betrayal, which it is demonstrable, was deliberately hatched by him along with some others, so the award of the first Chief Ministership of West Bengal might be his. It is idle to blame Humayun Kabir alone for insinuating Dr. Ghosh into the United Front Government, Messrs Ajay Mukherjee, Jyoti Basu and other leaders of the Government have patently been criminally credulous in agreeing to be persuaded by Kabir in the matter.

Kabir should, however, have been suspect from the very beginning. He left the Congress and joined the Bangla Congress obviously because Mrs. Gandhi would not continue to have

him in her new Union Government and this he did immediately on the eve of the last general elections when he was more or less given clearly to understand that there would be no Congress ticket for him this time. Knowing his political affiliations it is difficult to understand how the CPI (M) could sponsor his candidature at the last elections!

Now these follies have come home to roost. But what is really most reprehensible is that the West Bengal Governor should have involved himself in these dubious tactics and credence is naturally lent to the widespread belief that the Union Government leaders have been encouraging the Governor to play his part, or he should have merited ignominy and instant dismissal from his West Bengal sinecure. As I write, it is impossible to predict what may happen within the next few days; it is probable that if the Government sticks out until the 20th December when it expects to face the Legislature, a no-confidence motion against it may fail. If, however, the Governor, encouraged by the legal opinion dispensed by the Union Law Ministry on the issue, chooses to dismiss the Government without giving the Legislature any opportunity to express its lack of confidence or otherwise in the Government, it would be bound to precipitate not merely a constitutional crisis of very serious implications, a political crisis of dangerous potential would also bound to follow such a high-handed course by a *supposedly* constitutional Governor.

The present writer has no particular love for the United Front Government; it has proved itself inept and inefficient and appears to have, by its non-descript and amorphous policies, encouraged wider spread of nepotism and corruption in administration and public life. If it can be relieved of the powers of governance by legitimate parliamentary methods it might prove an object lesson to other public leaders who might follow them. The image of parliamentary democracy has already been dreadfully tarnished by a twenty-year spell of monolithic power enjoyed

by the Congress; the Congress still continues to occupy the seat of power at the Central level. The present conspiracies in West Bengal, if they are allowed to succeed, would spell disaster to the future of parliamentary democracy in the country. The so-called non-political public have a positive responsibility in the matter. Every thinking individual, whether he may wish the present Government to continue in office or whether he may want to send it packing, should make it clear that only legitimate parliamentary democratic methods would be allowed to determine the fact of the present Government in West Bengal and those who have entered into the present odious conspiracy to subvert it by questionable applications of executive authority with the concurrence of, or, at least, encouragement from the Centre, even if they are people of such *supposedly* high moral stature like Dr. P. C. Ghosh, or turn-coats like Humayun Kabir would, henceforward, remain for all times to come, *persona non-grata* with the public. Only thus the essence of parliamentary democracy can be saved from the effects of these murky conspiracies and intrigues!



SEASONAL THOUGHTS

The various ritualistic festivals that are held in India after the rains stop, harvesting comes nearer and the cooler days begin to make life easy to enjoy; remind Indians also of their ancient culture and ideals. The images that are made for worship, the mantrams that are chanted and the social observances revive thoughts of the lost glory of India in the various fields of life. Many of our ancient shastras dealt with the problems of human existence in a comprehensive and highly scientific manner. The arts and crafts which gave proper shape to our civilisation were also developed with such perfection and precision as could hardly be paralleled by any other civilisation of those days. The age of the *Mahabharat*, which comes after at least one thousand and five hundred years from the dawn of Aryan civilisation of the early vedic period; provides us with a clearer picture of the material conditions prevailing before the first millennium B.C. Philosophy, Politics, Law, Social Institutions, the Sixty Four Fine Arts and the Art of Governance had already attained precise shapes and form. There are reasons for assuming that the wars of the *Mahabharat* may have been many which continued for a long time before the organised governments then extant progressively disintegrated and the dark ages set in and continued till the beginning of the Jain period. European scholars have always tried to lend undue importance to Greek influence in the moulding of Indian civilisation, and their analysis of periods of history has suffered gravely from this obsession and the basic exaggeration of a single factor. The easy grace with which India absorbed Greek technique in sculpture and used it without in any way surrendering India's much older art forms, proves the vitality of the cultural forces that prevailed in the post-Buddhist period. The philosophical and aesthetic background of Indian culture was so strongly built up already as to prove that it had its beginnings long before Alexander attempted his invasion of India. It would be a very logi-

cal assumption to hold that the ancient culture of India was fairly well developed at the time of the *Mahabharat*. The arts, crafts, economic institutions, laws and the thoughts and ideals which gave shape and direction to the life of the Indian people of the period were already precise and clear cut. During the dark ages, after the widespread destruction of organised social life in various parts of India, culture and civilisation probably remained in the shape of shastric formulae in the forest ashrams of the rishis. Some of the arts and crafts might have been practised too in the few surviving courts and the places of worship. But great imperial courts did not again develop until after the advent of the Jain Tirthankars. In any case, when the splendour of the royal centres of life revived, the ancient learning, laws, arts and crafts revived too. The ancient laws point to facts of social existence which could not be there unless great communities of highly civilised persons lived in the country. Some citations from the Laws of Manu which incorporated in it much older Samhitas would prove that Indian society was highly developed in the first millenium B.C. and much earlier too. For a study of the *Mahabharat* reveals the existence of great cities, splendid courts, large well armed armies deployed in scientific formations, specialised weapons, political treaties for the formation of military blocs and an economic basis for the production of immense quantities of military equipment. Politics, ethics and human relations were complex and fully understood by the leading thinkers and royal advisers. The shastras were ramiferous and dealt with all aspects of life with a great degree of precision and usefulness. They were preserved in the various forest ashrams when the wars of the *Mahabharat* broke up the larger States of India, and came back into use, as soon as organised community life revived. The citations are from texts dealing with the laws pertaining to numerous aspects of human

conduct. The General Laws relate among other things to Sacraments, Initiation, Studentship, Marriage, Daily Rites, Lawful and Forbidden Food, Duties of Women, Ascetics and the King. Other Laws deal with Judicial Procedure, Witnesses, Recovery of Debts, Deposits, Non-payment of Wages, Non-performance of Agreement, Disputes Concerning Boundaries, Defamation, Assault and Hurt, Theft, Violence, Adultery, Inheritance and Partition, Gambling and Betting and Occupations and Livelihood. Our quotations are only taken from the chapter dealing with Civil and Criminal Law.

The Laws of Manu (VIII 203) * say. "One commodity mixed with another must not be sold (as pure) nor a bad one (as good), nor less (than the proper quantity or weight), nor anything that is not at hand or that is concealed." This is proof of an organised social arrangement for buying and selling with proper weights and measures and of a level of prices which will tempt the sellers to cheat.

There were workmen and paid servants too with regular wage rates. We find in the same treatise (VIII 215), "A hired (servant or workman) who, without being ill, out of pride fails to perform his work according to the agreement, shall be fined eight *Krishnalas* and no wages shall be paid to him."

Economic life is further illustrated by certain laws relating to the duties of the people regarding protection of wealth and property. (VIII 285) "According to the usefulness of the several kinds of trees a fine must be inflicted for injuring them; that is the settled rule."

When we come to judge how the country was ruled and how the kings and their officers were prevented from persecuting the people, we find many provisions in the Laws for the control of Royal tyranny and wilfulness. The king *could* do

wrongs and so could his relations and proteges. Special provisions had been made for the punishment of persons who abused power and sought to act unlawfully while protected by influential men. (VIII 335, 336, 347)

"Neither a father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished by a king, if they do not keep within their duty."

"Where another common man would be fined one *Karshapana*, the King shall be fined one thousand, that is the settled rule."

"Neither for friendship's sake, nor for the sake of great lucre, must a King let go perpetrators of violence, who cause terror to all creatures."

There were various classes of craftsmen with their well defined duties and the Laws demanded that they observed these rules of work. (VIII 396)

"A washerman shall wash (the clothes of his employers) gently on a smooth board of *Salmali* wood; he shall not return the clothes (of one person) for those (of another), nor allow anybody (but the owner) to wear them."

In present day society those who rule quite often violate the principles laid down to prevent misgovernment, injustice, unfair practices, favouritism, bribery and other kinds of corruption. But society goes on with its uncured evils. Both the servants of the State and private workers, sellers and suppliers act in anti-social manners. And we see no immediate solution to our social ills. Honesty and integrity, consciousness of responsibility and pride of craft, self-respect and the eagerness to honour promises and undertakings; just do not exist. In ancient times things were perhaps better. Those who take pride in our past should also work to maintain the ancient standards of morality and purity.

*Translation Georg Buehler edited by Max Muller VIII Ch.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Whatever Happened To Patriotism ?

Amid the cacophony of protest against current U.S. foreign policy, it may be hard to believe that Nathan Hale ever cried: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." For many Americans, who through the years thought that a rather wonderful thing to say, it is even harder to believe that today so many young men chant a new anthem: "Hell, no, we won't go!" Indeed, the phenomenon of bitter antiwar protest reflects profound changes in U. S. attitude toward patriotism—an emotion once proudly shouted from the rooftops but now seldom even discussed. Is patriotism dead? Outdated? Should it still enter the discussion of grave national issues?

Patriotism is just as important as ever. The problem is in defining it—and few definitions are so elusive. It consists of three distinct but interrelated emotions—love of country, pride in it, and desire to serve its best interests. The love is easily traced to man's natural affection for his particular home, language and customs. The word patriotism comes from *pater*, Greek for father, and means love for a fatherland. From word patriotism comes from *pater*, Greek for the love flows pride; the firm belief that one's country is good and perhaps superior to all others—a pride not only in the country's objective worth but because that worth enhances one's own.

Adlai Stevenson's definition was expectedly eloquent. "When an American says that he loves his country," he declared, "he means not only that he loves the New England hills, the prairies glistening in the sun, the wide and rising plains, the great mountains, and the sea. He means that he loves an inner air, an inner light in which freedom lives and in which a man can draw the breath of self-respect." Eric Hoffer, the philosopher-longshoreman has a more prosaic but

very pragmatic description: "The day-to-day competence of the workingman." He adds: "If I was loading ships for Mother America, even during a war, I would be laughed off the docks. In Russia, they can't build an outhouse without having a parade and long speeches. This is the strength of America."

Few people seem to be willing to proclaim their patriotism these days, and Fourth of July oratory has gone out of fashion. But John F. Kennedy's inaugural address was squarely in the old spine-tingling tradition. "Ask not what **your** country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." And more: "Let every nation know whether it wishes us well or ill, that we **shall** pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty." There was an affirmation in the best spirit of patriotic oratory, and it forced the blood up into the temples of people who never really expected to feel that way.

Right & Wrong

For centuries, countless thinkers have denounced patriotic pride for one of its unhappiest effects: the irrational hatred that one people aims at a "lesser" people. Arnold Toynbee attributes the death of Greco-Roman civilization to patriotic wars between city states—and failure to establish international law. Early Christians rejected patriotism on the ground that man's obligations are to God, and after that to all of humanity. A Jesuit general once called patriotism "the most certain death of Christian love." There is no question that chauvinism—hyperpatriotism—can be induced in any country, including a democracy, where truth may be a poor competitor in the marketplace of ideas. A tragic exam-

ple is Germany, where Nazi excesses in the name of the fatherland left such scars that today patriotism is for Germans an embarrassing idea.

At its root, patriotism bore no such scar. In 1578, during the Dutch-Flemish revolt against Spanish rule, the word patriot was first used to mean one who represents people and country against the king. By the 18th century, patriotism denoted love of a free country, devotion to human rights as well as nationalism. To Stephen Decatur's famous toast "Our country may she always be right; but our country right or wrong" Carl Schurz later replied: "When right, to be kept right; when wrong to be put right." Who decides what is right and what is wrong? The Schurz position suggests that the only valid answer to that question is the free individual conscience—indeed, that true love of country involves criticism as well as praise; for mere acquiescence may be mindless indifference.

The Essence of Americanism

Chaotic—or even anarchic—as that answer may seem it is the loss of U.S. patriotism. At the end of the 18th century, nothing was more quixotic than trying to nationalize 13 hostile colonies, assorted religious sects, and 2,500,000 individualists. The colonists were so unimpressed by the Revolution that one-third of them sided with Britain. At Valley Forge, George Washington wrote that patriotic idealism could not inspire his ragged, ill-trained army, that it must be toughened by "a prospect of interest or some reward." He meant cash. Only well after victory did the shaky American nation burst forth with an optimistic self-image based on the idea that the humane spirit of 18th century enlightenment could be fully realized for the first time anywhere. General Washington called himself "a citizen of the great republic of humanity at large," and countless divines proclaimed Americans to be God's chosen people. "We are acting for all mankind," said Thomas Jefferson. Beneficent fate "imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of self-government, in which a society may venture to leave its individual members."

The very fact that the U.S. was a nation only in name produced a fervent drive to create national symbols that sometimes obscured Jefferson's aspirations. The drive was fueled by waves of immigrants rushing to a virgin continent that offered fabulous opportunities for self-advancement. The goldrush spirit animated Americanism, the country's unestablished religion. The whole public-school system was aimed at Americanization. Noah Webster's spelling book taught American English to Germans, Poles, Sweden, Italians—and declared that "Europe is grown old in folly, corruption and tyranny." Geography was American, and America was bigger than the universe, the finest, happiest and soon to be the strongest nation on earth. Parson Weems's biography beatified Washington: Fourth of July speeches were gravely heeded. Even arithmetic books instilled patriotism. Symbols burgeoned—Old Glory, the Liberty Bell, the bald eagle, Uncle Sam. Everyone memorized militant songs, such as *Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean* ("Three cheers for the Red White and Blue"). And McGuffey readers—hardly a child alive could not recite Longfellow's verse:

*Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!*

The symbolism, the national heroes, the sacred founding documents, the optimistic faith in progress—all these unified and inspired millions of uprooted immigrants in an often frighteningly free society. The mood filled a basic human need: never do men so long to belong as when they give up one fatherland for another. Conversely, the U.S. proposition was freedom from orthodoxy. There was not—and is not—any one perfect Americanism. Not in a country that cherishes diversity as a national virtue.

But if diversity is a condition of freedom, it is also a recipe for self-interest—and a patriotism that sometimes reaches no deeper than symbols. Over the years, peacetime patriotism in the U. S. was expressed as a wealth of other emotions; how Americans feel about America is clearly linked to

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

how they feel about themselves functioning in disilluminated Americans into an isolationism that America. Thus in the 19th century every probably helped pave the way for World War II. Imaginable interest group claimed superior That war brought, perhaps, the greatest nativity. Businessmen denounced unionists as wave of patriotism in U. S. history. Fix the hour. alien anarchists; each generation of naturalized at 6p. m., Dec. 7, 1941. It was an hour of intense immigrants scorned each later wave of "for- feeling for country, outrage at the shedding of eigners," notably Roman Catholics, victims of American blood, a sense of common danger, outrageous persecution by the nativist Know- resolve to defeat the enemy. A people that had been Nothings of the 1950s. Just before the Civil War, divided hours before was mobilized by the slavery apologists attributed to themselves the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor; millions one true Americanism; some Southerners wanted shifted from self-interest to self-sacrifice. In the to claim the Stars and Stripes as their own flag. wake of World War II came a subtle and complex

Abraham Lincoln showed the humility of a act of patriotism, the Marshall Plan, embodying not genuine patriot when he did not claim that God only the best of American ideals but also the was on his side but prayed that he might be on wisest of American self-interest. In its wake also God's. Over the long run, the U. S. approach to came a minority phenomenon that has recurred its national interest has nearly always been in the U. S. and other nations throughout suffused with a highly moral tone. At times, that history; superpatriotism. The post-World War II variety, with its aspects of stupidity and tone has been debased, as it was by those who saw in the Spanish-American War a crusade to neuroticism, was personified by Joe McCarthy.

The relatively few, noisy disciples of McCarthyism created a highly inaccurate picture of the place of patriotism in the U. S. and gave it a bad name. The truth is that most Americans are casual patriots most of the time. Whatever national loyalty a man feels is indirect, the product of satisfaction with his job, family, friends, union, church, country. If asked what other country he might prefer, he draws a blank. Rarely have Americans hated America enough to commit treason, renounce citizenship or denigrate their country while abroad. Saul Alinsky, the professional agitator, says with some surprised self-analysis: "Get me outside the country and suddenly I can't bring myself to say one nasty thing about the U. S." Such pride goes far beyond material advantages. In a 1963 survey, two U. S. political scientists asked 5,000 citizens of five countries what made them proudest. Of the Americans, 85% cited their their country's political institutions, compared with 46% of Britons, 30 per cent of Mexicans, 7 per cent of Germans and 3 per cent Italians.

Rise & Decline

"The office of America is to liberate," said Emerson, "to abolish kingcraft, priestcraft, caste, monopoly, to pull down the gallows, to burn up the bloody statute-book, to take in the immigrant, to open the doors of the sea and the fields of the earth." No nation has ever undertaken a similar task, and it is hardly surprising that the American path has often been strewn with monumental confusions as well as good intentions. Wilsonian idealism did not make the world safe for democracy in World War I; it wound up driving

At a time when nationalism is growing in many parts of the world, the visible, audible evidence suggests that U. S. patriotism has taken a different turn and declined. One pointed

comparison: in 1912, despite segregation, Joe Louis happily served because "what's wrong with my country ain't nothing Hitler can fix;" in 1967, despite great progress toward desegregation, Cassius Clay refuses to serve because "I don't have no quarrel with those Viet Congs."

Roman Catholic Bishop Fulton Sheen sees patriotism as "essentially linked with love of parents, neighbor and of God." Since these relationships, he feels, have deteriorated, so has patriotism. Episcopal Bishop James Pike, who defines patriotism as "loyalty to law and order and support of the positive purposes of the Government that makes possible one's freedom," finds no evidence of decline. He sees only change, toward increased exercise of individual conscience and greater, "moral sensitivity."

Others, in different terms and with their own degree of subjectivity, assay contemporary patriotism in even sharper contrast. Historian Henry Steele Commager thinks the dissenters of 1967 are the real patriots. "Those who have the most affection for the country," he says, "are those who are most alienated from its present policies. Those who are not affectionate are those who are selling out the cities and failing to educate the poor. I don't think it shows any love for country to be spending all our money on bombs and ignoring the rest of our problems." At the other pole is the view of Oren Lee Staley, of Corning, Iowa, a dissenter in his own right as head of the National Farmers Organization, which does not hesitate to protest U. S. farm policies. Speaking for country people, Staley says: "Although they do not understand all that is involved in Viet Nam, they do understand one thing. We as a nation have a commitment. They support the country because of their heritage. They want to see protected what they are part of and the heritage they are proud of."

In the Process of Change

These differences reflect a truism: patriotism has become more individualistic as U. S. society

has grown more complex. The U. S. people, in their modern, more urban way of life, are better educated, more aware of the world and more sophisticated than their forebears. For the past decade, the young have grown up in an era of self-criticism, and have learned to question American assumptions. They have also learned an idealism that often lacks realism—notably an awareness that power and politics are inescapable facts of international life. Their definition of patriotism must be worked out in the context of a war that has none of the clear-cut aspects of Pearl Harbor, at a time when the country's internal problems are being examined with unprecedented intensity and under a President who, despite all his efforts, has not been able to stir fervor in the hearts of his countrymen.

Out of all this comes the current pattern of dissent which disturbs the President and many other Americans. For 185 years, perhaps no other country has given more legal protection to dissenters than the U. S. Every effort to repress dissent has, in the long run, brought an enlargement of the right of free speech and press. Even in the most strained times, few intelligent Americans have attacked dissent as disloyalty. Given the U. S. proposition, no shade of opinion is unpatriotic—unless it advocates violence or overthrow of the Government. Unhappily, a few extreme dissenters tend toward that direction: that some assault the impregnable Pentagon is evidence of a sadly impotent search for meaning, of disbelief in the U. S. political process, of something gone wrong in the U. S. pursuit of happiness—or, perhaps, of the Administration's inability to give large segments of American youth a meaningful vision.

The hope is that there will be another change in feeling, that sterile extremism will go the way of McCarthyism, that Americans, young as well as old, will return to a Lincolnian patriotism that permits each man pride in his own country and strives for a world in which all men can pursue their own ideal of freedom.

—*Time*, Nov. 10, 1967.

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Our Closest Associates

Among those who always thought of THE MODERN REVIEW, whenever they felt the need for communicating with the English reading public of India, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Rabindranath Tagore, and C. F. Andrews were outstanding.

SIR JAGADISH BOSE kept an open house for all those who loved India and fought for the liberation of that ancient land from the overlordship of British imperialists. His friendship with sister Nivedita had its roots in the urge that both of them felt for India's political freedom. The founder editor of THE MODERN REVIEW, the late Ramananda Chatterjee was seen in their Company quite frequently in those days. After Nivedita's death Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose kept up his contacts with the political fighters. He assisted many persons who got involved in anti-British activities, financially and in other ways. Even in the late twenties he employed Pulin Behari Das, a renowned revolutionary of Dacca, as a physical instructor in the Bose Institute. Sir Jagadish and his friends assisted many other revolutionaries too. It is well known how Sir Jagadish put India on the map of the world of science by his researches in plant physiology and by his amazing electro-mechanical inventions to demonstrate the truth of his theories. THE MODERN REVIEW always brought out elaborate accounts of Sir J. C. Boses discoveries. This helped to prove that India's genius was not failing in the field of science. What Rabindranath proved in the field of art, music and literature, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose proved in the field of science.

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR was another remarkable man of a unique type of versatility. He was an eminent medical practitioner of great renown whose fame had spread even beyond the borders of his country. He was a great educationist who silently worked out many problems of higher education and induced men like Sir Taraknath Palit, Sir Rashbehari Ghosh and Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi to give munificent donations to the Univer-

sity of Calcutta, to the Carmichael Medical College (R. G. Kar Medical College) and to various technical institutes. Sir Nilratan was a pioneer in the field of modern industry in India. He made expensive experiments in leather tanning, soap making, tea gardening, designing specialised machinery, mining and other branches of industry, with a view to set an example to his countrymen in the field of industrial enterprise. He was a patron of literature, the fine arts and music. His interest in classical literature was deep and lasting. As a medical man he was not only much sought after but was held in such high esteem, that even during his life time his admiring fellowmen raised funds for a research institute to be named after him. The Appeal for funds for this was signed, among others by Rabindranath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Abala Bose, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Basanti Devi, B. N. Basu, B. L. Mitra and B. C. Roy.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR was a great educationist and industrial organiser. He was one of the founders of the Scindhia Steam Navigation Company. He was a social reformer of great reputation and was an important member of the Prarthana samaj of Western India. His friends were many and could be found in every big city of India. There are many people in Calcutta who remember this great man of quality with respect and admiration.

DINABANDHU ANDREWS was truly a friend of the poor and the helpless. A great scholar who had made India his home and the cause of suffering humanity his mission in life, C. F. Andrews had sacrificed all worldly desires and ambitions before he undertook to serve humanity. His work in connection with humanising labour supply to the colonies of Britain and the plantations of India had been invaluable from the humanistic angle. When he was not telling the world about what was going on in Trinidad, Fiji or other places, he was describing the woes of other peoples who slowly died of starvation or existed somehow like dumb cattle. C. F. Andrews was a prolific writer and he made use of the pages of THE MODERN REVIEW quite frequently for publicising his humanistic investigations. He was called Dinabandhu by the Indian People for the reason that he devoted his life to lift up the poverty stricken, the persecuted the down-trodden and, the ignorant masses.

One recalls with a sense of personal loss a great man who virtually spent his life in one corner of a verandah of the University College of Science at Calcutta. He was SIR PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY, a great scholar, an ardent humanitarian, a patriot, a nation builder and a sincere friend of the youth of the country. Sir P. C. Ray never set up a home of his own and spent all his earnings for educating promising scholars who had not much money of their own. He guided and established in life and in the world of science the largest group of highly talented pupils that any teacher has had in modern India. He lived in the Science College surrounded by his pupils and friends. His main passion was Teaching, but he was ardent in his plans of industrialisation of India and helped to set up many industries among which the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. stands out as a very successful establishment. He made a name in organising and operating the Bengal

Flood Relief Committee in 1922-23 when two districts in North Bengal were inundated. The Funds he raised then for this purpose were quite phenomenal and he helped nearly a million flood stricken persons to reestablish themselves after they had lost everything they possessed. Sir P. C. Ray was an eminent scholar. He studied and taught Chemistry but he took an interest in all positive sciences and carried out valuable research work in the field of science as it had developed in ancient India.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR was a young revolutionary who carried on intensive propaganda for Indian freedom in America and Europe for many years. He was an economist who was guided by social philosophical considerations of a fundamental nature and his writings, of which many appeared in THE MODERN REVIEW, expressed his idealism in the garb of matter of fact schemes and plans. He had many friends and admirers in foreign countries, but he returned to India and settled down in Calcutta in order to carry on his work of economic and social reforms. He had many pupils who did valuable work, but Benoy Kumar Sarkar's untimely death disrupted the activities of his followers who were well on the way to develop a school of economic thought.

DR. RAJANI KANTA DAS was a scholar who mainly worked in America and in the I. L. O. at Geneva. He came back to India for some time but went back to America at a later stage. Rajani Kanta Das carried on invaluable work in the field of India's contributions to the development of other lands by the supply of workers in large numbers. The Pacific Coast of America, the British colonies all over the world were carefully examined by Dr. Das and his findings were embodied in many books which will always remain source books for economic research workers. He also made an intensive study of plantation workers in India. He contributed many valuable articles to THE MODERN REVIEW during his life time.

ST. NIHAL SINGH (sr.) is in retirement now in one of our Himalayan hill stations. He is over ninety years in age, but he still wields a powerful pen. THE MODERN REVIEW has had the privilege to publish many articles written by this master journalist of Asia. His contributions to various journals will require elaborate indexing to show what a versatile writer he has been. But as he has written for the World Press and not for this country only or that, it would be a hard task to follow up all his writings in all the journals throughout the world. St. Nihal Singh has been a pioneer and he showed the way to younger journalists to achieve success in journalism without binding oneself down to a particular journal or a group. As one of the greatest of free lance journalists of the world, St. Nihal Singh will always stand out as a very remarkable man who wrote for the World Press consistently for many decades and thus helped to educate the public of many countries to develop a sense of a common humanity. He wrote extensively about India for foreign journals and thus acted as a literary ambassador for India.

MAJOR RAMAN DAS BASU of the Indian Medical service was a patriot of rare quality. His appreciation of the greatness of Indian civilisation and his emotional reactions to the evils of foreign domination have been fully and very ably expressed by him in his numer-

ous books and in his articles published in THE MODERN REVIEW, The WELFARE and other journals. He was a vastly learned man who had a good knowledge of the principal languages of India as well as of many foreign and classical languages. Those who have had the opportunity to study that masterly treatise, THE INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS written by Major B. D. Basu in collaboration with Col. Kirtiker would have easily found what a great scientific investigator Major Basu was. His many books also establish his place among the great historical research workers of India. He was a keen student of philosophy, economics, political science and of all the arts that gave human culture its colour, tone and aesthetic appeal. He was a collector of ancient Indian statuary from the days when he was a medical officer in the North Western Frontier and Afghanistan. His collection of Gandhara pieces can possibly be found in Allahabad even to-day. Major Baman Das Basu was a social reformer and was a friend of all those who worked to liberate India from her decadent social habits and political bondages. He was a source of inspiration to all who came in contact with him and there are many persons in U. P. and Bengal who venerate his memory.

Major Baman Das Basu was a very intimate friend of Ramananda Chatterjee. Their friendship started when Ramananda Chatterjee went to Allahabad as Principal of the Kayasth Pathshala. The PRABASI and THE MODERN REVIEW were both published from Allahabad at their inception. Later on, when Ramananda Chatterjee was forced to leave Allahabad on account of various British Official moves against him, and the journals began to be published from Calcutta, Major B.D. Basu remained a staunch supporter of the journals and devoted much of his energy to contribute numerous excellent articles to THE MODERN REVIEW. When, in the twenties, Ramananda Chatterjee became joint Editor of the WELFARE with Ashoke Chatterjee, Major B.D. Basu wrote many articles for that journal too. In fact of all those who stood by Ramananda Chatterjee during his long struggle for establishing political journalism on a sure and firm footing of intensive study and accurate presentation of the political and economic problems to the reading public, nobody held a more important place than Major Baman Das Basu. He was a soft spoken and keen eyed scholar in whom burned the fire of patriotism steadily and intensively during his entire working life. He was one of those master craftsmen who, through long decades, built up the grand edifice of our National Consciousness, piece by piece in a superbly planned and orderly manner. He too belonged to that galaxy of highly talented persons who provided the intellectual, spiritual and constructive inspiration to India during the one hundred years preceding the second World War.

Major Basu used to live in a large house in Bahaduragunge, Allahabad, with his brother Srish Chandra Basu who was a sanskrit scholar of eminence and the founder of the Panini Publishing House which published ancient sanskrit texts with explanatory notes and comments. This house used to be the halting place for the friends of the Basu brothers when any of them visited Allahabad. Even quite unknown persons occa-

sionally stopped there and were entertained with the same lavishness as would be all friends and relations. Allahabad being a great place of pilgrimage, the house at Bahadurgunge never lacked guests. Major Basu, who was a widower lived in a small room piled high with books and files of cuttings. He had a prodigious memory, but he never took anything for granted. References to texts were always based on first hand examination of the books concerned. In between his studies and writing Major Basu always found time for discussions and friendly talks. He had many friends among the children of Allahabad, whom he treated whenever they fell ill. He found this utterly binding upon him, for his juvenile friends would not agree to be treated by other physicians. Thus lived and passed away a great man who was a remarkable scholar, writer and social philosopher. We do not know what Allahabad has done to perpetuate the memory of this great citizen ; but we feel that the Government of India should do something so that the life and work of Baman Das Basu are not forgotten. The Government so far have been quite active in putting up all kinds of memorials for the politically celebrated persons. But they have not done much to keep alive the memory of all those great men and women who worked hard and steadily for many decades for India's regeneration and without whom the politicians would not have achieved much in their war of independence.

Many great scholars and intellectuals of superior talent have enriched the pages of THE MODERN REVIEW during the last sixty years. This journal helped to interpret India to the world and other nations to India in a manner which stimulated the growth of true Humanism. The study of ancient history and the work of bringing back to life the forgotten greatness of the pioneers of human civilisation has been a romantic and creative pastime for historians and archaeologists for a long time. Among those who instilled life and vigour in the study of the glorious periods of Indian history and culture an outstanding personality was that of RAKHALDAS BANERJI. He is famous as the discoverer of Mohenjo Daro (1922) and a pioneer in the field of research relating to Indus Valley Culture. He was also an erudite scholar whose deep knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and scripts enabled him to make his mark in numismatics and in the presentation of classical texts to modern readers. He deciphered many inscriptions and identified coins that had not been properly placed in history before him. This work involved the study of numerous Kushan, Gupta, Pratihara, Chandella, Parthian and Scythian coins. His work as an epigraphist was extremely valuable as were his many contributions to this and to other journals. His untimely death was a great loss to India and the world, for he was a person who instinctively went to the right places in his archaeological expeditions and the past took shape in his mind even before he discovered any physical signs. Rakhal Das Banerji wrote the HISTORY OF ORISSA in two volumes in which he dealt with the political as well as the cultural history of the peoples of Orissa. This is the best history of Orissa that has been so far written. His history of Bengal written in Bengali is also a famous treatise and a source book for students of Bengal's history.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA was an archaeologist of sound reputation and capability. He was highly placed in the Archaeological Survey of India and worked in some of the most important excavations in Eastern India. He contributed many articles to THE MODERN REVIEW and made his mark as a historian who was precise in his outlook any very accurate. He had no preconceived ideas about the subjects he chose and had seldom any case to prove other than what he found in reality and what stood the test of critical examination. His services were often requisitioned by the British Museum and he helped many other Museums and Collections in the proper cataloguing and identification of their art treasures of antiquity. He was connected with the Varendra Research society and one of his books the GAUDA-RAJAMALA was published by that learned society. He was also the author of a very well-known book INDO-ARYAN RACES which was published in 1916. To him went many young scholars whom he guided in their work and some of whom have earned distinction and fame through the historical researches they have carried out. Ramaprasad Chanda recovered many valuable pieces from the dumps of unidentified statuary maintained by the Archaeological survey of India by studying them carefully and closely and he gave them their family history and provenance. He was second to none in this field of work and the men whom he trained became assets to the institutions they served. Ramaprasad Chanda practised a rigid intellectual discipline which bound him down to his work and left him little opportunity for relaxation at any time during the later years of his life.

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR was a great scholar who was recognised internationally as the greatest authority on Mughal and Maratha history. He was also one of the greatest writers of popular magazine, articles on historical subjects and THE MODERN REVIEW published many of these articles. Sir Jadunath carried out extensive research work during nearly sixty years of working life and his many books are even to-day unequalled for their masterly and comprehensive compilation of facts and interpretation of political trends and incidents. He put in proper perspective many things that had remained isolated and unconnected before he took them up. He had a fine literary style in English and wrote many books in Bengali too. His knowledge of Bengali literature was extensive and his writings in Bengali and English won the admiration of great literary men like Rabindranath Tagore. The wide variety of subjects he dealt with can be seen from some of the books he wrote. CHAITANYA, HIS PILGRIMAGE AND TEACHINGS (1913), SIVAJI AND HIS TIMES (1919), ECONOMICS OF BRITISH INDIA (1909), INDIA THROUGH THE AGES (1928), ANECDOTES OF AURANGZEB (1912) and FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (I-IV, 1932-50) are some names which go to show his amazing versatility. Sir Jadunath selected as his field of research that period of Indian history which had been neglected upto that time on account of the greater cultural appeal of the pre-Muslim period. Hindu philosophy, Hindu mythology, the sacred books of the Hindus, Jains and Buddhists, as well as ancient Hindu treatises on various arts and crafts and

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Agriculture—Industry Finance

One of the most outstanding features of the new Indian political renaissance, which took a fresh turn with the opening years of the twentieth century and which had assumed a new significance and poise with the advent of the national upheaval which was sparked off by Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal, was the increasing attention that had begun to be bestowed upon the need for the country's economic regeneration, by the younger generation of the national leadership.

The country's economy as a whole had already been reduced to a state of utter disintegration after one hundred and fifty years of British rule and the ruthless exploitation of the country's economic resources and of her people by foreign capitalists under the protective wings of the alien Government. The traditional economy of the country was, no doubt, mainly agrarian at its base, but India's agriculture was adequately supplemented by a wide variety of small industries which had been built up to a level of near perfection in both skill and workmanship and which not merely provided supplemental employment to the vast population of the country, but also provided a measure of export surplus for profitable trade with the West. Traditionally in India, both agricultural effort and industrial enterprise complemented each other and were the essential constituents of an integrated economic system which, although mainly of a subsistence level, also yielded a measure of surplus value for a profitable export trade. It was, mainly, the lure of this trade which had first brought the British into this country following other European races. A series of accidents of history, however, enabled the British

trader to exchange his trading scales for the rulers' sceptre and even as the gradual expansion and consolidation of British political and administrative power was being rounded off to a point of near completion, England had just begun to pass through that epoch-making phase in modern world history, the Industrial Revolution.

It is, perhaps, another significant coincidence of history that the advent of the Industrial Revolution in England should occur at a time when British political power over India had already been very substantially consolidated. It is, perhaps, equally significant that the Revolution occurred first in England and then, after a sufficient time lag enabling the pioneering country to consolidate her advantages, spread to the rest of Western Europe. The industrial revolution not merely brought about significant changes in the concept of industry and trade but was also the harbinger of an equally significant revolution in social concepts and organization. Inevitably it also reversed the British traders' requirements in and demands upon India. The British, with the rapid development of their own large, power-driven and mass-producing industries under the impact of the industrial revolution, were no longer interested in vending Indian manufactures in the markets of Europe. What the British vitally needed from India now in the changed circumstances of their own national economy was to obtain the necessary raw materials for their own national industries on the one hand and find expanding and profitable markets for the mass produced manufactures of those industries. Under the impact of this two-fold need of the ruling power and the insidious pressures that British-Indian commercial interests were conveniently able to exercise upon the Indian economic system, it was little wonder that the Indian economy was fast reduced to a state of entire agrarian dependence.

It is also an undeniable fact of history that Indian agriculture as a whole had, coincidentally, to undergo a process of almost structural change to suit the needs of British industry and commerce. Evidences of history would seem to indicate that at this juncture of British-Indian relations, Indian agriculture was mainly food-crops oriented and produced an abundance of surplus in food grains. The need to feed raw materials into the new British industries inevitably led, under insidious official pressures, to large-scale diversion of agricultural lands to the cultivation of what has commonly come to be known as the cash crops, such as jute, indigo, tea etc., and Indian agriculture was increasingly reduced to a level of mere subsistence in food grains production. In fact, agriculture as a whole gradually was reduced to a state of a subsistence-enterprise and agricultural output in this country being mainly dependent upon the mercy of the seasons, at this level of subsistence agriculture, famines and their twin-sister epidemics and pestilences, became increasingly an endemic feature of the total Indian economy. This has remained one of the principal and, perhaps, the most paralyzing features of the country's agricultural situation even to this day.

As already observed earlier, the industrial revolution brought, in its wake, significant changes in the traditional structure in the countries affected by the revolution. New, powerful and exclusive social categories began to grow up and even before the

nineteenth century came to close, a new aristocracy of wealth, immensely more powerful as well as resourceful, had already begun to push the old aristocracy of birth and inheritance relentlessly to the wall. The rate of capital formation received a corresponding acceleration from the rapidly increasing pace of production in industry and, in course of time, a new mercantile aristocracy had grown up which found not only expanding markets but also widening investment and entrepreneurial opportunities to be a necessary condition for the profitable employment of the rapidly accumulating capital resources at its disposal. Just as it was not possible to find all the needed markets for the offtake of all the manufactures of the new British industries within the country of their origin, it was equally not possible to find the needed fields for investment within the country for the profitable employment of this rapidly and increasingly accumulating capital resources.

India, with her almost illimitable and, what was even more significant, her almost entirely unexploited economic, agricultural and mineral resources, provided a ready and vastly potential field of investment for surplus British capital and enterprise. Thus, with the turn of the new century we find a variety of new industries growing up and carrying on a thriving trade in this country employing, mainly, British capital and under British entrepreneurial enterprise. Almost all the categories of supervisory personnel employed in these new industries were mainly British and so were the skilled categories of the workmen. The Indian share in these enterprises were limited, almost entirely, to unskilled and, to an extent, semi-skilled labour.

It is a significant fact related to the process that among traditional Indian industries that which was most largely carried on and which had attained a level of unrivalled perfection, was the spinning and weaving industries. The finer varieties of cotton manufactures,—muslins and silks etc.,—also constituted the bulk of the merchandise entering into India's traditional export trade. It was mainly to appropriate a significant share of the Indo-European trade in this merchandise that the British trader was first attracted to the shores of India. As already noted, certain accidents of history had already enabled the British trader in India to exchange his measuring scales for the rulers' sceptre and its power was very nearly consolidated over the whole of India at the juncture when the industrial revolution was occurring in England. The first large British industry to receive the heaviest stimulus of the industrial revolution in England was the cotton textile industry which, under the protective devices of the British ruling power in India, had almost succeeded in wholly supplanting and weeding out the indigenous industry in this field. With the onset of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905, India had already been reduced to a position of utter and wholesale dependence upon the Lancashire cotton mills to clothe her entire population.

This was the rough and ready picture of the economic situation in India when the Swadeshi Movement, symbolic not merely of India's rejection of Lord Curzon's

Partition of Bengal but also, and more positively, of the voice of the new nationalist thought, was launched. As already noted in the previously published part of this Diamond Anniversary Supplement, the watch-words of this new Movement were *self-reliance* and *self-determination*. Self-reliance demanded that India should be mistress of her own household ; self-determination required that she should, on her own, be able to determine the lines which her own future evolution and development would follow.

The first article of this new nationalist faith was the enunciation and propagation of a *national education*. Adequate references have already been made to this line of national endeavour in the previous part of this Supplement. The national need for the country's economic regeneration and re-construction along lines of national self-sufficiency and freedom from dependence upon others, especially the British, was considered the next most vital need in the dynamics of India's evolving nationhood. The Swadeshi Movement was symbolic of the national endeavour to fill this need and one of the principal planks in the platform of the Movement was, therefore, constituted by the resolution to boycott British goods and substitute their use, as far as possible, by indigenous manufactures.

Alongside of the political and educational effort engendered by the Swadeshi Movement, therefore, we find efforts being concentrated upon the resuscitation and development of India's indigenous industry. The weaving and spinning industry had, as noted earlier, been already reduced to a moribund state ; under the impetus of the boycott of British cotton textiles a new lease of life was brought to our indigenous weaving industry and the launching of a few small cotton spinning and weaving mills as a result of this national effort, was calculated to not merely supplement the handloom weaving industry with a view to meeting progressively the entire national demand but also to partially modernise the handloom industry by providing mill-produced yarn for its use. Other modern industries, such as for the manufacture of matches, pottery-making, small ferrous foundries and engineering industries etc. began to be organized under national auspices and indigenous enterprise. A mood of self-confidence and determination was one of the principal features of this hectic period of effort towards a new build up for Indian industry and new banks and insurance enterprises were organized with a view to organizing an indigenous credit machinery for complementing the national industrial effort.

It was characteristic of the sense of realism of the new national leadership that from the very outset a due measure of emphasis was laid upon the need to revive India's small and cottage industries, her arts and crafts, as essential ingredients of this process of economic regeneration. It was not because the leadership was averse to modern industries as such ; indeed, there is ample evidence to show that the objective was, mainly, to put our small industries through such processes of modernization and rationalisation as circumstances would permit. But India's basic economic problem was recognized to be the two-fold one of lack of capital resources at the disposal of indigenous enterprunerial

talent and the increasingly widening area of employment vacuum which was progressively burdening agricultural resources to a level of mere subsistence (or even below subsistence) existence. The system of traditional crafts and small industries used to provide a large area of part-employment and which, to a corresponding extent, relieved the pressure upon agriculture. The foundation had not yet been wholly destroyed and the inadequacy of capital resources so far as more or less wholesale replacement of these crafts and small industries by modern industrial enterprises were concerned, made it more realistic to go in for the revival of these old crafts and cottage enterprises as a necessary precedent condition for ushering in a process of wide-based industrial and economic regeneration of the country. Such a view, no doubt, postulated that industry and agriculture would continue to thrive at hardly above a bare subsistence level; but the traditional nature of society as a whole which had not yet been divorced from its old moorings of rural societies and the measure of urbanization which had already been achieved under British and foreign industrial enterprise was yet so infinitesimal, that with the pressure upon agriculture partly removed by this process of industrial revival, it could be gradually developed into a fairly comfortable subsistence level.

During the few years following the onset of the Swadeshi Movement and the commencement of the publication of *The Modern Review*, considerable strides forward had already been taken in the direction and while some of our most essential and popular handicrafts and cottage industries had already been revived to a measure of fairly vigorous effort, some comparatively modern but moderate sized industries were also organized under indigenous effort and enterprise. Apart from the problem of capital resources, India also lacked the necessary entrepreneurial and skilled resources for running large modern industries on her own. The few modern sized moderate industries that our people were able to put up provided an experimental field of both training and marketing enterprise to run and sustain larger industrial units in the future.

By the time *The Modern Review* appeared on the field, considerable progress had already been made in this direction and indigenous enterprise, despite the many obstacles facing it, not the least of which was the competitive pressures from far more resourceful and officially supported foreign enterprises, had already started to attain a measure of widening areas of activity and self-confidence; new skills had begun to be developed by our people and a gradual shift had already started towards widening areas of self-sufficiency in the production and manufacture of a variety of consumer commodities. Some advance had also started to being made in the development of certain producer bases such as the manufacture of essential implements and components of small industry. *This was a vital field of national effort and The Modern Review began to increasingly and deeply concern itself in the progressive widening of India's field of enterprise in this direction as an essential element in the process of national regeneration.* Over a period of sixty years *The Modern Review's* contributions to our national effort in this field of activity has been naturally quite voluminous; but what is more significant is that *The*

Modern Review's contributions have often led to new thought movements in this direction and which have eventually proved to be both wholesome and of permanent worth. Famines were one aspect of the problems of our national regeneration on which *The Modern Review*, from its very inception, began to look deeper into its causes and explore ways and means for their solution on a more or less enduring basis. Conservation of the soil was another vital problem of both agriculture and irrigation on which there was hardly any thinking either in official or national quarters in those days, but *The Modern Review* visualized its vital importance in a developing agricultural economy and, quite early in its career, persuaded the already well known L. K. Elmhirst, who had been collaborating with Rabindranath Tagore in his village reconstruction activities, to contribute a very thoughtful article to its columns on the subject. Another well known Indian, G. V. Joshi, enriched its columns with an extensive survey of the fields in which the process of Indian industrialization had to depend on State assistance and the character that such assistance should assume and the direction in which it should proceed.

In the following pages we have pleasure to feature a few excerpts from old volumes of *The Modern Review*, which would demonstrate the measure of its contributions to this field of Indian effort. While most of these related to problems which had an immediacy of emphasis in the context of the times of their publication, a large volume of these would seem to bear a measure of relevance to our current conditions. From this point of view, their importance would seem to repay fresh study and consideration.



The Factors Of National Prosperity

There are a few fundamental occupations in human society, such as those of the peasant, the herdsman, the miner, and the fisher. And it has been well said that only by returning upon and re-enforcing these, can a country be developed and its prosperity furthered.

In India, the civilisation is built upon the peasant. In Mohammedan districts and provinces, it is built somewhat more predominantly on the herdsman. The tools and machines that are wanted for these occupations and their associated industrialisms and civilisations, should be furnished by the Indian miner. The commerce that leaves our shores ought to be carried by our own maritime people. In re-enforcing these, in giving extended irrigation and better methods to the peasant, with more freedom for his savings : in ensuring pastures and forests to the herdsman, with added science as to breeding and cleaning ; in developing the native manufactures for the miner ; in bettering silk, cotton and wool ; in extending and improving drainage and the fisheries :—in these and such as these would lie the prosperity of India. These are the heads under which the great Judge of the Dead will examine those who have meddled in the direction of her affairs, and how will they answer ? We must remember that in that dread inquisition, it will not be enough for a man to reply "I made myself rich—I was a famous organiser—my clerks were punctual, my workshops were clean, my servants never disobeyed me !" It will not even be enough to say, "I pensioned off men who had given me themselves and their labour for thirty years." We can imagine the face of Yama, god as he is of Dharma, when he listens to innocent pleadings of this description. And what astonishment will be the lot of some who say in all good faith "Not guilty !" Cities full of lawyers would never make up for an old-time prosperity of farmer and weans in distant England will not, in the eyes of God, be any compensation for one of these, His little ones who died in despair and hunger in the adjacent village.

It was an English poet, himself one of the workers, who cried, out of the depths,

"When wilt Thou save the people,

Oh Lord of Mercy, when ?

The people, Lord ! the People !

Not thrones and crowns, but Men ?

Flowers of Thy heart, Oh God, are they—

Let them not pass like weeds away,

Their heritage a sunless day !

God save the "People !"

And "God save the People !"

say we Indians, with him, with all our hearts.

Food For The People !

In the awakening India which we see about us, then, 'Food for the People !' is the cry which is beginning to take precedence of political and educational rights, as the immediate object of our energies. And this cry is not intended for the ears of others. It is to be uttered amongst ourselves. Nor is it merely a vague aspiration. It is the statement of a problem which we do not rest till we have solved in action. "Salutation to the mother !" were mere hypocritic words without meaning, unless we boldly face the duties which that salutation entails upon us.

We of the India which is to-day arising, have no fear of sacrifice. We know well that nothing worth doing was ever done without *tapasya*. We know that a man's life-work is the measure, drop by drop, of the man's blood. We know that more souls have been lost to comfort than to the love of life itself. Many a man who would have had abundance of courage for the battlefield has committed suicide, rather than face shame and privation. We say boldly, then, that for ourselves and our children, we do not fear poverty. We do not fear hard work. We do not fear struggle. What we fear is luxury, inefficiency, want of knowledge, want of energy, *want of character*. And the ends for which we strive shall be national, not individual. This is no credit to us. Unless we turn the word 'India' into the very texture of our hearts, our own children die, our own home is small joy to a father, if he knows that his son's children will beg their bread by the roadside. We, the Indian people, at this crisis, stand or fall together. And we have all the wit necessary to understand that fact.

Zemindars and their tenants, city and country, Hindu and Mohammedan, together we stand, together we fall. The lot of one is the lot of the other. An Oriental is not a fool, that he should be unable to see this.

One of the pressing problems is the formation of Zemindars' Associations for the purpose of rural banks. The money-lender, instead of being decried, must be eliminated from our system. And this must be done by our own people. Here, it is not so much sacrifice that we need, as *tapasya*, earnestness, intensity. Amongst the cities and small towns, a schoolmaster or a student may be found here and there, to take up the study of such questions as these, and to give his life to preaching and making the idea possible. Many a Zemindar's private charities are sufficient to pay his share of such a concern, and merely by combination and organisation, his goodwill could be put at the service of his province. The agricultural banks of the Government, we must remember, are only an echo of this idea, long ago apprehended and formulated by ourselves. And the expenditure of the Government is pitifully small.

The Robbery Of The Soil

SOME eighteen months ago, while studying in America, I received a wire from Dr. Tagore asking me to see him in New York. During the few minutes we were together he did me the honour of inviting me to come out to India and to initiate at the new University some kind of Agricultural work. At that time our ideas of the form which such work should take were probably equally hazy. Eight months later, when we discussed our plans in detail at Santiniketan, we discovered that they were almost identical. Since January last we have been very busy trying to put those plans into action. In placing before you the nature of the problems with which we have had to deal and some of our experiences in the course of our attempts to deal with them, I am going to beg beforehand for your criticism and your help. Whether you are students of Arts or Science, these are problems which concern you deeply in your lives, as individuals, and as members of a community. But let me warn you from the start that, like Don Quixote, we are setting out to tilt at those windmill theories and fictions which the popular imagination delights to set up. For this reason, and in order get a to firm basis upon which to form conclusions, I am going to ask you to examine a few of the facts about the basis of our activity, the soil,--the soil of your Motherland.

Some of you may have heard that it was the custom of the great pianist and composer, Chopin, to carry round Europe, wherever he went, a bowl of polish Earth, the last gift of his friends before he was driven out of his own country, a wanderer and an exile. It is to such love of your native soil that I wish to appeal in this opening lecture. For, whether you

have considered it or not, you are not merely the inheritors, but the actual product of the soil around you. Less attention perhaps has been paid to this fact by historians, scientists and statesmen in the past than it has deserved. The Farmer, however, is never able to take his eyes off the soil for long with impunity. When Dr. Fagore handed over to us his farm at the village of Surul in the Birbhum district, as the basis of our operations for the founding of a school of Agriculture and the study of village economics, we were compelled to examine not merely the condition of the soil around us, but the history, social, economic and political, which lies behind that condition.

The Surul farm stands on what is by rail the nearest rising ground to Calcutta. The ocean of green paddy fields which covers so much of Bengal, finds its limit at our door, and behind us stretches a rapidly increasing area which supports neither man nor beast, but which once was covered by thick forest and jungle. The changes which have taken place in our neighbourhood during the last hundred years are not unlike changes which heralded the downfall of most of the great empires of the world, which nearly wrecked England, and which certainly helped to break Rome. This historical aspect I propose to discuss in a subsequent lecture and will not detain you with it now.

A journey through the district of Birbhum will show even to the casual observer that all is not well. The press is constantly giving you statistics showing the increasing death rate, the all powerful sway of malaria and disease, the grinding poverty and the frequency of famine in this area. The press is not misinformed as to the facts. Before we talk about them I shall make one generalisation. At the bottom of the trouble lies the treatment of the soil. In a rural country such as India the soil must be the main source of wealth. Yet for some reason or other the people in this part of Bengal are not succeeding in extracting sufficient wealth from the soil for their subsistence. You may object that the district is notorious for its poor soil, and that the wealth is not there. But in this, history is against you. The Birbhum area was once the richest district of Bengal, and supported, upon the cultivation of the soil, a large and flourishing community.

It is not difficult to rebuild the past from the relics that are still to be seen. In the days before there was any Calcutta, when there were no railways and few roads, when imports and exports were small, a large population lived and flourished in this district. The evidence however goes to prove that the whole basis of their life was different from the basis of life to-day. Go to the District headquarters or to one of the more wealthy villages and you may find monuments erected during the last fifty years to this merchant prince or to that administrator. But the monuments of the ancient inhabitants were of a different nature and give us the secret of their life as well as the secret which, I firmly believe, will give us a solution to the troubles of the country to-day. In the ruins of their ancient temples, and the remnants of their irrigation systems there is conclusive proof of an elaborate community life. The temples of old maintained by worshippers were the symbols of community life. The well-kept tanks were the symbols of community agriculture, the hall mark of the proper treatment of the soil, but in no village to-day will you see bunds in repair or a tank in good

order. Without exception the beautiful old temples, on which so much devoted workmanship was lavished, are falling into ruin ; in the villages I have visited I have failed to find a new temple built or an old one repaired, The community life is gone, the competitive life has come in and has brought death with it.

Do not imagine that the day of the old village community was the Golden Age or that such a community was a kind of paradise on earth. In its way it was perhaps happier and better than anything that we have worked out in this modern age, but that it was narrow and confined and easily upset there is no doubt. Some people crave to return to this community life in its old form. In these miserable days that may be a very natural craving but is it possible of satisfaction ? Are we willing to sacrifice our roads, our railways, our universities, our cities and our commerce and intellectual communion with the outside world ? Even if we are, such a course is hardly practicable. May I offer an alternative ? That instead of going back we should go forward, and using these tools of the modern world,—the modern chaos if you like,—rebuild that old community life of the villages on a surer, a firmer and a sounder basis. If we are not willing to do this, but persist in using modern science, business and law to exploit and destroy our neighbours, the soil will revenge itself upon us, as it has begun to do already.

The facts speak for themselves. Fundamental among nature's laws is that which allows no race of farmers to take more out of the soil than they put in. I am not referring to those delta areas which are each year refreshed with a new soil through the erosion of the high lands. Robbery of such soils may go on, to a large extent, with impunity. But where scientific farming has to be carried on, men succeed in so far as they repay the soil generously for that which they have taken from it. You remember the old rhyme, Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard to fetch her poor dog a bone, but when she got there the cupboard was bare, and so the poor dog got none.

The soil is like a cupboard and its condition to-day is reduced to that of old Mother Hubbard.

In the olden days oddly enough land was cultivated to give the village population the food it needed. Firewood came from the common grazing grounds and forests, and slack times were spent in manufacturing from raw products articles for household use or for export, only if there was a market near, to which safe export was possible over the bad roads, perhaps infested with robbers. The production of food was a community enterprise and the proper treatment of the soil with irrigation and manure was a community responsibility. But with the insatiable demand of the modern city, with the coming of easy means of communication, all that is gone. He who can steal most from the soil and ship it off in return for money survives, and his less fortunate neighbour perishes.

For the sake of convenience we may divide the foods for which we are dependant upon the soil into those that maintain life and those that give energy or power. It is a rough division but it will serve our purpose. Into those which give energy fall the fats, the starches and sugars or carbohydrates largely manufactured from the air,

the water in the soil, and the sun. Into those that maintain life fall all those which rebuild the living cells of which our bodies are made. For all living matter is cellular and all living cells contain Nitrogen and are in some manner dependent upon those peculiar substances known as vitamins. Without these there can be no life and the soil is the only available source of Nitrogen. Iron, lime, potassium, sulphur, phosphorus and magnesium, and the other elements which compose the animal and human body must also be drawn by plants from the soil. To continue indefinitely taking any of these life-forming elements from the soil, without adequately replacing them, is robbery, not merely of the soil itself, but of the future generations which have to live upon it. Thus the damage done, as in the District of Birbhum, and over large parts of India today, is irreparable. It is well to remember that everything you see around you, your friends, your animals, your clothes, your books, your furniture, the food you eat and the fuel you use, all represent a drain upon the soil of your country, or of some one else's.

In the olden days enough pulse and sugarcane was grown in Birbhum to satisfy the needs of the community. No food was exported. Now rice is, with a few exceptions, the only crop. The growing of a rabi crop demands community effort in irrigation, except where one man is rich enough to do things for himself. Of this rice little or nothing finds its way back to the fields. Ease of communication enables the mindleman to purchase the bulk of it and to ship it off to Calcutta, or to the coal fields, and the waste products which the soil needs pass in the form of dung and urine down the sewer into the river. Even of that portion which remains in the village and is consumed there, the waste is deposited round about the houses, or is thrown into the tanks and, in any case, is, for the most part, lost to the soil. Of the straw some is sold for thatch, some is eaten by bullocks and the waste is either burnt or littered in open pits in the village in such a way that it becomes of little use to the soil even when it is returned. The urine is lost inside the village residential area. The very mode of cooking and eating the rice is one which the Chinaman rightly does not tolerate, the rice water being thrown away or given to the cattle. At death neither man nor cow returns to the soil whence they came. The hides of the cows find their way to the West and the bones to Japan. Both contain valuable soil constituents. Each man digs a pit where he likes, from which he takes the earth to build his house, and leaves it to be filled with rejected, decaying matter, which properly treated would have gone to enrich the soil.

Of all thieves the cities are the most ruthless. In the race to satisfy their demands the present individualistic type of society, with its enslavement of the uneducated masses, its lawsuits, its lack of culture and of all finer feelings and ideals, has completely obliterated the old common life in which all, from the Brahman at the top to the labourers at the bottom, were servants of the common welfare. Now-a-days, in the scramble for gold and power, nutritious food, sanitary considerations and civic amenities are sacrificed. The soil is given no chance to do its part, and poverty and disease, famines and fighting

in law-courts, complete the dismal picture, When the diet is incomplete and insufficient, the life and energy of the people is sapped, and community effort comes to an end, then malaria, mosquitoes, flies and harmful bacteria have free play. The uncleared tanks form death traps and railway embankments are allowed to assist the work of the Anopheles. Rivers that were once easy flowing, navigable streams have silted up. The trees, that once held the soil to the uplands which were not fit for cultivation, found a value in the towns when the railways and roads made transport feasible, and were cut down mercilessly. Thereupon the heavy rains quickly washed the upper soil away, filled up the streams with the underlying sand and only the raw, red, baking desert is left. Worst of all, perhaps, is the continual drain of the best brains and bodies, all products of the soil, from the villages into the cities, leaving only the idlers, the aged, or the enslaved to quarrel, to oppress, or to starve, according to their position.

I have drawn a grim picture. But any of you who are students of history will be able to point to many parallels in the past. The breakdown of rural community life in England and in Rome, with the growth of the big city, was naturally followed by tenant farming and absentee landlordism. Such tenant farming is always disastrous for the soil. The tenant has no permanent interest in its fertility and only carries on those activities which will give him a living without bringing on a rise in his rent. The city takes all and returns little or nothing of real value to the soil. But worst of all, that spirit of independence, of good fellowship, of common suffering and service, of common recreation, rejoicing and worship disappears, and a far more primitive life, not unrelated to that of the cave man in spite of what are called the amenities of civilisation, takes its place.

I cannot do more than sketch the remedies for the present situation. That there are remedies, and that it is possible to rebuild the old community life on a broader basis, I am firmly convinced. It is not a case of going back, except to draw on the old experience, but rather of going forward. First of all, there is no need to wait for Government initiative. The spirit of freedom, which is the spirit of community life, springs from the demand of the people themselves. Outside agencies can stimulate that demand, they can encourage its growth, they can water the tender plant and fertilise the soil, but they cannot dictate freedom. Secondly the problem is an all round problem. There is no one solution, though, once the right spirit has been quickened, solution of all problems becomes possible.

Let me give you some instances. Once we tried a temperance campaign. When I asked a Santal why he went nightly to the toddy shop for his drink, he answered that, if I could suggest any other way of giving him the feeling that he had a belly-full for such a small sum, he was ready to adopt it. "How else", he said, "can I forget my hunger and my troubles? After a good drink I feel like a Raja." The charka was tried together with the growing of cotton, but neither the soil nor the present methods of cultivation admit of cotton growing. Nor can a man fill his belly on the charka, and

the chief trouble in Birbhum is empty bellies. On the other hand, the community spirit is there and only waits for development. "Show us how to co-operate in our irrigation," say the chashas. "Will you help us to improve our dairy cattle?" say the gowalas. "We gather the raw hides and send them to Calcutta and have to buy back the finished leather if we want to make anything," say the muchis. "We cannot get good medicine or treatment for our sick," or again, "We are willing to supply the labour and the carts if you will help us to put our road in order." "We'll gather Rs. 500 tomorrow for a co-operative store if you will provide us with a storeman whom we can trust," said the panchayat in a Muhammadan village. You see it is that element of mutual trust which is being destroyed and which must be revived as the basis of all community endeavour.

How were we to help all these people to help themselves? Some warned us against using Government Agencies. But could we let the villagers go on starving and die? We decided to apply for help wherever willing help was forthcoming. For the weavers we received it from a private agency. For the muchis and the chashas, the Research Tannery in Calcutta, the veterinary Department, and the local Agricultural Officer gave us invaluable assistance. In the Hindu villages, where once the community spirit was strongest, there is most opposition to combined effort. Somehow, perhaps owing to their comparatively varied diet, more social habits and greater adaptability, the Muhammadan and Santal are seen to be surviving where the Hindu is rapidly dying out. Nevertheless I feel there is still hope for all. "Give me the small children; in ten years I will turn your traditions upside down," said a great educator. Our experience shows that in the matter of sanitation of villages, whilst the older boys scoff and the parents are cynical, the small boys, once their imagination is touched, will carry out a given programme and eventually win their own elders to community activity.

Let me repeat again, there is no universal panacea, no catchword cure. Agricultural advance alone is not necessarily beneficial. Improvement in method may mean no more than improved exploitation of soil or neighbour for selfish benefit. Elementary education of a kind which the people will welcome and which they can afford, must go hand in hand with community organisation for buying and selling, for manufacturing and irrigation, for cultivation and sanitation. Nor is it merely a matter of forming co-operative societies, though it is quite true that there is a close relation between the spirit in which a successful co-operative society is started and that which must lie behind any genuine community life.

If only the right spirit is there, or if the right spirit can be infused, there need be little difficulty. And for the young man of to-day there is no higher calling than that of trained village worker. But, we should remember, there is no calling which demands such rigorous training, or so much self-discipline. First of all, the village worker should be able to support himself by his own hands as well as to be of all round service to the people. The day had gone when people imagined that boys fresh from school or college could revolutionise village life without any attempt to study the villager's

point of view, to sympathise with his sufferings, to bind up his wounds and to enter into his most intimate life. Progress must be from the bottom up, and such a worker must be willing and able, as Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, not merely to do the sweeper's job himself, but to show the sweeper how to do it better. And above all it is for him to hold up before the villagers the standard of a pure and selfless life.

Denmark has its co-operative production; Yorkshire has its co-operative consumers' association; and in America co-operation in the accumulation of wealth is making rapid progress; but it should be for India to lead the way towards co-operation for life, for a fuller and more abundant life, both spiritual and material, because the memory of such a life in the past is not yet dead and the will to sacrifice material acquisition for the pursuit of high ideals and spiritual gain is, perhaps, more alive in the soil of India to-day than anywhere else in the wide world.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This Lecture was delivered under the auspices of the Viswabharati Sammilani, as one of a series of extension lectures of the Viswabharati University, at the Ram-mohan Library, on the 28th July last, Rabindranath Tagore presiding.

The president, in introducing the lecturer, said that Mr. Elmhirst had first graduated in history at Cambridge, then he went to work on a farm in America in order to acquire a practical training in Agriculture, and was now come to dedicate his talents to the service of his fellow men where they were most needed. He has settled down amongst the chashas of Surul as one of themselves, not with the idea of bringing down his life to their level, but of raising them to his. In spite of all the declamation we hear about the dignity of labour, there is no dignity in the dull, grinding routine which reduces the rustic intellect into an object of scorn all the world over. The Art of Agriculture must be rescued from her present plight and raised to the honourable position she had attained in the days of Janaka, the saintly king, who was equally assiduous in his cultivation of the Brahma-vidya on the one hand, and the ploughing of the soil with his own hands, on the other. Pursuing his quest, Mr. Elmhirst came, not to show how to make more money out of crops, but to put Agriculture in its proper place in the scheme of Indian community life.

In summing up at the end of the lecture, the President referred to the cycles which characterise the processes of world life. There is the cycle of the rising of water as cloud and its descent back to the earth as rain; the cycle of the inspiration of oxygen and expiration of carbonic acid gas by the animal, supplemented by the opposite plant action which returns the oxygen to the air. These keep air and water fresh and pure and fit to sustain life. The Lecturer had impressively pointed out how vitally necessary is the cycle of drawing out and putting back, in the case of the soil, in order that life may continue to find its sustenance therefrom; and not only that but in the case of human life how essential it is that there should be the cycle of accepting bene-

fit from and rendering service to the community. The President observed that, in the case of the animal, whose range is confined within space, its relations of give and take with the soil are automatically regulated.—Man, however, ranges over time as well, and has behind him the accumulations of his history. His towns and cities, the growth of time, have interposed artificial barriers between him and the soil, both material and spiritual, on which he lives, so that the cycles which concern his life have been interrupted. It is no use discussing whether towns and cities are good or bad, they are inevitable. But unless civilised man can find methods and take steps to restore these cycles to their natural completeness, it will mean death.

Mr. Elmhirst, the President went on to say, has experienced how the lack of proper means of satisfying physical hunger drives the Santal to drink. The same is true in every department of the starved life of India. Because the village life has become dismally deficient in healthy recreation and festivity, the unsatisfied of the villager are leading him into every kind of immoral indulgence. In our National life, also, because we are wanting in the determination and discipline requisite for rendering true service to the motherland, we are impelled to drown the pangs of our unsatisfied conscience in the intoxication of political outcry and agitation.

Young men, who left their studies with the avowed intention of devoting themselves to village work, have been to Surul before. But, the President had to say it with shame their enthusiasm mainly took the form of getting up excited meetings and lecturing others on their duty, and listen only so long as they could continue to imagine that some mysterious influence would bring about the realisation of their political dreams, while they waited. Mr. Elmhirst, on the other hand, loved his fellow men, not abstract ideas. He was to be found at the village fields, in the villager's cottages, helping them with their work, studying their vital needs, ministering with his own hands to their wounds. He did not hesitate to accept help wherever it was available because in these Birbhum villages he found men at death's door, and it was to help to save them that he was here. He belonged to the world of humanity, not to any particular nationality, and the President exhorted his countrymen to accept him and his work as their very own.

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WORK AND WORSHIP

PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

—Jaminiprosah Ganguli

Famine

Famines are directly caused by drought, and to a lesser extent by floods. In the human body, there is very often a proved connection discernible between moral and spiritual, and physical conditions. But no causal connection has yet been established between human unrighteousness and such a natural phenomenon as drought, though we do not deny the possibility of such a connection. A causal connection has been established between drought and the denudation of forest areas, which latter is the work of human hands. Beyond this a scientific thinker will not go, though the popular belief in India connects drought with unrighteousness on the part of both rulers and the ruled.

But though rainfall is at present beyond human control, much can be done by canal and well irrigation to counteract the effects of drought. Some work in this direction has been done by Government, but very much more could have been done and can still be done. Droughts are not peculiar to India, but frequent and devastating famines are. But Government is blind or pretends to be blind to its own faults ; as none are so blind as those who will not see. The Gold Standard Reserve fund formed out of the profits of the coinage of rupees now amounts to 16 millions sterling or 24 crores of rupees. This amount has come entirely from the pockets the people by means of the dishonest rupee, which is intrinsically worth about nine annas, and should be devoted entirely to the improvement of their condition. Irrigation, sanitation and education are their special needs at present.

The land revenue should be permanently settled throughout India, as was at one time promised by Government, so that people may devote all their energy and capital to the improvement of their land in the full belief that the fruits of their labour will not be snatched away from them.

Improved methods of agriculture should be introduced. In order to make this possible, people should be roused from their apathy, fatalism, and lethargy, by universal free education which will also enable them to acquire information on agricultural subjects. Without this indispensable means of amelioration, the agricultural departments and colleges and publications of Government do good almost entirely to highly paid European officials, thus serving as fresh channels for draining away India's wealth. In fact whatever scheme for India's good Government propounds is sure in the first place to benefit Englishmen, as the very first idea is to employ highly paid white men—the benefit to India being oftener than not a doubtful entity.

The export of grain should be regulated. We are not rich enough to compete on equal terms with European countries in the purchase of grain. So what we consider famine rates, Europe considers cheap. And our railways professedly constructed for the prevention of famine, help in the perpetuation of famine prices by facilitating the export of grain.

If we can revive our industries we can keep our wealth in our own hands, nay, we can even, later on, bring wealth into India from foreign lands. If we be richer than now, we can keep our own grain in the country. The swadeshi boycott movement is calculated to achieve this object.

A revival of our industries will also serve to divert a large number of weavers, blacksmiths, &c., from entire dependence on land,

Not that we admit that the Indian Empire is overpopulated, or that it cannot maintain a much larger number of people by agriculture alone. The birth rate for India is 75 per 1,000; less than the average birth rate of all Europe; and the death rate is much higher than in western lands. The Indian Empire contains only 170 persons to the square mile. England contains 550 persons per square mile. In the Indian empire 450,000 square miles of culturable land are at present uncultivated. No doubt here as in all other countries some tracts are congested. The remedy is free emigration to more thinly populated areas by education and fair inducements. Even by ordinary methods of agriculture India can support a much larger population than she does now, if the land revenue be permanently settled, if the export of grain be regulated, and if people are induced to migrate from congested areas to thinly populated tracts by promises of permanent tenures. But Indian agriculture is universally admitted to be capable of an indefinite degree of improvement. Our land can support a very much larger population than now.

THE MODERN REVIEW, 1907

The Impending Famine And Our Duty

We are on the verge of another famine and the next few weeks will decide whether India will have to face another of those visitations which have of late been thinning its population and causing much great misery all round. Already the outlook has assumed a very grave aspect. In most parts of the country the kharif harvest has nearly gone and the prospects of the rabbi greatly injured. Prices are fast rising everywhere and reports of people in villages having nothing to do and feeling all the miseries of hunger and starvation are already coming in from every side. Anxiety seems to be written on every face and the cry of despair is being heard everywhere. What will happen, is the question every one is asking and the situation demands anxious consideration on the part of both the Government and the people. The resources of the people are now not what they were in former famines, and if the calamity comes it will be more acutely felt than even the famine of 1900. Looking back at the history of Indian Famines during the last 150 years, we find that in the famine of 1770, one-third of the population of Bengal perished of hunger, Husbandmen not only sold their cattle and implements of husbandry, but also their sons and daughters, till no purchaser could be found even for the latter. Streets were piled up with corpses and even dogs and jackals could not feed upon them. Disease attacked the starving population, till in nine months one-third of the population was swept off. Between that year and 1838 the only great famine was that of Karnatak, but it did not affect the whole of India. In 1838 occurred a terrible famine in Upper India which is still remembered by the people as the Akal of

Samvat 1894, in which, as in Bengal, people sold their sons and daughters. In 1860-61 there was another great famine in Upper India and in 1865-66 one in Orissa, the latter claiming a fourth of the population of that Province. The famine of 1873-74 which came next was not so distressing as the one of 1877 when the mortality was about 40 per cent from famine alone. Up to that year the efforts of Government in the matter of famine relief were not properly organized. In 1880 a Famine Commission was appointed and its recommendations have formed the basis of relief in all subsequent famines. The principle adopted was that while life should be saved, the relief afforded should not be such as to demoralize the recipient. Between that date and 1897 there was no great famine, although there were droughts and scarcities in parts of India. In the famine of 1896-1897 the population affected was 40 millions. But even this famine was beaten in its intensity by the famine of 1899-1900. Those tracts of the country which had suffered in the former famine also suffered on this occasion. It affected an area of more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ lacs of square miles and spread distress amongst 25 millions of people. There was not only scarcity of grain but also of water and fodder. The Government spent about 10 crores of rupees in famine relief, relieved about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people, and made advances to cultivators and suspended its revenue. About a crore of rupees was sent to India by foreign countries, England, Germany, America and China, all contributing to the gift. Since then the country has seldom known a good harvest, either the kharif or the rabbi. At one time it is failure of the monsoon, at another excessive rain, then hail or frost, all destroying the hopes of the agriculturist. As matters stand, these frequent failures of crops have made him look upon these calamities as visitations of Providence which have come to stay. In former times if barley, rice or maize, the staple food of the masses, sold at more than Rs. 2 a maund, forthwith went up the cry of famine. Now till barley sold at 14 or 15 seers a rupee, rice at 8 or 9, and maize at 14 or 15, the poor took it patiently. But when even these rates go up, despair is seen everywhere, and it is to the credit of the fortitude and resignation of temper of our people that they give no trouble either to their neighbours or to the authorities. Caste and race considerations and self-respect prevent many a starving peasant and artisan from soliciting charity or even accepting it when offered. In every town and village will be found men and women of the classes which have seen better days preferring death by starvation to stretching their hands for relief from strangers or even their own kinsmen. The Hindu knowing that it is past karma which has brought it about suffers quietly. The Mahomedan attributes it to fate (kismet). The popular Hindu belief, however, is that it is due to the kali age, and the Hindu Sastras support the belief, however unmeaning or crude it may appear to modern educated minds. There can, however, be no doubt of the fact that the physical aspect of the country has so greatly changed as to make these famines and droughts more common than before, for as shown above while there was a famine once in 15 years in former times, say 25 years ago, now there is a famine every year in one part of India or the other, and in the whole

country every five or seven years. And the question arises are the causes of these frequent famines merely physical, i. e., pressure of population upon an already exhausted soil, want of thrift in the people, denudation of forest areas and the change in the meteorological conditions of the country, or do they lie elsewhere also? If so, where? Famine Commissions have set more than once to advise Government about famine relief. Money has been liberally spent for the purpose. But the condition of the great mass of the rural population does not seem to have improved, and there is little hope of their not being the first victims of future famines. Under such circumstances the causes must be sought deeper down in the moral condition of the people.

In the Mahabharata in a graphic account of the coming Kali age given by Rishi Markendeya to king Yudhishtira, it was said that at the end of the cycle :

“When the period to complete it is short, men become generally addicted to falsehood. Brahmans take up the office of sudras. Kshatriyas and vaisyas also be take themselves to duties other than those reserved for them. Men become short-lived, weak in strength and energy and prowess, endowed with small might and diminutive bodies. Population dwindles away over large tracts of country. Women bring forth numerous progeny of low stature and bereft of good manners and righteous conduct. Famine ravages the land. Kine yield little milk while trees become infested with crows and other birds and yield little fruits and flowers. Persons wearing the garb of religion and filled with avarice and ignorance, receive charity and afflict the people of the earth. Brahmans falsely assuming the garb of ascetics earn wealth by trade. Afraid of taxes people become deceivers. The asylums of ascetics become full of sinful wretches ever applauding a life of dependence. The god of rain does not pour forth showers in season and seeds that are scattered on earth do not sprout forth. Merchants and traders become full of guile and sell large quantities of goods by false weights and measures. Men rob the wealth that has been deposited with them proving false to their trust. Boys are overtaken with decay in their sixteenth years and look old men. (Mahabharata, Chap. 138, Vana Parva)

In another place it is said :

“Towards the end of this period men will become wedded to avarice, wrath, ignorance and lust, cherish animosities towards each other, desiring to take each other's lives. And they will till lands and dig banks of streams and sow grains there. People will be full of anxiety as regards means of living. Men and women will show little toleration towards each other. No one will trust another and people will neglect those who depend upon them. Meteors will flash through the air. Men will perform friendly offices only for the sake of gain and everybody will be in want. And people abandoning their occupations in towns and cities will wander about uttering, ‘O father,’ ‘O son,’ (Mahabharata, Vana Parva, chap. 140.)

The great medical writer Charaka also speaking of the causes of destruction of towns and villages says that :

"Changes in the air, water, soil and time (seasons) of a country bring on diseases which ruin large tracts of the country. This perversity in air and the rest has unrighteousness (adharma) for its root. That unrighteousness has for its root sinful acts committed before. The source of both these (unrighteousness and sinful acts) are faults of the understanding. They are as follows-When the foremost inhabitants of the country, cities towns and villages, transgressing righteousness set people on the path of unrighteousness, their dependents and those that depend upon the latter living in the cities and provinces and those that make commerce their profession enhance that unrighteousness. Then that unrighteousness violently causes the disappearance of righteousness. Upon this the people bereft of righteousness are abandoned by the deities. Unto those persons thus bereft of righteousness having unrighteousness for their principal characteristic, the seasons become perverted, abandoned by the deities. Through this the gods do not pour rain unto them in due time or if they do, they do perversely. The air does not blow properly. The earth discovers perverse conditions, the water in rivers, canals and tanks dries up, herbs and plants abandoning their own nature become perverted. In consequence of this, towns and villages become destroyed through touch and use-" (Charaka Samhita. Vimana Khanda chap. 3.)

These descriptions are not mere efforts of the imagination and seem to be more or less applicable to India of to-day, and the only inference that can be suggested is that the writers had either observed those conditions in the India of these days or had in their mind's eye the future that was in store for it. That famines and droughts used to prevail in ancient times also appears from the fact that once at a time of flood, certain rishis quarrelled over some stalks of lotus which had been eaten by their companions and that other rishis ate forbidden food. In the Bhagavad Gita we are told:

"The creator of the world having created living beings with sacrifice, told them to prosper with it, saying this shall be your milch cow. Do you cherish the gods with it and let the gods cherish you. Thus supporting each other you will get supreme felicity. Nourished by sacrifice the gods will give you objects of enjoyment. Creatures come from food, food comes from rain, rain from sacrifice, and sacrifice from religious acts, enjoined in the Vedas."

MANU ALSO SAYS

"The libation of clarified butter thrown into the fire, goes on to the sun, from the sun is produced rain, from rain food, and from food living creatures."

This would indicate a decay in the spirit of true religion everywhere to be the cause of all these perversities of the seasons, year after year. A low state of living due to poverty and ignorance, bad cultivation of the exhausted soil, chronic indebtedness, want of thrift, inadequate supply of water through tanks and wells, absence of improvement in agriculture are only the apparent causes of famine. But the prime cause of all is, as Charaka says, decay of righteousness in the people, and their leaders.

Those who have received the light of modern education may look upon these ideas as those of dreamers. But the great mass of the people attribute the present troubles more to moral and less to physical causes.

The remedy lies in the improvement of the moral tone of Indian society, not a task of immediate accomplishment for the reformer or the Philanthropist, and yet one without whose accomplishment there seems to be little hope of the country seeing better days. A beginning may, however, be made by reform in the direction of charity. This will be the first step in the right direction. Speaking of the contributions of natives of India towards the relief of the famine of 1900, the late Viceroy said:—

“A careful observation of the figures and proceedings in each province compels me to say that in my opinion, native India has not yet reached as high a standard of practical philanthropy or charity as might be expected. Though private wealth in India is not widely distributed, its total volume is considerable. If Englishmen in all parts of the world can be found as they have been found twice in three years willing to contribute enormous sums for the relief of India on the sole ground that its people are the suffering fellow-subjects of the same Queen, it surely behoves the more affluent of the native community not to lag behind in the succour of those who are of their own race and creed.”—Speech in Legislative Council, dated 9th October, 1900.

There is some truth in the above, as the experience of the famine of 1900 shows. There although individual effort in the shape of distribution of relief was largely in evidence in most parts of the country, there was no organized effort on any scale worth the name except on the part of Christian Missionaries and in places of the Arya Samaj. There is a great deal of private charity in the country. For instance, in Benares alone there are some 300 annarsatras (feeding houses), where thousands of people are daily fed, in some upon dishes which many a middle-class man might well envy. The quantity of dry grain that is daily distributed there also comes to several hundred maunds. In Haridwar, Rishikesh, Ayodhya and other sacred places, it is the same. In Rishikesh where two would suffice, there are now about half a dozen establishments for the free distribution of food to beggars and sadhus, so much so that a large proportion of these men go there only to fatten upon charity and swell the ranks of the idle and the mischievous. In all these places of pilgrimage the amount spent in charity, comes to several lacs in the month and, if properly directed, can support several millions of people in times of famine and scarcity and be sufficient for the construction of relief works in the shape of wells and tanks, which according to the Sastras will be better charity than merely feeding religious men upon dishes more fitted for men of the world than for mendicants. Therefore at this juncture when the country is on the brink of a dire calamity, it behoves men of light and leading everywhere to come forward and do all they can towards reforming the charities of the country, organize them and give them a proper direction. They should be as much on the alert as the Government, and devise plans of famine relief suited

to the condition of each class of people. There are moreover hundreds of men of wealth and position in the learned professions, business, Government service, everywhere, who, while they are very liberal in public subscriptions in which officials of Government take the initiative seldom prove so on occasions of famine. In fact, had it not been for their ladies who are still devoted to deeds of charity, they would not be giving the little they do now. The less educated and common people show better examples in this respect and are more liberal. But their charity is not properly organized and is not unoften misdirected. If, therefore, a start were made in this direction, it would have a good moral effect all round, improving the tone of the recipients of relief and stimulate the devotion of money in channels where it would do greater good than now. With the improvement in the moral tone of society, there will be less demand for relief from outside, and we shall be rising in the estimation of other nations as being able to support our own poor in times of scarcity.

For this purpose I would have small syndicates or committees formed of the leading men of the place for regulation of charity. If the members themselves set the example by raising a fund amongst themselves for charity and devote it in a proper manner, they will soon be able to influence the founders of the larger charities of the place to entrust the latter to their management. In Benares, for instance, if the leading men formed a syndicate for the relief of famine and started with a few thousand rupees for the relief of persons who really need relief, the founders of the bigger charities would soon be willing to let them also manage the latter. As it is, the intentions of the founders of these institutions to depend upon low paid officials. Only the other day one of the ministers of a Native State wrote to me to have the house owned by them in Benares repaired under my supervision, simply because although they had their servants they could not sufficiently trust them. If there were a syndicate for the regulation of public charities in Benares, such a difficulty would seldom occur. In another instance where a large sum of money had been bequeathed by will for feeding Brahmans, the executor would not devote any portion thereof for the purpose, but would give the whole of it for a burning ghat, because, as he did not care to be the daily witness of fights and quarrels amongst the recipients of his charity over articles of food.

In many of these institutions in Benares which are meant for the feeding of poor students, the persons in charge prepare food at a time when the students are attending their schools and distribute it to their friends by the time the schools are over. Then, again, although the founder never contemplated the distribution of food to vagabonds and idlers, yet it is done because of the absence of supervision. The same is the case in other places also. There is so much charity in the country to relieve the poor in times of famine and scarcity that outside help should scarcely be needed. Only it should be properly applied and regulated.

One of the most difficult questions at such times is the regulation of the export of food grains from India to other parts of the world. Free trade, though it profits the latter, yet leaves poor India depleted of its grain stores and makes the horrors of a famine felt much more keenly than in former days when exports were not so

considerable. In the famine of 1896-97 the coarser food grains seldom went higher than 12 seers a rupee and people could somehow live. Now although famine has not yet declared itself, the price of gram, barley, and jwar is not lower than ten seers a rupee. What it will be a few weeks hence nobody can say. The latter half of the nineteenth century was especially unfortunate in the matter of famines, and against five famines of its first quarter, two in its second, six in its third, it suffered from eighteen in its last quarter. The 20th century promises to be still worse, for as I have said above, never since 1901 have we had a normal year. And yet during all these years the exports of food grains have gone up by leaps and bounds. Ten years ago these exports of wheat and rice were not at all what they are now. The average annual export of wheat now comes to about 7 lacs of tons and of rice about 17 lacs. This year in spite of bad harvests the exports have been heavier. There has, it is true, been a great increase in the area of land under food grains' cultivation. But it has been at the expense of fodder crops and in food grains also of grains principally required for export at the expense of the people themselves. It is, therefore, worth serious consideration whether the Government should not do something to regulate the export grain trade of the country and save its people from starvation in times of famine. When railways did not so easily carry the produce of the country from one part to another or to the sea to be shipped off to foreign ports, the effects of a famine though felt keenly were only felt in the particular locality affected. Now in spite of protective works in the shape of railways, they are immediately felt all over the country. In the last four years there has been the enormous rise of 150 per cent, in the export of wheat and of 15 per cent, in that of millets and other coarse produce. India is now the great supplier of food to not only England, but also to Germany, Japan, the United States of America, East Africa, Mauritius, the Philippines, Ceylon, the Persian Gulf and other countries of the world. But this instead of being a thing to be proud of, leaves a feeling of regret when the frequency of famines and droughts in the country is considered. If the Government can check the exports, it can, in the interests of the country and its starving people, levy duties upon them so as to make it unprofitable to take the grain of India outside.

The question was considered in the famine of 1896-97, but nothing was done. Sooner or later the problem will have to be faced. In the meantime it is the duty of the Indians to do something to supply grain to their starving countrymen at least at the present prices for some time to come. For this purpose, as in the case of regulation of charities, syndicates should immediately be formed in all large centres with proper capital to buy and store up grain and sell it to the poor at a certain fixed price up to a certain quantity. By this means they will be affording substantial relief to those who cannot beg and yet would be able to tide over the present situation with a little help. It would also have a good effect upon the market as well

as prevent combinations amongst grain dealers to raise prices. It is done in several Native States and could easily be done everywhere in British India also.

The next important question is the improvement of the water supply. A very large portion of the country, especially the whole of Upper India, is dependent upon irrigation either from wells or canals. The Government has built large canals in several parts of the country at a total cost of some 45 crores of rupees and derives from them a net annual income of more than one crore. Its policy as settled by the Famine Commission of 1900 is that protective railways should now give place to protective irrigation works in the shape of storage tanks, reservoirs and irrigation wells. This policy has yet to be carried out in practice. The great drawback in the employment of private capital in the construction of these works is that in places where the revenue is periodically revised, the settlement officer does not in practice allow for the improvement in the productive power of the land assessed and its annual higher out-turn on account of well irrigation. The orders of Government are not carried out by throwing the burden of proving what portion of the improvement is due to the irrigation from wells and what to other causes upon the landholder who is thus virtually deprived of the benefit of his labour and is prevented from investing money in the excavation of wells or tanks. In permanently-settled districts this is not the case. There you see good stone masonry wells all round. Not so in districts where the settlement is revised every thirty years. The matter, therefore, deserves consideration, and all that is necessary is that the declared intention of the Government should be carried out in practice. Large portions of the country are even now beyond the reach of canal irrigation, and well irrigation is the only means of saving their people from famine.

We are told that unless the people of India learn thrift and self-help, they will never be safe from the effects of famines and droughts. With an average income of three to four rupees a month which is all that a labourer gets in village, it is a little too much to expect him to be thrifty. He has not got any surplus money to waste and all that he can manage to do in good years is to keep body and soul together, and when famine comes, he has either to look forward to death from starvation or acceptance of relief from Government. It is the abject poverty of the people, their want of diversity of employment, and sole dependence of agriculture, rather than want of thrift, which makes their position so miserable at the first pinch of famine and scarcity. In former times when rents used to be collected in kind, it was not so bad. Now, when the Government revenue has to be paid in cash, the landlords' rent must also be paid in cash and the agriculturist must convert his grain into cash for the purpose. In one respect high prices of grain prove useful to him in that he gets more money than formerly, but they also tell upon him the other way in that if he has to buy or borrow grain from his money-lender, as he often has to do, he has to pay more heavily for it than before. The Government grants him taccavi for purchase of seeds and bullocks and during the last famine more than 2 crores of rupees were given in this way. It also suffered a loss of some six crores

in its land revenue and spent about 10 crores in relief operations. But in a famine affecting whole tracts of the country, this is a mere drop in the ocean. The relief must come from the people themselves and it is because the time has come to largely supplement Government effort in this direction, that I have written this paper to draw early attention to the calamity that is in store for us and to the necessity of timely action. Those who live in towns have little idea of the misery a drought causes in rural areas. In towns people can get employment of some sort or other. In villages when once field operations are stopped, the occupation of almost the whole village is gone and the cry of despair is heard everywhere. Not being skilled labourers the people have no means of turning elsewhere for employment except on relief works where they get a mere dole. Having nothing to fall back upon, their only recourse is the village money lender who does not lend them money on such occasions as he has no hopes of recovering it in the near future. The prospect before them is thus very dark, and it should be the duty of all to come forward to their help at times like these. Much of their low moral calibre is the result of poverty. This can only be relieved by providing them with diversity of occupation, and for this it is not so much Government who should come forward to revive its dying industries and developing new ones.

To sum up, I would draw public attention to the following :—(1) There should be formed syndicates and associations of the leading men of each place to regulate public charity as well as to start relief works in the manner most suited to the wants and habits of the people. (2) Those who cannot or would not go to public relief works should be given relief at home and provided with work suited to their capacities and position in life. (3) In all large centres grain depots should be opened by the leading men of the place for sale of grain to the poor up to a certain quantity at a certain price. (4) The export of food grains should be regulated by the imposition of suitable export duties. (5) Those who are spending money in charity in sacred places, should be induced to spend it in the excavation of wells and tanks and other works of irrigation. (6) The Government should not raise its assessment because of improvement in the produce of land due to the construction of such wells. (7) Finally, the aim should be to make the mass of the people not depend solely upon agriculture, and for this purpose the capitalists of the country should devote much more money than they have done hitherto towards the revival of Indian industries. India will soon be passing through a great crisis, and the sooner this is realized by all its men of education and position, the better it is for both themselves as well as for the masses who look up to them for help and guidance.

BAIJNATH

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Mixed Foods

The praises of mixed diet are often heard. But few people know the exact disadvantage of taking various kinds of food at the same meal. To them we commend the following passages from Chamber's Journal :

It is considered by many people that a mixed diet is necessary for the proper functioning of the digestive organs, and that digestion is thus more rapidly accomplished, and the food more completely assimilated, than when only one kind of food is taken. While it is true that we require for the maintenance of health and the proper nourishment of the body the salts and the acids found in fruits and vegetables, the fats in cream and butter, and the carbohydrates in starchy foods, we do not need them in a heterogeneous mass.

One of the chief causes of digestive disturbances is the mixing of foods which do not harmonise. There are several reasons for this. The process of digestion is a complicated one, and foods vary greatly in the time required for their digestion—a fact some people do not realise. A ripe apple, for instance, is digested in a healthy stomach in one hour, while a cabbage takes from four to five hours should both these articles be taken into the stomach at the same time, both must remain there until they are digested, as they will become so intermingled in the process of digestion that they cannot possibly be separated. The apple digested and ready for absorption, if not absorbed, ferments, and flatulence and other disagreeable symptoms of ordinary indigestion result.

Raw food and cooked food, it is laid down, should not be eaten together.

In the former the organic salts are unchanged, in the latter these salts undergo a distinct change in the process of cooking. One pound of raw food contains as much

nourishment as two pounds of cooked food, but the average person's stomach is, as a rule quite unaccustomed to food in a raw state, and this fact is not generally observed when such food is eaten in addition to the cooked food which makes up the daily dietary. Digestive disturbance results in most cases, although in a healthy stomach the disagreeable feelings are more or less evanescent.

Ayurvedic injunction and popular belief agree in holding that certain foods should not be taken together. In the article from which we have quoted, it is said: "Milk and fruit, meat and milk, milk and raw vegetables do not combine well. Milk is best taken alone or in milk puddings, with oatmeal porridge,.....". "There is a tendency to over-eat in a mixed diet... Yet some people, who eat heavy mixed meals day after day, wonder why they are troubled with the disagreeable physical feelings that follow closely those who live to eat."

There are countries where the national diet is of the plainest kind. A notable example of this is Scotland, where a splendid type of manhood is reared on a simple diet, the basis of which is oatmeal porridge and milk.

The plainer the living the higher the physical standard' is just as true a saying as 'Plain living leads to high thinking;' and no matter what the advocate of a mixed-food diet may say to the contrary, there is no disputing the fact that the nearer one gets to the mono-diet the better the health will be. At any rate, there is no necessity to mix together those foods that radically disagree, as milk and meat, or acid fruits and starches.

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The Industrial Problem In India State Aid— An Economic Council For India

Among the more conspicuous features of Lord Curzon's Administration, a foremost place may justly be assigned to the advance he initiated in the economic policy of the State in India, as the final and definite outcome of the experience and developments of a long antecedent period. It was a most momentous advance; almost amounting to a radical departure; broad-based upon a close and careful survey of the economic situation in the country and its requirements. The material condition of the people of India, their growing poverty and resourcelessness, suggested a problem as serious and difficult as any a responsible Government in any country had ever to face. The danger of the position lay in the fact that the vast majority of the population depended upon the land for their daily bread; and the late Viceroy agreed with the Famine Commission of 1880 in thinking that as long as such dependence continued, the root of the evil must remain untouched. The same conclusion was most painfully borne in upon his Lordship's mind by the sad experiences of the year 1899-1900, when a dreadful famine, the most calamitous of the century, afflicted the land. The development of agricultural industry on European methods was no doubt a most desirable and necessary scheme; and no one would for a moment under-rate the importance of a policy which aimed at such a result and sought to "maintain agricultural operations in the country at the highest attainable standard of agricultural

efficiency." But Lord Curzon was convinced with the Famine Commissioners that agricultural improvement, on which official inquiry and efforts had so long been concentrated, could not alone be relied upon as a complete and effective remedy for the evils from which the country suffered. He held the view that economic salvation must be sought in a general movement of industrial upheaval, a thorough re-building, on newer lines, of the entire industrial fabric of the country-embracing every branch of national industry, agriculture, manufactures, art-industries and trade. And in the conditions existing he considered it was the "supreme duty" of the State to assist to the full extent of its power in such a movement of industrial re-construction.

Lord Curzon evidently cherished no Free trade illusions. With him apparently, as Prince Bismarck, free-trade and protection were but categories of time and place. He rejected as inapplicable to India the doctrinaire theory of laissez-faire which would restrict the functions of the State to the protection of person and property and the maintenance of peace and order. He thought that the circumstances of the country made it obligatory upon the State in India representing the collective strength of the community, to render every legitimate encouragement and aid to the growth and expansion of the industrial life of the people in all its wide and varied range. He was deeply impressed with the boundless richness and variety of the material resources of the country and the vast potentialities of the future. He agreed with the *Times* that "for concerted and scientifically co-ordinated enterprise India offers a field second to none in the world". Vigorous and well-arranged advance was necessary upon a broad front, and he was of opinion that one of India's most urgent economic needs was a large and carefully considered scheme of state-aid in furtherance of such advance. Railways and Canals, the Telegraph and the Post were all no doubt important and helpful steps forward along the line of necessary state-action; but in his view, something more was required to meet the demands of the position, a comprehensive constructive policy of state-assisted economic progress extending to every field of industrial effort, a policy of direct, deliberate, and systematic promotion of industrial enterprise in every form and shape.

Thus, for the first time in the economic history of British India, we had such a clear and definite recognition on the part of a responsible statesman at the head of the Government of India of the solemn duty that lay upon the State in respect of the industrial progress of the country. Never before had there been such an unreserved acceptance on the part of the authorities of a plain national obligation in a matter of such vital concern. Famine succeeded famine in disastrous succession, each with a sadder story of suffering and distress. The perils of the situation were freely recognised; but the attitude of the Government of India in this regard had for years been one of non possumus. Evidently the Free-trade spell had lasted too long to sway the minds and suade the action of Anglo-Indian statesmen and administrators. And Lord Curzon's Government, whatever differences of view in other matters, deserves well of the country for having had the courage to break through the traditions and lay down for the State in India an

economic plan of action of such breadth and wide range. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was a strong advocate of such a policy.

As a condition *sine qua non*, however, precedent to the inauguration of such a policy of state-aid to national industry, it was evident that Government had need of expert inquiry and competent advice. The resources of the country were inexhaustible, but as yet undeveloped and for the most part unexplored. The people, left behind in the race and otherwise handicapped by reason of the exhausting policy, military struggles of a chequered historic past, were not in a position to utilize them by their own unaided efforts; their existing industries were but few and crude-survivals of a ship-wrecked past-the tillage of the soil and the simple subsidiary trades and crafts; their industrial organizations, in a rudimentary condition; and their industrial methods, primitive and wasteful. Being drawn prematurely and without the needful training and preparation into the vortex of the world's competitive contest, and opposed to rivals working on an immeasurably higher plane of industrial efficiency, they found themselves year after year less and less able to hold their own in the arena. All over the country, they were sinking-for want of timely help and proper guidance, starving Midas-like in fields of boundless extent for effective state intervention-a field in which the British Government, as representing a higher civilization, was under a moral obligation to extend to the industrial life of the nation committed to its charge the needful aid and support.

European science and European experience had to be brought to bear on the situation, and it was clear that careful investigation, deliberation and experiment must precede effective action. It was necessary for Government before it could decide upon a practical course of action-to be in possession, on the one hand, of carefully ascertained facts regarding the economic condition and resources of the country, as well as possible and promising lines of new development, and, on the other, to have competent and responsible advice as to in what departments of the industrial field, at what exact points, and in what ways it could effectively and without avoidable risk of failure intervene and assist in the general movement of advance. In other words, it required (1) a strong staff of trained investigators to collect, arrange and systematize the necessary data bearing on the economic problem and formulate reasoned conclusions, and (2) a representative board of qualified and responsible economic advisers to frame a practical programme based on such investigation and with full knowledge of the people, their habits and aptitudes, their wants and wishes. A scientific staff and a consultative economic council were thus the preliminary requisites for an economic departure such as Lord Curzon's Government had in view.

In the self-governing countries of the West such a double machinery is usually provided when under parallel conditions the State proposes to give assistance to national industrial effort. About a quarter of a century ago all over Western Europe, when there was a severe agricultural depression caused by cheap imports of agricultural produce from

North America, Australia, La Plata and other countries, and falling prices, and it was clear that the crisis could only be met by a thorough reorganization of the agricultural industry and the introduction of improved and scientific methods,—state-aid was invoked on behalf of such work of agricultural reconstruction, and the Governments concerned thought it necessary before giving such aid to create a double organization of investigation and advice to guide their action, such as has been indicated above ; and the organization so created still exists in these countries in full working order.

“The Government of Bengal has had under consideration the question of the possibility of improving and developing the fisheries of Bengal. It is estimated that the annual production of fish in the United States of America is 1,000,000 tons ; in the British Isles, over that amount ; in Japan over 3 million tons. Bengal has an extensive sea-board and from the result obtained along the coast by small parties of fishermen working on crude lines and with small boats and never venturing out far from shore, there is every promise of an abundant harvest if only the sea were properly exploited with the help of sufficient capital and enterprise. On the other hand in its estuaries, in its inland lakes, and above all in its magnificent system of rivers, Bengal has sources for fish-supply perhaps unrivalled in the world. In a country where famines occur, every measure of augmenting the food stores of the people from other sources must be a matter of supreme importance.”

The Madras Government is also taking action in connection with the development of its West-coast fisheries. The Government quires in contemplation :

(1) The question of instituting a special Industrial Survey of India under expert direction has been repeatedly pressed on the attention of Government. Dr. Forbes Watson of the India Museum urged the desirability of such a survey in a pamphlet entitled “Industrial Survey of India” several years ago on behalf of European capital and European enterprise. “For the last half century”, wrote Dr. Watson, “it has been on all sides constantly urged, that no radical reform in the agricultural or industrial condition of India can take place without an influx of European capital and European enterprise and it has often been made a matter of surprise that neither of them has been supplied by England in the amount which could have been utilised by a country of such vast natural resources as India. It has been considered remarkable, that a country under British rule with full guarantees for the protection of life and property, has not attracted more of the super-abundant capital and enterprise of England although the means of communication have recently been so much extended. The reason is that, however important all the conditions just enumerated may be, there is a still more indispensable requirement which must be satisfied before private capital and skill will come forward without a Government guarantee. This requirement is such a precise knowledge of the industrial resources and of the conditions of production of the country as will allow of a reasonable forecast of the success of the enterprise.”

There is yet no separate Department entrusted with this kind of technical work. But numerous lines of inquiry are being fast opened out by official and other investigators ;

and the results as far as scientifically reached and tested are published from time to time by the Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

Dr. Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India compiled in 1885-1894, deserves mention in this connection. It is intended to be a work of reference-accurate in its scientific details-for practical and commercial purposes. A revised edition of the Dictionary is at present under preparation: it contains a trust-worthy and ample resume of official and private inquiries regarding the economic products of India-supplying precise and comprehensive information regarding each economic product—its different varieties, the places and methods of its production and commercial and industrial uses—as demanded by Dr. Forbes Watson many years ago on behalf of European manufacturers and merchants.

Some of the provincial Governments have also carried out partial surveys of this kind in their respective Provinces—notably the Government of Madras; and the results of such surveys are accessible to the public in the local Gazetteers.

There is a machinery of expert enquiry and technical advice created for the most part during the past few years—from humbler beginnings—to assist the Government of India in matters economic. It touches every point of the industrial compass, and comprises in its wide sweep every branch of national industry—agriculture, mining, forestry, industries, industries and commerce—and communication. The new organization indicates with sufficient clearness the comprehensive policy of state aid in furtherance of the industrial and commercial development of the country on which the Government of India has embarked under Lord Curzon's lead and guidance.

Scientific inquiry and technical advice, however, only represent one side of the work. Scientific investigation and ascertainment of facts and conditions—collection and collation of all available data bearing on the question—this is of course a necessary preliminary condition—preliminary to the proper initial and prosecution of all practical effort, but nevertheless, forms factors a factor—essential undoubtedly but of subordinate importance in the practical problem. How such efforts should and can best be inaugurated—on what lines conducted—and by what means and agency—and with what aims and objects—these and the like are among the most determining considerations in the matter. Further, the limitations of such state-action and its ultimate purpose ought never to be lost sight of. The work is the people's own work; they must take it in hand and carry it on—receiving in the first stages of effort and trial-aid from the State only when necessary and that, too, for a time only till they are able to do without it. "A good Government," says J. S. Mill, "will give all its aid in such a shape as to encourage and nurture any rudiments it may find of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragements to voluntary enterprise and in giving whatever facilities and whatever direction and guidance may be necessary; its pecuniary means will be applied, when practicable, in aid of private efforts—rather than in supersession of them, and it will call into play its machinery of rewards and honors to elicit such efforts. Government

aid when given merely in default of private enterprise should be so given as to be as far as possible a course of education for the people in the art of accomplishing great objects by individual energy and voluntary co-operation." A scheme of state action which aims at any other result in this matter and seeks to concentrate the work in the hands of the State to the exclusion of the people-or to transfer the field of development other than indigenous enterprise offends against all principles of justice and fair play.

The work Government proposes to itself in this connection, is one of great responsibility ; and in order that its action might be planned out on right and helpful lines, it is absolutely necessary-particularly under the peculiar conditions of British rule in India-that it should have-before it decides upon a practical course of action-on the results of scientific investigation and in accordance with the recommendations of the expert Departments responsible and competent popular advice-the advice of the people on whose behalf all such action is contemplated-men of position and influence who know their countrymen and can speak with authority about their wishes and requirements.

Apparently, however, Government has yet no such machinery of popular advice in contemplation. Perhaps the existing bureaucratic frame of general administration does not easily lend itself to any such arrangement. It places its chief dependence upon its own Departmental officers and official Boards-particularly the new Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Board of Scientific Advice-and accepts all such outside advice and suggestions it may receive from the Press and Associations. It has not yet, however, provided itself with any constitutional means of taking the people into its confidence ; and the absence of some such provision appears to us to be a most fundamental defect in the present scheme of state action-leading to results not always in harmony with the just aims of such an economic policy.

As far as British capital and British enterprise are concerned, the absence of any such non-official representative board of economic advice to the Government of India involves no serious disadvantage. They are always in the closest touch with the authorities both in England and India. In England, they have at the back the support of the powerful British industrial organizations, and have intimate relations with the India Office through them or their representatives in Parliament. In India itself, British Commerce is allowed direct representation on the Legislative Councils under the Indian Councils' Act. Besides, the British mercantile and industrial communities have their Chambers of Commerce and other associations to focus and represent their views, and these Chambers and associations, according to Lord Curzon's view "form an important factor in the body politic, constituted for the formation and representation of expert opinion upon mercantile subjects," and a valuable machinery by which Government can ascertain the views of the business world upon the many matters connected with business and trade with which it is called upon to deal." There is also the English press to give them its support. And finally, there are the numerous and frequent formal and informal Conferences between their representatives and members of Government in

regard to matters affecting the trade, industry and commerce of the country. When the question under consideration is one of railway extensions or railway tariffs or of merchant-shipping or customs, of preferential tariff or trade or of currency or banking these associations are invariably consulted and their views receive careful and sympathetic attention at the hands of Government.

Far different, however, is the case with Indian interests. These interests, though they constitute the central factor in the position and have the first claim on the consideration of the authorities, are nevertheless left to lie and suffer in the cold shade of neglect. The Indian agricultural and industrial communities have no press to assist them with its advocacy, and but a few feeble organizations to represent their views or urge their claims. They have no representatives of their own in the Legislative Councils; they are seldom if ever consulted by Government or taken into confidence in reference to these industrial matters and are otherwise determining or consultative voice in any form or at any stage in the final decisions of Government.

We have here certainly a most anomalous position of things. The Indian people are the people primarily and solely concerned in the matter: it is their interests that are affected, and it is their economic future that is at stake. It is for them and for them alone that all this action of the State in the economic sphere is intended. And yet, it is precisely they who are left out in the cold and made to stand outside the pale, while Government is glad to accept help and advice in its work from every other quarter, and listen to every other voice.

The field of work here is the people's own, and it has to be borne in mind that such protective intervention on the part of the State in aid of the people's efforts is a purely optional function and rests only on a moral obligation. And if the Government of India goes out of its proper line of administrative duty and undertakes economic work which does not fall within the limits of its necessary functions, it does so, because the people on whose behalf it is undertaken are unable through whatever cause under present circumstances to do without such state-help. This is the *raison d'être* of such state-effort and its justification. As soon as the people are able to help themselves and safe-guard their interests by their own unaided efforts, the necessity for state assistance ceases and Government will be bound to withdraw from the field. State-aid thus in this economic sphere comes in only *pro tempore* and *pro bono publico*; and in taking up this duty, Government places itself for the time being in the position of a trustee and a guardian of the people's interests. It is obvious, that in order to be able to properly discharge its trust and for the good of those on whose behalf it exercises it, and to take effective practical measures with a view to that end, it must needs have correct and accurate knowledge as to what their difficulties are, what impediments lie in their path of advance, where and in what ways they require such state assistance. Without such knowledge, its action-however well-meant-might conceivably proceed on wrong lines and fail in its intended object. The Government of India, however, thinks fit to deny to itself the advantage of such close touch with the people vita-

lly interested-and that, too, under circumstances under which it needs it most, and seek help and advice in the work chiefly from those who can have little or no knowledge of the people, their wants and wishes, and whose interests, besides, are not infrequently in conflict with theirs.

The result is as might be expected. Under such foreign advice, guidance and inspiration, there is a grievous deflexion of the entire action of the State on the economic side-a deflexion against which the nation is entitled to enter its respectful but most emphatic protest. A new ideal seems to be aimed at-the ideal of an Industrial India moulded and developed on European methods-not by the energy and efforts of her people-but by foreign enterprise, and objects are proposed other than those connected with national advancement. India is looked on as a "material asset" of the Empire of vast potential value, and quite in the spirit of the colonial system of the 18th century and its underlying ideas, is sometimes spoken of as a "vast property". It is a land of inexhaustible resources and there is no doubt good agriculturists, but are "incapable" of any other or higher effort; and if the splendid wealth of the country is ever to be developed, it can only be by the energy and resourcefulness of foreign enterprise. British enterprise has achieved such marvellous success in the development of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, what ground is there for doubting that it would obtain similar success in the Indian field? The English exploiter, with his Free trade experience of English industrial life, does not require any adventitious aid from the State, but the State gives it-to accelerate the movement of advance and to shorten the preliminary period of trial and failure. And when the industrial field is thus successfully worked and developed, the people of the country would come in for their share in the resultant prosperity.

Some such considerations would seem to govern the new economic policy of the State. And so inspired and guided, what wonder if the entire scheme of state action in the matter is being planned out on lines and state-aid rendered in forms and in way which have been found so successful in the development of the Colonies-but which far from benefiting the people of the country-who by reason of their general economic unpreparedness, are unable to take any active part in such work of material development, only serve to help the foreign exploiter and promote the progress of his enterprise? And it looks as if the whole splendid machinery of scientific inquiry and expert advice which has been recently created by Government to assist it in the work were being utilized in the same direction. The people of the country are left out of account in the general scheme; the requirements of their economic present and future are ignored; the peculiar disabilities under which they labour and which prevent them from taking their proper share of the work are lost sight of; and what is still more regrettable,—no comprehensive action is taken or even proposed to lift them from their present helplessness and fit them for the work that awaits them and relieve the foreigner of the burden. The resources and energies of the State seem directed to one end and one only-the industrial developement of the country-irrespective of any considerations of means or agency. The material progress of the country-so

helped—is proceeding rapidly and on all lines. Only we, the children of the soil, have little or no share in the advance. This is the saddest feature of the situation and fills us with the gravest misgivings.

Such deflexion of state action and its results are alike deplorable, and seem to point to a serious defect in the machinery of expert advice that there is at present to assist the Government of India in these matters. At all events it is clear that the scheme of state-aid-framed under the influence of distorted views and false ideals requires not only a modification but a radical change. Evidently the industrial development of a country can have no economic value and no permanent result unless it is the work of the people themselves. The industrial field is their-by right of birth ; and theirs is the duty, as theirs is the privilege, to work it. It is their national possession, their national heritage, which they are bound to maintain intact and pass down to those who come after them unimpaired, if not improved. It is the one provision that exists for the varied wants of coming generations. Foreign exploitation-whatever its extent and whatever its success-can at best be regarded only as pioneer-work and useful as paving the way for the eventual progress of indigenous enterprise ; and must in no case and under no circumstances be suffered to supplant and supersede it. A scheme of economic development and that too, with state assistance-in which the people of the country have no higher role assigned to them than that of labourers-hewers of wood and drawers of water—is a scheme of state-aided foreign exploitation-which has no justification in any consideration. The work is emphatically and by every moral right ours ; ours are the interests vitally concerned ; or we must achieve our salvation by our own efforts in this as in so many other departments of national life. In our present economic weakness, however, and in the first stages of trial and struggle, we require as an indispensable condition of success, the guidance, the lead and the help which the State alone can give us. Looking at the question from this point of view, we submit that a new departure is absolutely needed in the existing plan of state assistance-a departure on lines more in harmony with our wants, and calculated to bring us relief and help where needed most and in the right way, and give us the requisite training as a nation to enable us to rise to a higher level of economic effort, and in course of time, resume our place among the great industrial nations of the world. As an indispensable preliminary to so fundamental a change in the programme of state action in the economic sphere, we would humbly suggest that the Government of India should have with it-purposes of consultation-and side by side with its departmental Board of Scientific Advice-another independent and non-official Economic Board composed under a double system of election and nomination-of representatives of the various industrial classes in the country-duly qualified to speak with authority from personal knowledge and experience and give competent and responsible advice to the Administration in respect of the various practical measures under consideration. Such a Council need not be at the start anything more than a purely consultative council giving advice on economic questions and without consulting which-as in the case of the Railway Board, in respect of its deliberative functions-Government would not take any decisions.

Already in agricultural matters annual conferences are held in various provinces between officers of the Agricultural Department and representatives of local agriculture—conferences which are by all concurrent testimony found so useful. The principle underlying such popular consultations in matters so vitally touching the well-being of the people, is officially admitted to be a sound principle; and the proposed Economic Board would only give it a wider and more general extension, and in a more permanent shape. If such a Council of Advice in matters economic has been considered necessary in an advanced state like Prussia, and that, too, by no less a statesman than Prince Bismarck, how much more necessary is it to have one such for India where the problem that confronts us is infinitely harder and more complex. Surely the day is gone by when the rulers could securely live amidst the clouds of Olympus and issue Firmans for the guidance of their subjects: They must now in these prosaic times descend from the celestial heights and come to the haunts of men and listen to what they have got to say as to their wants and wishes. Even the British Government in India is no exception.

Besides, the constitution of such a Council of Economic Advice would be a most fitting supplement to the magnificent machinery of scientific enquiry and technical advice which Lord Curzon's Government has created to assist the Administration in this economic work, and supply the one missing link in the great organization. The scientific staff is already strong and only requires the addition of a few experts in fisheries, scientific forestry and Irrigational Engineering to give it the necessary completeness. The Board of Scientific Advice is well-organized and leave little to be desired. The new Ministry of Commerce and industry places at the command of the Government of India the highest technical and administrative talent to advice and assist in framing practical measures. There is, further, the touch with the representatives of British capital and British enterprise in the country. But one most important link is still wanting to complete the chain and strengthen the imperial organization. Some machinery is required by which Government in their Department of Commerce and Industry can ascertain at first hand the views of the Indian agricultural, industrial and mercantile communities, so vitally interested in the matter. In the absence of such an agency, there can be no living touch with the hard concrete realities of the situation, and the one central element in the question and that, too, of such essential importance and without due regard to which no practical decision can safely be taken—viz., the views of the people concerned—is likely to be oftener than not overlooked. The proposed Economic Council is intended to remove this cardinal defect in the existing organization.

Such a Board of Advice constituted, Government would get into close living touch with the facts of the industrial life of the country, and would be in a position to know what the difficulties are that beset the path of indigenous enterprise—where its weakness lie—and at what points it requires nursing and fostering—and with such knowledge, to grasp and appreciate the general situation and its needs—and frame its programme in accordance therewith.

At all events, our national requirements in this respect which are so numerous and so urgent, but which at present receive such scant notice at the head-quarters of the Imperial Administration, would receive their due consideration. There is, for instance, the first and most urgent of our wants, and that is in respect of general and technical education. After a century of British rule, we have to note the distressing fact that we have yet a bare 5 per cent, of the population able to read and write. It is clear, that no great advance is possible with such general illiteracy and the moral helplessness it implies—in this as in other lines of national improvement. Universal Education—whether on the voluntary or on the compulsory principle—is what we most scarcely need to give us the requisite leverage for a progressive movement. So, again, it is regretted that we have not yet in the country one single institution like the Tokyo College of Engineering in Japan—to give instruction to our aspiring youth in the higher branches of Science and Engineering. The time is surely come when it is necessary for us to have one strong and well-equipped college of physical Science and Technology. There is, next, the question of the existing land revenue assessments, the crushing incidence of which has at present such a depressing effect on the premier industry of the nation. There is a general consensus of opinion that some fiscal readjustment is absolutely necessary to give relief to the cultivating classes, and put the industry on a proper plane of efficiency. Mr. O'Connor, our former Director-General of Statistics with the Government of India, suggests a 30 per cent reduction in the existing land revenue demand all round in the temporarily-settled Provinces—notably Bombay and Madras. There is again the question of banking and the re-organization of rural credit. There is but little capital in the country available for industrial efforts and as to what little there is, we have yet no proper means of marshalling and mobilising it for the purpose—such as for instance exist in Japan. Further, there is among the people a most lamentable want of knowledge about the material resources of the country. In dealing with these and such other questions, we think, the advice of such a council as we propose would be of the greatest value to the Administration.

But, further, such a Council of Economic Advice would be a most useful link between the Imperial Administration and the industrial classes in the country. No such channel of communication at present exists. There are just now so many special inquiries going on in various parts of the country under official experts—enquiries regarding sugar tobacco, silk, chrome, leather works, indigo, &c.; and yet the people know little or nothing about these expert-inquiries or the results reached. Besides, these and such other lines of scientific inquiry or technical research are at present being opened up in response to suggestions from the British industrial and mercantile community, while the people of the country whose requirements in respect of such scientific investigations of an economic nature are so numerous and so varied have got no means of taking any effective share in such initiation. We trust, they would find in the proposed council a useful body through whom they could place themselves in communication with the expert Departments under the Government of India.

Moreover, under the Swadeshi impulse there is now a general awakening in these industrial matters throughout the length and breadth of the land—a new stir in men's minds—of such happy, augury for the future. The air is full of movement and change, and it is evident, that we are on the eve of a new era in the economic annals of the country—the uprise of new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations and active and vigorous efforts on all sides to go on the path of advance. And it seems to us important that the Government of India should be able to place itself at a time like this at the central point of vantage on the line of march in order to give to the new national movement the proper directive, guidance and stimulus which it alone can give. Already a comprehensive constructive policy of state-aid in support of such an economic progress of the country has been planned out with such prescient statesmanship by Lord Curzon's Government and a splendid organization of inquiry and technical advice has been created with a view to enabling the authorities to carry it out. And it seems to us that the help and advice of such an Economic Council as we propose is necessary, as calculated to bring the Imperial Administration into living contact with the industrial system of the country and enable it to appreciate the forces at work and intervene with effect—and exactly at the points where such intervention would be most useful.

There is every reason to hope that thus helped and guided by the State on the one side, and with the moral leverage of the new swadeshi sentiment of such force and strength, India would be able to enter upon a career of industrial advance with organised vigour and a well directed energy which would promise the happiest results, and, before many years have passed away, to claim her proper place in the forefront of the world's progress. Altogether all indications concur that this Land of promise of ours has an economic future before her brighter and mightier by far than even her golden past—great though that is and that the ideal of swadeshism is not the the baseless fabric of a dreamer's dream—but a positive certainty within measurable distance of realization. Here we conclude, and in conclusion we would express a confident hope that the suggestion made in the foregoing pages regarding an Economic Council for India to advise the Imperial Administration on economic questions—will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the public.

O Land of lands ! to thee we give
Our prayers, our hopes, our service free ;
For thee thy sons shall nobly live,
And at thy need shall die for thee !

G. V. JOSHI

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(continued from Page 112)

socio-cultural practices had already drawn the attention of Occidental scholars for many decades. The great temples, statuary, cave paintings and the wealth of Sanskrit literature had drawn a glorious picture of the classical period of Indian history. Many great scholars had devoted their talents to the study of pre-Muslim India. Sir Jadunath devoted himself to the study of the Muslim period of Indian history with particular reference to the Mughals. In this work he was greatly helped by the writings of muslim scholars of which he made an extensive study. He patiently went through thousands of documents that he located in various archives and quite often requisitioned the services of his pupils to assist him in this work. Thus he trained up a large group of research workers who used this training in other spheres of investigation too. Sir Jadunath dissipated a number of myths about the muslim period of Indian history by discovering clear and documentary evidence of what really happened at what time. Being a keen student of the facts relating to the downfall of the Mughal empire, Sir Jadunath naturally had to study Maratha history ad extenso. His researches had been extensive in this sphere of Indian History. Sir Jadunath was a discoverer of historical truths. He never started his enquiries with any preferences or preconceived notions. The finding of Truth was his passion and he did not care how many established untruths he had to erase from the pages of history in order to satisfy himself that only the Truth prevailed. Current "history" is full of connected tales glorifying this or that person or proving the superiority of their thoughts or actions. Earlier periods of history also abound in such propaganda. It is the duty of historians to reject all untruths put in circulation by interested parties. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was a renowned educationist. He rendered a great service to India by his championship of Truth. We are looking for more men like Sir Jadunath in order to save our national history from inroads by political publicity agents.

Conservation Of Natural Wealth

The Mysore Government are to be congratulated on the publication of the following notification :

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja are pleased to direct that, pending further investigation as to the requirements of local industries and the available supplies of material the following ores and minerals shall be reserved within the areas specified below and that until further notice, no applications shall be entertained for the grant of leases and licenses in respect of these ores and minerals within the respective areas specified. It will however be open to Government to grant licenses and leases for minerals within these reserved areas at their discretion to approved applicants with a view to develop local industries.

	Ore or mineral	Reserved area.
Gold	...	The whole State.
Iron ore.		
Limestone.		
Dolomite.		
Corundum.		
Manganese :	Parts of Shimoga and Gubbi Taluks.	
Chrome Ore :	Channarayapatna and Mysore Taluks.	
Magnesite :	Part of Mysore Taluk.	
Asbestos :	Whole of Mysore Hassan and Districts.	
Kaolin and China clay :	Bangalore Hoskote and Taluks.	

It is to be hoped the people and the Government of Mysore will be able to extract and utilize the mineral wealth of the state thus conserved. It should not remain like a miser's hoard.

Gasoline And Electricity As Supplements To Steam Locomotion

Steam has had its day. Gasoline and electricity are the coming motive powers. They may or may not, between the two of them supplant steam—they have already commenced to supplement it.

Gasoline and electricity have enabled the motor cars to be driven on railless roads. Three years ago Renard, a French engineer, invented a road motor run by gasoline power which promises to revolutionize transportation. The Renard Road Train requires no rails and can turn a curve of any angle. It is thus able to supplement the steam railway by carrying freight and passengers from territory not served by railway branch lines-feeders, as they are called, to the railway stations.

The principle upon which the Renard Road Train is built is exceedingly simple and ingenious. The locomotive is unlike that of a steam railway, in as much as it does not pull the carriages attached to it. The Renard locomotive is a veritable power house carried on wheels. It manufactures power and transmits it to every carriage attached to it, by means of a drive shaft.

The most notable feature of the Renard Road Train is its steering gear. It is so ingeniously made that the locomotive can veer around in a circle and each car follows identically the same course.

The fact that the Renard locomotive is a power house on wheels enables it to be small and light, contrary to the locomotive of a steam railway, which must be big and heavy enough to pull the train. The Renard locomotive weighs about two tons. The cars and vans, when empty, weigh as much. They run on six wheels which never slip, and thus they are rendered ideal for railless transportation.

The Renard idea is yet but three years old. It has already established its claim to utility and is coming more and more into common use. It has already reached India.

What the Renard Train is doing for the plains, the Telpher Trolley is doing for extremely mountainous districts whose steep grades make it impossible for the steam railway to find a foothold.

Coal and minerals are often found in places that are practically impossible to reach by ordinary means. Timber tracts, too, are frequently found in inaccessible regions. The problems of conveyance of coal, minerals and timber are many a time so knotty and hard to solve that the endeavor to work them out is abandoned. The Telpher Trolley overcomes these difficulties of transportation.

The Telpher cars are operated by means of electricity and are swung from a single rail. Trestles hold the rails to the sides of a mountain, thus making it possible to span a pass or cross a river with equal facility.

The principle on which the Telpher Trolleys are built is new and appears somewhat startling and visionary at first thought. But it is being successfully employed not only in carrying freight from mountainous regions, which have hitherto been considered inaccessible, but is being used in Germany for street car service.

THE MODERN REVIEW,
Pp 527-28, 1908

Indian Honesty In Trade

Mr. Meredith Townsend bears the following testimony to Indian honesty in trade :

"I myself received for ten years, scraps of tissue paper covered with unknown characters. I never knew one dishonored. I once asked the manager of the greatest European bank, who I knew was making great remittances in native cheques to Bombay, if he were not occasionally afraid of such paper. No more, he said, than I am afraid of Bank of England notes ! I may add that Asiatic bankers seem to have defeated forgery, and that they have devised a system of insurance for river traffic, called in India 'beema,' which works excellently well." (Meredith Townsend's Asia and Europe P. 8).

THE MODERN REVIEW
JANUARY—1908, P. 82

Patents For Inventions In India

Though Indians are not deficient in intellectual power, their bent of mind is not at present scientific and industrial. For this reason the number of Indians who invent new processes, mechanisms, instruments or apparatus is small, and so is the number of applications for patents made by them. Commerce wrote some time ago :

An examination of the specifications shows that the majority of the good and workable patents arrive from abroad, mostly from Great Britain and America, Indian applications too often being for trivial inventions.

This appears to be true. The following statement compiled from figures published in the Gazette of India, June, 5, 1920, shows the number of applications for patents from persons in India and abroad :

Year	Indians.	Other Residents in India.	Foreigners.	Total.
1910	62	137	468	667
1911	64	142	601	807
1912	50	120	508	678
1913	65	132	508	705
1914	56	117	415	588
1915	70	105	270	445
1916	61	105	276	442
1917	114	129	359	602
1918	77	155	412	644
1919	113	200	726	1,039

India And The World

Those who have known *The Modern Review* and of its contributions to the causes of progress and evolution, also know that after Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Keshub Chunder Sen and after such ambassadors of Indian thought and culture, *The Modern Review* has been the greatest and most consistent force which had helped to place India on the consciousness of the international community. It did more, it directed human thought, Indian as well as European, Asian as well as Occidental, towards the ideal of a universal humanity transcending all boundaries of race and culture, of religious differences and theological distinctions, of nationalism and empire. In this work *The Modern Review* most effectively collaborated with Rabindranath Tagore in endeavouring to realise his vision of *Viswa Bharati*.

But *The Modern Review*, no less than Ram Mohun, Vivekananda or Rabindranath, was never a supplicant at the doors of the international community. It always talked in a friendly manner, with a vigorous sense of self-respect and confidence induced by an enlightened sense of equality.

This compelled not merely mutual respect, but what was far more important, tolerance and understanding. Thus was born *The Modern Review's* close association with such world-famed savants as Romain Rolland, Winternitz, Noguchi, Tucci, and a host of such other famous representatives of the international community.

The two pieces included in this feature one, a letter by Rabindranath Tagore to an eager New Yorker and another authored by a thoughtful European for the columns of *The Modern Review* will show clearly how exchange of ideas slowly moulded into shape a real and living internationalism among intellectuals of different nations and cultural groups

The Problem Of India

1. THE NATIONAL ASPECT.

LET us first be clear about the exact nature of the Indian problem. Political institutions are after all, only a reflection of the national mind and of national conditions. What is the end? The end is freedom to live according to our own conception of what life should be, to pursue our own ideals, to develop our own civilization and to secure that unity of purpose which would distinguish us from the other nations of the world, insuring for us a position of independence and honour, of security from within and non-interference from without. We have no ambition to conquer and rule other peoples; we have no desire to exploit foreign markets; not even to impose our 'kultur' and our 'civilization' on others. At present we are counted among the backward peoples of the earth mainly because we are a subject people, governed by a foreign power, protected by foreign bayonets and schooled by foreign teachers. The condition of our masses is intellectually deplorable and economically miserable; our women are still in bondage and do not enjoy the freedom which has been won by their western sisters; our domestic masters the prince and priest are still in saddle; caste and privilege are still holding sway; yet it is not true that taken all in all we are really a backward people. Even in these matters we find that the difference between us and the 'advanced' nations of the world is one of degree only. Caste and privilege rule in the United States as much as in India. There is nothing in

our history which can be put on the same level as the lynching of the negroes, the lynching of Mr. Little, the deportation of Bisbee miners and other incidents of a similar nature [indicative of race hatred and deep-rooted colour prejudice. No nation in the world can claim an idealistic state of society, in which everything is of the best. On the other hand, there are certain matters in which comparison is to our advantage. Even with the advance of drunkenness under British rule we are yet a sober nation; our standards of personal and domestic hygiene are much higher than those of the western people; our standards of life much simpler and nobler; our social ideals more humane; and our spiritual hankerings infinitely superior. As a nation we do not believe in war or militarism or evangelism. We do not force our views on others; we have more toleration for other people's opinions and beliefs than any other nation in the world has; we have not yet acquired that craze for possessions and for sheer luxurious and riotous life which marks the modern pharisees of the West. Our people, according to their conceptions, means and opportunities are kindly, hospitable, gentle, lawabiding, mutually helpful, full of respect for others and peace-loving. It is in fact the existence of these qualities to an abnormal extent that has contributed to our political and economic exploitation by others.

In India capitalism and landlordism have not yet developed to the same extent as they have among the civilized nations of the West. The West is in revolt against capitalism and landlordism. We do not claim that before the advent of the British there was no capitalism or landlordism in India. But we do contend that though there was a certain amount of rivalry and competition between the different castes, within the castes there was much more co-operation and fellow-feeling than there has ever been in the West. Our native governments and their underlings the landlords did exact a high price from the village communities for the privilege of cultivating their lands, but within the village there was no inter-competition either between the tillers of the soil or between the pursuers of crafts. The gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked as it is to-day in the West.

Under the British rule since its introduction, however, things have considerably changed. Without adopting the best features of modern life, we have been forced by circumstances, political and economic, to give up the best of our own. Village communities have been destroyed; joint and corporate bargaining has given place to individual transactions; every bit of land has been separately measured, marked and taxed; common lands divided; the price of land has enormously risen and rents have gone up abnormally. The money-lender, who before the advent of British rule, had a comparatively subordinate position in the village community, has suddenly come to occupy the first place. He owns the best lands and the best houses and holds the bodies and souls of the agriculturists in mortgage. The villages which used to be generally homogeneous in population, bound to each other by ties of race, blood and religion, have become heterogeneous, with non-descript people of all kinds, all races and all religions who have

acquired land by purchase. Competition has taken the place of cooperation. A country where social cooperation and social solidarity reigned at least within villages and within urban areas has been entirely disrupted and disintegrated by unlimited and uncontrolled competition.

India never knew any poor laws; she never needed any, nor orphan asylums, nor old age pensions, nor widow homes. She had no use for organized charity. Rarely did any man die for want of food or clothing, except in famines. Hospitality was open and was dispensed under a sense of duty and obligation and not by way of charity or kindness. The survival of the fittest had no hold on our minds. We had no factories or workshops. People worked in their own homes or shops either with their own money or with money borrowed from the money-lender. The artisans were the masters of the goods they produced and unless otherwise agreed with the money-lender, sold them in the open market. The necessities of life, being cheap and easily procurable, the artisan cared more for quality than quantity. Their work was a source of pleasure and pride as well as of profit to them. Now everything has gone, pleasure, pride, as well as profit. Where profit has remained, pleasure and pride are gone.

We are on the high road to a 'distinctly industrial civilization'. In fact the principal complaint of our political reformers and free-trade economists is that the British Government has not let us proceed on that road, at a sufficiently rapid pace and that in doing so they have been dominated by their own national interests, more than by our own good. We saw that other nations were progressing by following the laws of industrial development, and quite naturally, we also wanted to prosper by the same method. This War has opened our eyes as it has opened those of the rest of the world and we have begun to feel that the goal that we were seeking so far led to perdition and not salvation. This makes it necessary for the Indian politicians and economists to review their ideas of political progress. What are we aiming at? Do we want to copy and emulate Europe even in its mistakes and blunder? Does the road to heaven lie through hell? Must we make a wreck of our ship and then try salvage? The civilization of Europe, as it was so far known, is dying. It may take decades or perhaps a century or more to die. But DIE IT MUST. This War has prepared a death-bed for it from which it will never rise. Upon its ruins is rising or will rise another civilization, which will reproduce, much of what was valuable and precious in our own with much of what we never had. The question that we want to put to our compatriots is, shall we prepare ourselves for the coming era, or shall we bury ourselves in the debris of the expiring one? We have no right to answer it for others, but our answer is clear and unequivocal. We will not be a party to any scheme which shall add to the powers of capitalist and the landlord and will introduce and accentuate the evils of the expiring industrial civilization into our beloved country.

We are not unaware that according to the judgment of some thinkers, amongst them Karl Marx, a country must pass through the capitalistic mill, before the proletariat comes to its own. We don't believe in the truth of this theory, but even if it be true

we will not consciously help in proving it to be true. The existing social order of Europe is vicious and immoral. It is worm eaten. It has the germs of plague, disease, death and destitution in it. It is in a state of decomposition. It is based on injustice, tyranny, oppression and class rule. Certain phases of it are inherent in our own system. Certain others we are borrowing from our masters, in order to make a complete mess. Wisdom and foresight require that we be forewarned. What we want and what we need, is not the power to implant in full force and in full vigour the expiring European system, but, power to keep out its further development, with opportunities of undoing the evil that has already been done, gradually and slowly, though assuredly and certainly.

The Government of India as at present constituted is a Government of capitalists and landlords, of both England and India. Under the proposed Reform scheme the power of the former will be reduced and that of the latter increased, the Indo-British Association does not like it, not because it loves the masses of India, for which it hypocritically and insincerely professes solicitude, but because in their judgment it reduces the profits of the British governing classes. We doubt if the scheme really does effect even that. But if it does, it is good so far.

The ugly feature of the scheme is not its potentiality in transferring the power into the hands of the Brahmins (the power of the Brahmins as such, is gone for good) but in the possibility of its giving too much power to the "profiteering" class. The scheme protects the European merchants, it confers special privileges on the small European Community, it provides special representation for the landlords, the Chambers of Commerce, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. What is left for the general tax-paying public is precious little. The authors of the scheme say it is in the interest of the general masses, the poor inarticulate ryot and the workingman that they would not give complete Home Rule at once. We wish we could believe in it. We wish it were true. Perhaps they mean it but our past experience does not justify our accepting it at its face value.

There is, however, one thing we can do. We can ask them for proofs by insisting for the immediate legislative relief of the ryot and the middle classes. We should adopt the aims of the British Labour Party as our own, start educating our people on those lines and formulate measures which will secure for them real freedom, and not the counterfeit coin which passes for it. It will require years of education and agitation but it has to be done, no matter whether we are ruled by the British or by our own propertyholders. We are not opposed to Home Rule. Nay, we press for it. In our judgment the objections urged for not giving it at once are flimsy and intangible. The chief obstacles are such as have been created or perpetuated by the British themselves. Caste does not prevent us from having as much home rule as is enjoyed by the people of Italy, Hungary, the Balkan States and some of the South American Republics. But if

we cannot have it at once and if the British must retain the power of final decision in their hands, we must insist upon something being immediately done not only to educate the ryot but to give him economic relief. So long as the British continue to refuse to do that, we must hold them responsible for all the misery that Indian humanity is suffering from.

We want political power in order to raise the intellectual and political status of our masses. We do not want to bolster up the classes, Our goal is real liberty equality and opportunity for all. We want to avoid, if possible, the evils of the class struggle. We will pass through the mill, if we have to, but we should like to try to avoid it. and it is for that purpose that we want freedom to legislate and freedom to determine our fiscal arrangements. That is our main purpose in our demand for home rule.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT,

We have so far discussed the Indian question from the internal or national point of view. But it has an international aspect also. It is said, and we hope it is true, that the the world is entering into an era of new internationalism and that the old exclusive chauvinistic nationalism is in its last gasps. This war was the greatest social mix-up known to history. It has brought about the downfall of four monarchs and the destruction of four empires. The armies of the belligerents on both sides contained the greatest assortment of races and languages that were ever brought together for mutual destruction. Primarily, a fight between the European Christians, it drew forth into its arena Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Shintos, Jews and Negroes of Africa and America.

The war has produced a revolution in Russia, the like of which was never known before. It is now being openly said that the Russian revolution had as much influence on the final debacle of the Allies and the resources of America. The Revolution has spread to Germany and Austria and threatens to engulf the whole of Europe. It has given birth to a new order of society aglow with the spirit of a new and elevated kind of internationalism. This internationalism must have for its foundation justice and self-determination for all peoples, regardless of race or religion, creed or color. The new international link between different nations must be supplied by co-operation, as against competition, and by mutual trust and helpfulness, in place of distrust and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. The only other alternatives are reaction, with the certainty of even greater wars in the near future, and Bolshevism.

Now, nobody knows what Bolshevism represents. The Socialists themselves are divided over it. The advanced wing is enthusiastic; the moderates are denouncing it. The Liberals and Radicals are free to recognise that it has brought about a new spirit into the affairs of men, which is going to stay and substantially influence the future of the world. The stand-patters denounce it in the strongest possible terms. They represent and calumniate it to their heart's content, call it by all sorts of names and are moving heaven and earth to exterminate it. But we feel that only radical changes in the existing order will stem its tide. The Socialists and Radicals want to make the most

of it, while the Imperialist Liberal and Conservatives want to give as little as is compatible with the safety of the existing order in which they are supreme. The struggle will take some time to end but that it shall end in favour of the new spirit no one doubts.

The only way to meet Bolshevism is to concede to the different peoples of the earth, now being bled and exploited, their rights. Otherwise the discontented and exploited countries of the earth will be the best breeding centers for it. India must come into its own soon or else not even the Himalayas can effectually bar the entry of Bolshevism into India. A contented, self-governed India may be proof against it; a discontented, dissatisfied, oppressed India would perhaps offer the most fertile field. We hope the British statesmen are alive to the situation.

But that is not the only way to look at the international importance of India. By its geographical situation, it is the connecting link between the Near East and the Far East, and the clearing house for the trade of the world. Racially, it holds the balance between the European Aryans and the yellow races. In any military conflict between the white and the yellow races, the people of India will be a decisive factor. In a conflict of peace they will be a harmonising element.

Racially, they are the kin of the Europeans. By religion and culture they are nearer the Chinese and Japanese:

With 70 million Moslems, India is the most important center of Mohammedan sentiment. With Christians as their present rulers the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are coming to realise that their best interests require a closing up of their ranks. There is no doubt that, come what may, their relations in future will be much more cordial, friendly and mutually sympathetic than they have been in the past. The Hindus will stand by their Mohammedan countrymen in all their efforts to revive the glory of Islam, and to regain for it political independence. There is no fear of a Pan-Islamic movement, if the new spirit of internationalism prevails. If, however, it does not, the Pan-Islamic movement might find a sympathetic soul in India. Islam is not dead. It cannot and will not die. The only way to make it a force of harmony and peace is to recognise its potentialities and to respect its susceptibilities. The political independence of Islamic countries is the basic foundation for such a state. We hope that the statesmen of the world will give their most earnest thought to the question and sincerely put into practice the principles they have been enunciating during the war. The case of India will be an acid test.

A happy India will make a valuable contribution to the evolution of a better and more improved humanity. An unhappy India will be a clog in the wheels of progress. It will not be easy for the masters of India to rule it on the old lines. If not reconciled it might prove the pivot of the next war. A happy India will be one of the brightest spots in the British Commonwealth. A discontented India will be a cause of standing shame and a source of never-ending trouble.

With a republican China in the northeast, a constitutional Persia in the north-west and a Bolshevik Russia in the not remote north, it will be extremely foolish to attempt to rule India despotically. Not even the gods can do it. It is not possible even if the legislature devotes all its sittings to the drafting and passing of one hundred coercion acts. The peace of the world, international harmony, and good-will, the good name of the British Commonwealth, the safety of the Empire as such demand the peaceful introduction and development of democracy in India.

The following remark of the NEW YORK TRIBUNE deserves the best consideration of the British statesmen :

It is an impressive, and, we might say, a somewhat startling reflection that two of the greatest members of the freest and most enlightened empire of the world are practically the only two countries in the world still governed by irresponsible autocracy. Even Russia and China have become at least theoretical democracies. Germany is at this moment organizing a republic, and Persia and Turkey profess to be constitutional monarchies; while India and Egypt alone remain under administrations not accountable to the people. That is of course not to say that they are not governed for the benefit of the people. We believe that they are, to a much greater extent than some countries which have nominally democratic governments. But that is not sufficient. Your benevolent despotism may be the best possible government; so long as your despot remains benevolent. But you have no assurance of any such perseverance of the saints.

Supreme wisdom was expressed in Lincoln's formula. The people were to be governed, not merely for the people, but also by the people, and not merely by the people, but also for the people.

LALPAT RAI
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The Problem Of India

One need not dive deep, it seems to me, to discover the problem of India ; it is so plainly evident on the surface. Our country is divided by numberless differences—physical, social, linguistic, religious ; and this obvious fact must be taken into account in any course which is destined to lead us into our own place among the nations who are building up the history of Man. The trite maxim “History repeats itself” is like most other sayings but half the truth. The conditions which have prevailed in India from a remote antiquity have guided its history along a particular channel, which does not and cannot coincide with the lines of evolution taken by other countries under different sets of influences. It would be a sad misreading of the lessons of the past to apply our energies to tread too closely in the footsteps of any other nation, however successful in its own career. I feel strongly that our country has been entrusted with a message which is not a mere echo of the living voices that resound from Western shores, and to be true to her trust she must realize the Divine purpose that has been manifest throughout her history ; she must become conscious of the situation she has been instrumental in creating—of its meaning and possibilities.

It has ever been India's lot to accept alien races as factors in her civilization. You know very well how the caste that proceeds from color takes elsewhere a most virulent form. I need not cite modern instances of the animosity which divides white men from negroes in your own country, and excludes Asiatics from European colo-

nies. When, however, the white-skinned Aryans on encountering the dark aboriginal races of India found themselves face to face with the same problem, the solution of which was either extermination, as has happened in America and Australia, or a modification in the social system of the superior race calculated to accommodate the inferior without the possibility of either friction or fusion, they chose the latter. Now the principle underlying this choice obviously involves mechanical arrangement and juxtaposition, not cohesion and amalgamation. By making very careful provision for the differences, it keeps them ever alive. Unfortunately, the principle once accepted inevitably grows deeper and deeper into the constitution of the race even after the stress of the original necessity ceases to exist.

Thus secure in her rigid system of seclusion, in the very process of inclusion, India in different periods of her history received with open arms the medley of races that poured in on her without any attempt at shutting out undesirable elements. I need not dwell at length on the evils of the resulting caste system. It cannot be denied, and this is a fact which foreign onlookers too often overlook, that it has served a very useful purpose in its day and has been even up to a late age, of immense protective benefit to India. It has largely contributed to the freedom from narrowness and intolerance which distinguishes the Hindu religion and has enabled races with widely different culture and even antagonistic social and religious usages and ideals to settle down peaceably side by side—a phenomenon which cannot fail to astonish Europeans, who, with comparatively less jarring elements, have struggled for ages to establish peace and harmony among themselves. But this very absence of struggle, developing into a ready acquiescence in any position assigned by the social system, has crushed individual manhood and has accustomed us for centuries not only to submit to every form of domination, but sometimes actually to venerate the power that holds us down. The assignment of the business of government almost entirely to the military class reacted upon the whole social organism by permanently excluding the rest of the people from all political co-operation, so that now it is hardly surprising to find the almost entire absence of any feeling of common interest, any sense of national responsibility, in the general consciousness of a people of whom as a whole it has seldom been any part of their pride, their honor, their dharma, to take thought or stand up for their country. This completeness of stratification, this utter submergence of the lower by the higher, this immutable and all-pervading system, has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people but has at the same time kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and re-adjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people, to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition. Whenever I realize the hypnotic hold which this gigantic system of cold blooded repression has taken on the minds of our people whose social body it has so completely entwined in its endless coils that the free expression of manhood even

under the direst necessity has become almost an impossibility, the only remedy that suggests itself to me and which even at the risk of uttering a truism I cannot but repeat, is—to educate them out of their trance.

I know I shall be told that foreign dominion is also one of the things not conducive to the free growth of manhood. But it must be remembered that with us foreign dominion is not an excrescence, the forcible extirpation of which will restore a condition of normal health and vigor. It has manifested itself as a political symptom of our social disease, and at present it has become necessary to us for effecting the dispersal of all internal obstructive agencies. For we have now come under the domination not of a dead system, but of a living power, which, while holding us under subjection, cannot fail to impart to us some of its own life. This vivifying warmth from outside is gradually making us conscious of our own vitality and the newly awakened life is making its way slowly, but surely, even through the barriers of caste.

The mechanical incompatibility and consequent friction between the American colonies and the parent country was completely done away with by means of a forcible severance. The external force which in the eighteenth-century France stood to divide class from class had only to be overcome by *vis major* to bring emancipation to a homogeneous people. But here in India are working deep-seated social forces, complex internal reactions, for in no other country under the sun has such a juxtaposition of races, ideas and religions occurred; and the great problem which from time immemorial India has undertaken to solve is what in the absence of a better name may be called the Race Problem. At the sacrifice of her own political welfare she has through long ages borne this great burden of heterogeneity, patiently working all the time to evolve out of these warring contradictions a great synthesis. Her first effort was spent in the arrangement of vast materials, and in this she had attained a perhaps somewhat dearly bought success. Now has come the time when she must begin to build and dead arrangement must gradually give way to living construction, organic growth. If at this stage vital help has come from the West even in the guise of an alien rule, India must submit—nay welcome it, for above all she must achieve her life's work.

She must take it as a significant fact in her history that when on the point of being overcome with a torpor that well-nigh caused her to forget the purpose of what she had accomplished, a rude shock of life should have thus burst in upon her reminding her of her mission and giving her strength to carry it on. It is now manifestly her destiny that East and West should find their meeting place in her ever hospitable bosom. The unification of the East which has been her splendid, if unconscious achievement, must now be consciously realized in order that the process may be continued with equal success and England's contribution thereto utilized to full advantage.

For us, there can be no question of blind revolution, but of steady and purposeful education. If to break up the feudal system and the tyrannical conventionalism of the

Latin Church which had outraged the healthier instincts of humanity, Europe had needed the thought-impetus of the Renaissance and the fierce struggle of the Reformation, do we not in a greater degree need an overwhelming influx of higher social ideals before a place can be found for true political thinking? Must we not have that greater vision of humanity which will impel us to shake off the fetters that shackle our individual life before we begin to dream of national freedom?

It must be kept in mind, however, that there never has been a time when India completely lost sight of the need of such reformation. In fact she had no other history but the history of this social education. In the earliest dawn of her civilisation there appeared amidst the fiercest conflict of races, factions and creeds, the genius of Ramchandra and Krishna introducing a new epoch of unification and tolerance and allaying the endless struggle of antagonism. India has ever since accepted them as the Divine will incarnate, because in their life and teachings her innermost truth has taken an immortal shape. Since then all the illustrious names of our country have been of those who came to bridge over the differences of colours and scriptures and to recognize all that is highest and best as the common heritage of Humanity. Such have been our Emperors Asoke and Akbar, our philosophers Shankara and Ramanuja, our spiritual masters Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, and others not less glorious because knit closer to us in time and perspective. They belong to various sects and castes, some of them of the very "lowest," but still they occupy the ever sacred seat of the guru, which is the greatest honour that India confers on her children. This shows that even in the darkest of her days the consciousness of her true power and purpose has never forsaken her,

The present unrest in India of which various accounts must have reached you, is to me one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Different causes are assigned and remedies proposed by those whose spheres of activity necessarily lead them to a narrow and one-sided view of the situations. From my seclusion it seems to me clear that it is not this or that measure, this or that instance of injustice or oppression, which is at the bottom. We have been on the whole comfortable with a comfort unknown for a long time, we have peace and protection and many of the opportunities for prosperity which these imply. Why then this anguish at heart? Because the contact of East and West has done its work and quickened the dormant life of our soul. We have begun to be dimly conscious of the value of the time we have allowed to accumulate, and are angry with ourselves. We have also begun to vaguely realize the failure of England to rise to the great occasion, and to miss more and more the invaluable co-operation which it was so clearly England's missions to offer. And so we are troubled which we know not yet how to name. How England can best be made to perceive that the mere establishment of the Pax Britannica cannot either justify or make possible her continued dominion, I have no idea; but of this I am sure that the sooner we come to our senses, and take up the broken thread of appointed task, the earlier will come the final consummation.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

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Our Metropolis

Rabindranath Tagore in one of his famous poems endeavours to visualize what the reactions of a reader might be, one hundred years after he had ceased to be. Projecting the mind into the future courses of history is no doubt a fascinating intellectual exercise. But the apparently colder process of historical narrative can be equally fascinating when it is related to the experiences and aspirations of our own lives and of our own times.

Calcutta, in the context of modern India, short though its history is, has a significance in Indian life which can never be rivalled by any other metropolitan City in India. It was here that the first seeds of the British-Indian empire germinated. It was here in Calcutta, again, that the first trumpet-call of the new Indian renaissance was sounded.

When the British decided to transfer the capital centre of their Indian empire from Calcutta to the centre of the *Seven Cities of Delhi* (they called it New Delhi when eventually they shifted their legislatures and their secretariates to their present site), they did so under a compulsion; the compulsion, that is, of traducing and minimizing the growth of a vigorous integrated Indian nationalism which was centred in Calcutta, which they hoped to do by minimizing the official status of the metropolis. But by doing so they were, perhaps not quite consciously, moving towards a confluence of the epochs in historical time, a meeting ground of widely divergent eras of history.

These are some of the fascinating thoughts that, long ago, fashioned part of the materials which made *The Modern Review* so symbolic of the culture of modern India which was, at the same time, in such deep harmony with a rich and variegated past.

Calcutta

We are still looking forward, as we write, to the session of the 22nd Indian National Congress in Calcutta during Christmas week next. During the same week the Indian National Social Conference, the Theistic Conference, the Ladies' Conference, the Temperance Conference and the Industrial Conference will hold their sittings. It is settled that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, our oldest and most revered and trusted leader, will be elected President of the Congress. The Theistic Conference will be Presided over by Principal R. Venkataratnam Naidu, M. A., L. T., of the Pittapur Rajah's College, Cocanada. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose is to Preside over the Social Conference. It is said that H. H. the Maharani of Cooch Behar will take the chair at the Ladies' Conference. Mr. Samuel Smith will occupy the Presidential chair at the Temperance Conference. At the Industrial Conference the inaugural address will be delivered by H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda, and the President will be the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey of Bombay. For several years past it has been the practice to hold an agricultural and industrial exhibition in connection with the Congress. This year the exhibition promises to be grander than in any previous year. The Hon'ble Mr. J. Chaudhuri is the honorary secretary to the Exhibition Committee.

So, for a week and more, Calcutta will be the centre of various forms of national activity and will have a very busy time of it. Unlike many other important Indian towns, it cannot boast of a hoary antiquity or a glorious past. Its importance is coeval with British rule in India.

Some Calcutta houses are connected with historical names. The house where Clive lived stood on the site of the Royal Exchange. Some are, however, of opinion that the building now occupied by Messrs. Graham & Co., was his residence. Warren Hastings' town-house, a small one stood on the site of the present Government House; but he had another house in Hastings, which was formerly occupied by Messrs. Burn & Co. The present official residence of the Magistrate of the 24-Pargannas was the Alipore residence of Sir Philip Francis, where he used to hold his weekly symposiums. According to the Rev. Mr. Long, Sir Elijah Impey lived in the very house which is now called the Nunnery, a third storey only having been added. It is situated at 7-1 Middleton Row. Sir Willam Jones lived in the New Court House, which, stood exactly on the site of the present High Court.

The Asiatic Society was founded by Sir Willam Jones, on January 15, 1784, during the administration of Warren Hastings, who was its first patron. The present building was erected about 1806, and subsequently enlarged in 1839. The Society established a private museum "for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history or to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East." Extensive collections of archaeological and natural objects were gradually brought together, which appeared so valuable that it was decided to approach the State, with the prayer to preserve them in a national building. The Government readily consented to erect an Imperial Museum in which the treasures of the Asiatic Society might be arranged and exhibited, together with the palaeontological and mineralogical collections of the Geological Survey of India. In the year 1866, the Indian Museum Act was passed and the Asiatic Society's Museum became the property of the Government of India. The building has since undergone extensive additions and alterations, and with its new wing for the art gallery, forms one of the largest, though perhaps not the most symmetrical or imposing, of Calcutta public edifices.

Unfortunately the Museum is visited for the most part only by sight-seers. Both the public and the Government of the country seem oblivious of the fact that a Museum is a scientific and educational institution. The Calcutta Museum, properly used, can be made the centre of much scientific and educational activity not only for grown-up persons but even for children, as has been admirably shown in a small book called "Hours with Nature." Indian Archaeology, Zoology, Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, & c., can be very well studied there. But unluckily these are the very subjects most neglected by our Universities, which are practically so many Government Departments. The economic products of India, which await only the hand of the native exploiter to make India a veritable El Dorado, are here brought together in great variety and abundance. But so far as their utility is concerned, they might as well not have been collected at all. Of the usefulness of an art gallery it is superfluous to speak again, as practically two articles in this issue are devoted to art.

Another Calcutta institution which is almost entirely given up to sight-seers is the "Zoo" at Alipore. Beyond the little Zoology that is taught in the Calcutta Medical College, in the whole of the area within the sphere of influence of the Calcutta University nowhere is there any provision for the teaching of Zoology. Yet India teems with animal life in variety and abundance probably unsurpassed anywhere else on earth. The oldest Sanskrit literature we possess shows that our ancestors were observers of animate existence. But considering the later metaphysical and "other-worldly" tendencies of our best men, one ceases to wonder that there are no Sanskrit or vernacular names for many weeds and other plants, as well as for many worms, insects and birds. Most of our educated men know Mr. A. O. Hume as a retired civilian interested in India's political advancement, but are not aware that there is a beautifully illustrated work written by him and Mr. Marshall entitled "Game birds of India, Burma and Ceylon." In this work, thirty-two birds have been described and enumerated which have no vernacular names !

It is best to speak in this connections of another suburban institution which possesses great scientific, educational and economical value, and can like the Zoological Gardens be used for the purpose of original scientific research. But botany is as much neglected in India as Zoology, Geology, & c.

The founding of the Botanic Garden in Calcutta was the beneficent act of a noble mind. Colonel Robert Kyd of the Honorable Company's Engineers was an ardent horticulturist, and had gathered together in his private garden at Shalimar, a large collection of exotic plants. Deeply sensible of the benefit of an institution which might be made a source of botanical information for the possession of the Company, and a centre to which exotic plants of economic interest could be imported for experimental purposes, Colonel Kyd suggested the desirability of forming a Botanic Garden in Calcutta. His suggestions having been adopted by the Honorable Court Of Directors, and practical effect having been given to it by the Government of India, he was appropriately appointed the first superintendent of the Botanical Garden, which was founded at his suggestion. The earliest efforts of Colonel Kyd were directed towards the introduction of the trees which yield nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper vines. It was however soon proved that the climate of Bengal is quite unsuited to these tropical species. The equatorial fruits, such as well as the temperate fruits of Europe were also tried with a similar result. It was thus demonstrated by practical experiment that certain natural products, many of them of a most desirable kind, cannot be grown in Bengal. Colonel Kyd also began the experiment of cultivating the teak tree, for the sake of its timber, then so invaluable for ship-building. But it became clear after an experience extending over a period of thirty-five years that although the tree to all outward appearance grows well on the alluvial soil of the delta of the Ganges, its stems early become hollow near the base, and therefore useless for yielding timber of sound quality, Colonel Kyd continued to perform the duties of superintendent of the Garden until his death in 1793."—(Hours with Nature.)

On his death, Dr. Roxburg, Dr. Francis Buchanan, Dr. Nathaniel Wallich, Dr. William Griffith, Dr. Hugh Falconer, Dr. Thomas Thomson, Dr. Thomas Anderson, Mr. C. B. Clarke, and Dr. George King, became successively superintendent of the Garden. The author of "Hours with Nature" has rightly observed: "For us Indians, the history of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta, and the short biographical sketches of the distinguished botanists directly connected with that institution, have a moral which may be expressed in the words of Gilbert White of Selborne recorded upwards of a century ago. 'The productions of vegetation have had a vast influence on the commerce of nations, and have been the great promoters of navigation, as may be seen in the articles of sugar, tea, tobacco, ginseng, betel, pepper, &c. As every climate has its peculiar produce, our natural wants bring mutual intercourse; so that by means of trade each distant part is supplied with the growth of every latitude. But, without the knowledge of plants and their culture, we must have been content with our hips and haws, without enjoying the delicate fruits of India and the salutiferous drugs of Peru.' We have many advantages, of soil, climate, vegetable and mineral productions; but powerless to use them for our good we chose to be 'content with hips and haws,' while the nation to which Gilbert White belonged has, since his days, rapidly grown in wealth, power and influence. The Tea plant must have been awaiting search and discovery in the inaccessible jungles of Assam for ages past; yet, it waited in vain until a Griffith with the magic power of knowledge made the jungle yield up its secret. Another botanist, as we have already seen, introduced the cultivation of Cinchona in India, which is now a source of revenue to the Government. Instances may be multiplied to show that the science of Botany has a much wider scope of usefulness than that of collecting, naming, and classifying plants. It has influenced the trade and commerce of the world."

But to come back to Calcutta edifices. The Ochterlony Monument situated in the Maidan is a memorial to General Sir David Ochterlony. It is 165 feet high, and commands from the top, a most magnificent view of the whole city; even Barrackpore, Dum Dum, &c., being visible therefrom. But the building does not possess any architectural beauty. It cost forty thousand rupees. The Town Hall stands on the northern side of the Maidan. It is in the Doric style of architecture and was erected in 1804 at a cost of £ 70,000. Lord Macaulay's house in Chowringhee is now the Bengal Club. One of the most picturesque buildings in Calcutta is Government House, the winter residence of the Viceroy. Its construction was commenced in 1797 at the instance of the Marquis of Wellesley. It was finished about the year 1804 at a cost of 13 lakhs of rupees. The design is in the main an adaptation of that of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, the ancestral seat of Lord Curzon.

The Maidan is adorned with many statues. The most important modern buildings of the town are: The High Court, the Writers Buildings, the Imperial Secretariat and Treasury Buildings, the New Custom House, the General Post Office, the Port Commissioner's Building, St. Paul's Cathedral, St. James Church, the Bank of Bengal, the Mint, the

Grand Hotel, the Asiatic Museum and Art Gallery, the Medical College Hospital with its adjuncts, the Senate House, the Sanskrit College, the Presidency College (where David Hare's statue ought to make the place one of pilgrimage), the Imperial Library, &c.

Some of the noteworthy houses belonging to Indian gentleman are : the Prasad and the Castle belonging to Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore, the late Maharaja Durga Charan Laha's house in Cornwallis Street, Raja Rajendra Mallik's palace at Chorebagan, the Dighapatiya Raja's house in Circular Road, Rani Rasmani's house in Corporation Street, Raja Digambar Mitra's house at Jhamapukur, the Temple of Paresnath at Gouriberh, the family residence of the Tagores at Jorasanko, Raja Srikrishna Mallik's house at Jorasanko ("the Normal School "), Raja Rammohan Roy's house in Amherst Street, Woodlands (H. H. The Maharaja of Kuch Behar's Alipore residence), &c. The Sukeas Street Thana, which belonged to Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen's ancestral house at Sankibhanga, and his own house at Upper Circular Road, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar's house at Badurbagan, Kristodas Pal's house at Chorebagan, &c., are also worth a visit for their biographical interest.

The Deaf and Dumb School on Upper Circular Road may not be a grand building, but the institution is worth a visit. Close by is Dr. J. C. Bose's house, where the sainted patriot Anandamohan Bose breathed his last. Near to it is Parsi Bagan house, now occupied by the Bengal Technical Institute. Next door are situated the laboratory and offices of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, a Swadeshi concern which had its birth before the days of the present Swadeshi agitation, and which should have a great future before it. The various Soap Factories and the Manicktolla Pottery may be seen by those who are industrially inclined. Along with the Deaf and Dumb school, the school for Blind Children at Elliott Road may be visited, as also the various homes and asylums for the infirm and the afflicted.

Fort William and the Kidderpore Docks should also be seen. The latter were taken in hand in 1884-85, and cost 287 lakhs.

The total population of Calcutta including the Fort, Port, Canals and the three suburban municipalities of Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktolla and Garden-reach, amounted to 949,144 on the night of 1st march, 1901. At the three previous censuses of 1872, 1881, and 1891 the figures for an equal area were 706, 511, 684, 710, and 765, 510 respectively. There has been an increase, therefore, in 30 years of 242, 633 persons, or 31.7 per cent. According to the last census, of the total population 624, 855 were males and 324,299 females. The high proportion of the male to the female element of the population has long been known to be a distinctive feature of Calcutta. The disparity in the numbers of the sexes is on the increase. The number of married males in the city amounts to 358, 336. On the other hand the number of such females is only 131, 816. It may be safely assumed that practically all married women in town have their husbands with them, and that the difference between the figures for married males and married females, viz., 226, 520, is

the number of husbands living in Calcutta without their wives. It is obvious, therefore, that in Calcutta there is not very much of family life. This can be explained mainly by the fact that the cost of living, and especially house-rent, is very much higher in Calcutta than in the mufassil. The poorer classes who come to Calcutta to earn a livelihood are very often compelled to leave their families behind them. Anyhow, this disparity does not make for a pure moral atmosphere. Another contributory cause which increases the disproportion is found in the fact that whereas a considerable number of boys and young men come to Calcutta for education, there is a comparatively small corresponding number of girls.

Hindus form the bulk of the population. Out of a total of 949, 144 persons in Calcutta and the suburbs. 615, 491 are Hindus, 286, 576 are Muhammadans and 38, 515 are Christians. In the town of Calcutta the Hindus form nearly 65 per cent, the Mussalmans rather less than 30 per cent., and the Christians slightly over 4 per cent, of the population, leaving only 1.01 per cent., to all other religions. Buddhists number 2,903, Jews 1,889, Brahmos 1,812, Jains 1,241, Parsees 290, Confucians 178, and Sikhs, 153. Hindus have increased 24.1 per cent. Since the last census, Mussalmans 23.01 per cent, Christians 30.79, Brahmos 154, Jainas 151, Parsees 75 and Jews 35 per cent.

The total number of Hindu castes mentioned in the Census Schedules is 180. Brahmins form by far the most numerous caste, being 88,610 in number, or one-seventh of the total Hindu population, and 9.9 per cent. of the entire population of Calcutta; Kayasthas make a good second with 71,757. Next to them at some distance come Kaibarttas, Subarnabaniks, Chamars, Goalas and Tantis.

The Muhammadans divide themselves into seven groups. The Sheikhs form an overwhelming majority, their number being 262, 087 out of a total of 286,576 Mussalmans. They form 91 per cent. of the Islamic population, and about 28 per cent. of the entire population of Calcutta. The Pathans are second in point of numbers, there being 14,531 of them. Saiyads and Moghuls number 7,586 and 1,799 respectively.

Besides Indian Christians, the Christian is divided into 46 nationalities. The Eurasians form the majority, numbering 14,663 or 37.8 per cent.

Jews and Eurasians are the only races in the town which have a female population more numerous than the male.

The age-tables show 36 per cent. of the Hindus and Muhammadans in Calcutta and its suburbs and above one-third of the Christians are between 20 and 35 years of age. The population below one year in each of these communities is considerably greater than that between one and two years, indicating a high rate of infant mortality in the town. This may certainly be ascribed in part to ignorance of hygienic methods of bringing up infants in a town, partly to the high price and bad quality of the milk commonly obtainable, and also in some measure, to the low vitality of infants born of childmothers. The percentage of

Hindus at the age periods 55 60 is 2·25, of Mussalmans 1·6 and Christians 2·8. In the period of 60 and over it is 4·8, 5·5, and 4·5 respectively ; proving that although a larger number of Muhammadans die between 55 and 60 than Hindus and Christians, that religion possesses more veterans of 60 and over in the town than either of the others. A few more Hindus are longer lived in Calcutta than Christians.

The ratio of the males to females for the whole population is very nearly 2: 1(1000 503). The ratio of unmarried males to unmarried females is a little less than 5: 2. The proportion of married to unmarried males is even greater. It will be observed, therefore, that the proportions of unmarried as well as married males to the corresponding representatives of the other sex are greater than the ratios of the sexes in the case of the total population. On the other hand, we have considerably more than three times as many widowed females as widowed males.

Up to the age of 5 there are 38 widowed persons, of whom only one is male. If marriages under the age of 15 in the case of either sex are, as they certainly ought to be, considered child marriages, the prevalence of this custom or otherwise in the principal religions is shown in the following table:-

Married and widowed under 15

	male.	Female.	Total.
Hindu	4,106	11,163	15,309
Mussalman	2,320	3,596	5,916
Christian	...	50	50

persons is as follows:

	male.	Female	Total.
Hindu	48·9	131·6	180·5
Mussalman	27·3	42·4	69·7
Christian ... ..	...	0·6	0·6

Among the three religions the percentage of married persons is greatest among Muhammadans, being 62, against 67 for Hindus and 32 for Christians.

There is a larger proportion of widowed persons among Hindus (15 per cent of the total Hindu population) than among the followers of any other religion. Muhammadans, Christians, Jains and others have about 9 per cent each. Of the 14 per cent of widowed Hindus, the greater part (11 per cent.) is female, owing doubtless to the injurious and unjust custom of enforced widowhood ; but on the other hand there are but few Hindu women above 15 who are unmarried. The figures give 3,063 unmarried Hindu females above the age of 15; 178 of these are above 60 years of age, being most probably women belonging to kulin Brahman families. Kahars and Chamars get their sons married earlier than all other castes. The lowest percentage of unmarried females are among Kaibarttas, Tantis, and Baisnabs.

There are 113 Hindu husbands and 127 Hindu wives below 5 years of age.

That after a century and a half of British rule, India is still practically an illiterate country is well known. But the illiteracy of the metropolis of the British Indian Empire is nevertheless remarkable. The number of the illiterate there is 724, 974. They form 76·4 per cent of the total population. Only 23·6 per cent., therefore, or less than one-fourth, can read and write. Of this percentage, 20·0 is male and 3·6 female. Of the total female population about one-tenth only (10·6 per cent.) is literate. The proportion of male literates is about three times as high (30·4 per cent.).

There are in Calcutta 124, 280 boys and 77, 284 girls between the ages of 6 and 20. Of these only 46,090 boys and 13,547 girls, or about 37 per cent. of boys and 17·5 per cent of girls, are literate. So in the metropolis of an enlightened and beneficent Government more than 60 per cent. of the boys and 80 per cent. of the girls of school-going age go without any education !

The distribution of the literate male and female population among the chief religions is as follows:—

				Male.	Female.
Hindu	...	...	...	35·5	9·7
Mussalman	...	...	...	16·5	2·9
Christian	...	...	...	82·3	69·8
Brahmo	...	...	...	66·4	53·1
Buddhist	...	...	...	41·3	15·9
Jew	...	...	...	65·7	44·8

Literate in English.

Hindu	...	...	..	14·4	·7
Mussalman	...	...	...	2·8	·1
Asiatic Christian	"	...	...	23·8	34·0
Brahmo	...	...	...	41·8	37·9
Buddhist	...	...	...	10	4·6
Jew	...	...	...	49	20·2

Of the 24·8 per cent. of literates in the town of Calcutta, 16·25 per cent. are literate in Bengali, 4·16 in Hindustani, 2·73 in English and 0·5 per cent. in Oriya, leaving not more than 1·1 per cent. for 36 other languages. Out of the 137,803 persons who are literate in Bengali, 80,900 or nearly 58·7 per cent. are literate in Bengali only, and 41·3 per cent. can read and write both Bengali and English. Of the number of literates in Hindustani 89 per cent. are literate in Hindustani only, and less than 11 per cent. are able to read and write English as well. Of the Oriya literates, 98 per cent are literate in Oriya alone and about 2 per cent are so in English as well. 2,819 females are literate in Bengali and English, 277 in English, and none in English and Oriya.

The following table also will be found interesting :

Speaking				Total number	Percentage of literates
Gujarati	...	...	...	2,026	76·5
Tamil	1,312	}	...	2,570	42·1
Telugu	1,258		...		
Arabic	...	...	...	602	79·5
Chinese	...	...	...	1693	40·7
Bengali	...	...	...	434,984	31·6
Hindi	...	...	...	318,635	11·1
Oriya	...	...	...	30,630	14·7
English	...	...	...	28,528	81·3
Urdu	...	...	...	24,424	14·1

The proportion of literacy is therefore very high among foreign traders and those hailing from the sister presidencies, i. e. broadly speaking from such regions as do not supply a labouring population.

The literacy of different Hindu castes is shown bellow:—

Percentage of literates.

Caste.	Males.	Females.
Baidya	... 70	29·1
Kayastha	... 61·2	26·0
Brahman	... 60·6	19·2
Sadgop	... 59·3	11
Sundi	... 52·0	4·7
Subarnabanik	... 51·9	8·1
Gandhabanik	... 51	6·2
Chhatri	... 40·4	5·1
Khatri	... 38·0	7·3
Teli	... 34·0	6·4
Tanti	... 33·6	6·7
Moirā	... 33·5	5·7
Napit	... 28·1	4·4
Kaibartta	... 27·1	4·5
Baisnab	... 26·9	4·5
Goala	... 22·0	4·3

A number of Brahmans in Calcutta speak Hindustani and Oriya. The percentage of literates among this class is very small. If the Bengali-speaking Brahmans could be separated from the others, the proportion of literates in the caste would be considerably increased. This is true also of Kayasthas to a small extent.

Coming to literacy in English, we find that the Vaidya males have a percentage of 47, Kayasthas 37, Brahmans 31. The inferiority of Brahmans is due to some extent to the large immigration of up-country and Oriya Brahmans. There are 49 castes in Calcutta, of which six have their total male population illiterate and seven, their whole female population in that condition. These castes are Baiti, Chunari, Kaibartta (Chasi and Jelia), Mal, Malo and Tatwa. The percentages of literacy among the Chamars, Dhobas, Hadis, Kaoras, Lalbegis, Muchis and Tiyars are 8·6, 6·4, 2·6, 2·4 5·2, 3·3 and 3·4 respectively. These facts show the "lower" castes are rising in the social scale.

The number of languages spoken in Calcutta is 57. Throughout Calcutta and the suburban municipalities Bengali spoken by nearly 5 lakhs of people and Hindustani by over 3½ lakhs. The total number of the Hindustani speaking people is 381,397, or 40·2 per cent. of the total population. As this is considerably larger than the population of Lucknow (264,049) which is the most populous of Hindustani cities, Calcutta may well claim to be the largest Hindustani-speaking city in India. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the whole of the United Provinces there are only 24,120 Bengalis, or nearly one-sixteenth of the number of Hindustani-speaking persons in Calcutta alone; in Bihar proper there are 12,519 Bengalis. There are 6,599 Panjabis; 2,805 come from Bombay, 1,919 from Madras, and 14,947 from Rajputana. There are 1,775 Chinese, 331 Afghans, 264 Persians 191 Arabs, and 163 immigrants from the Straights Settlements.

The total number of infirm persons is 1,916. 474 are insane, 335 deaf-mutes, 696 blind and 242 afflicted with leprosy. Although Mussalmans form only 29·8 per cent of the total population, nearly half the whole number of blind persons are Muhamadans. Then again, while 4·25 per cent. of the population is Christian, nearly a fifth part of the insane and a sixth part of the lepers are Christians. This is said to be due in great part to the fact that conversion to Christianity on the appearance of symptoms of leprosy, blindness &c., is of frequent occurrence. Among Mussalmans Moghuls have the largest number of insane, blind and deaf-mutes. Pathans, too, are very prominent in this respect. Englishmen and still more English women have a good number of insane persons in proportion to their total number. Among the Hindu castes, Kaoras contain the largest number of blind persons. Jugis contain many mad and blind persons; while Hadis stand foremost in respect of the proportion of lepers, and are the second Hindu caste for deaf-mutes.

Christians represent 20·6 per cent. of the learned and artistic professions, that is, about 5 times the amount due to them in proportion to their numerical ratio on the total population, and Hindus form about 69·3 per cent., just a little more than is their due, while the Muhamadans form only 15·7 per cent., or just about half as they should. It will therefore, be observed that the common notion that Hindus flock inordinately to these professions for a career is not borne out by the figures.

Hindus form the largest proportion (88·9 per cent.) of those who follow indefinite and disreputable professions, to which Mussalmans contribute only 10·2 per cent., and

Christians barely 0·3 per cent. That Hindu prostitutes should be so disproportionately large must be due in great part to enforced widowhood and to a much less extent to kulinism.

The Christian population takes the lead in the matter of superior Government posts with nearly 44 per cent. Hindus rank third and Mohammadans last.

The percentage of persons in the different castes who follow the traditional occupation of their castes is as follows ; Town Chunaris, 100 ; Dhais or Mussalman midwives, 100 ; Mussalman barbers, 100 ; Suburbs-Lalbegis, 100 ; Tatwas, 100 ; Dhoba, 87·5 ; Nikari Mussalman, fisherman, 85·7 ; Mallah, 84·6 ; Lalbegi, 84·4 ; Muchi, 68·6 per cent ; Hindu Lalbegi, 61·4 ; Mussalman Lalbegi, 84·4 ; Dom, 59·2 ; Kahar, 59 ; Tiyaar 58·7 ; Handi, 57·8 ; Sonar (Behari), 56·4 ; Guria, 55 ; Baiti 50. Town-Brahman, 13 : Kayastha, 30·4 : a very small proportion (6·2 per cent.) of the Tanti or weaver caste earn their livelihood by their traditional occupation : a clear proof of the competition of Manchester.

We have no space left to notice the many other interesting facts connected with the occupations of the people. But it is clear that it is neither character, nor education, nor occupation that determines a man's caste, but only the accident of birth.

The greater portion of this paper has been compiled or taken from the Census Report.

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Delhi— The Rome Of Asia

ANCIENT Delhi, the Mythical Capital of the Pandavas, probably stood on the site of the Fort of Indrapat, now known as the PURANA KILLA or Old Fort. The name Delhi is derived, in popular legend, from a Raja Dilu or Dilapa, a supposed contemporary of Vikramaditya. "As an historical city, Delhi dates only from the middle of the eleventh century when a Tomara chief, Anangapal, built the Lalkot or the Red Fort, where the Kutab Mosque now stands." A century later Visaladeva, the Chauhan King of Sambhar and Ajmere conquered Delhi from a descendant of Anangapal. Visaladeva "was a man of considerable distinction," and his name figures in the two inscriptions on Firoz Shah's pillar. Prithvi Raj, or Rai Pithora, his nephew, was perhaps the most famous king of the Chauhan line. He was the champion of the Rajputs against Islam. An account of his rivalry with the Kanauj Raja, Jayachchandra, culminating in his carrying off Sanyukta, has been furnished to us by Chand Bardai (the friend and courtpoet of Prithvi Raj) in the famous Hindi epic, PRITHVIRAJ RAISA. In 1191 he beat back an invasion of the Muhammadans led by Muhammad Ghori, who narrowly escaped with his life. In 1193 Muhammad Ghori came again to measure his strength with his old enemy. The Rajputs, led by their renowned chief, fought with desperate valour, but it was of no avail against the dashing charge of the hardy mountaineers of the West, Prithvi Raj was captured and put to death in cold blood. This battle took place at Narain, and is famous as marking the epoch of the Muhammadan conquest of India.

The victory of Narain was followed by the occupation of Delhi, where Kutubddin Aibak was left as Viceroy by Muhammad Ghori from 1193 to 1526 it remained under

the so-called Pathan Kings. Its new rulers adorned it with a number of massive edifices the ruins of which still excite the wonder and admiration of every traveller. The most notable of them are the Kutab Minar and the Great Mosque built by Kutubuddin; KASAR-I-HAZAR SATUN or Palace of a Thousand Pillars, erected by Alauddin, the Slave King; and the frowning fort of Tughlakabad built by Ghyasuddin Tughlak. Feroz Shah Tughlak built the city of Ferozabad and adorned it with two palaces called "Kushk-i-Ferozabad" and "Kushk-i-Shikar," or Hunting Palace. Feroz Shah's long reign witnessed the construction of numerous works of public utility, the most notable of which was the Jumna Canal, which flows through Delhi and now bears the name of the Western Jumna Canal.

MODERN DELHI : It is situated in the south-eastern corner of the Punjab, on the right bank of the Jamuna, "and is placed in a narrow plain between the river Jamuna and the northernmost spur of the Aravalli mountains." Modern Delhi, or Shahjahanabad as it is very often called, is the "most northern and most modern of a number of capitals and fortresses" constructed between 700 and 1650 A. D. They were :

(i) Siri (modern Shahpur), built by Alauddin Khilji in 1304 A. D., four miles south-west of Indrapat.

(ii) Tughlakabad, four miles south-east of Siri, built by Muhammad Tughlak Shah (1320 A. D.).

(iii) Old Delhi, or the Fort of Rai Pithora, the Delhi of the Pathan invaders. It contains the world famed Kutab Minar.

(iv) Jahanpanah or the World's Refuge, situated between Siri and Old Delhi (1330 A. D.)

(v) Ferozabad, built by Feroz Shah Tughlak (1360 A. D., two miles south of modern Delhi.)

(vi) Indrapat of Sher Shah and Dinpanah of Humayun (1540 A. D.), two miles south of modern Delhi.

Besides these there were two short-lived capitals at Kilokhiri and Mubarakabad, both south of the tomb of Humayun. Not the least trace of these two cities exists now.

The modern city was built by Shah Jahan about 1640; hence the name of Shahjahanabad. The present city extends about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles along the right bank of the Jamuna from the Water Bastion to the Wellesley Bastion in the south-east corner. It is surrounded by three walls on the north, west, and south, their total length being $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The CASHMERE GATE and the Mori or Drain GATE are situated in the north wall; the KABUL, LAHORE, FARASH KHANA, and AJMERE Gates in the west; and the TURKMAN and DELHI Gates in the south.

Shah Jahan, the prince of builders, the most magnificent of the Mogul Emperors, adorned his capital with a number of noble edifices which have struck the tourists of age after age with speechless wonder. The Lal Kila or citadel of Shah Jahan was begun in 1638, and was completed in 1648, It has two magnificent gateways to the west of the Lahore

Gate and the Delhi Gate. From the top of the Lahore Gate a fine view can be had of the Jumma Masjid, the white Jain temple and the Indian town. The gate leads to the Chandni Chauk.

The Palace of Delhi, situated on the edge of the Jamuna, "is a nearly regular parallelogram." It measures 1600 ft. east and west, by 3200 ft. north and south, and is encircled by a wall of red sandstone, "relieved at intervals by towers surmounted by Kiosks." The principal entrance, facing the Chandni Chauk, leads to the vaulted hall, "which forms the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace." At its inner end this hall opens into a courtyard 540 ft. by 360 ft. In front, at the entrance, is the NAKKAR KHANA or Music Hall, beyond which is the Dewan-i Am, or Hall of Public Audience, measuring 180 ft. by 160 ft. In the centre of the Dewan-i-Am is a superbly ornamental niche on a richly inlaid marble platform of which once stood the famous Peacock Throne. The Dewan-i Am is "open at three sides, and is supported by rows of red sandstone pillars, adorned with gilding and stucco-work. In the wall at the back is a staircase that leads up to the throne, raised about 10 ft. from the ground, and covered by a canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole being curiously inlaid with mosaic work. Behind the throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments. The whole of the wall behind the throne is covered with paintings and mosaic, in precious stones, of the most beautiful flowers, fruits, birds and beasts of Hindusthan. In front of the throne, and slightly raised above the floor of the hall, is a large slab of white marble, which was formerly richly inlaid with mosaic work" much of which has been restored by Lord Curzon after having been plundered and removed from India. In the arcade to the north side of the Dewan-i-Am was a gateway leading to a small court, from which another gate, called the Lal Purdah, or Red curtain, gave admission to the Jalan Khana or Abode of Splendour, in front of the Dewan-i-Khas. The King's bodyguard was stationed at the Lal Purdah from 1803 to 1857.

The Dewan i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, is about 100 yards to the east of the Dewan-i Am. It is a pavilion of white marble, and "If not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamental of all Shah Jahan's buildings." It is open on all sides and superbly ornamented with gold and pietra dura work. The ceiling, which was lined with silver, was carried off by the Mahrattas in 1760. Round the roof of this wall is written in gold the famous persian distich :

"If on earth be an Eden of bliss,
It is this, it is this, none but this."

At a small distance to the south stood the king's private apartments, called the Khwabgah, or Sleeping Room, the Tasbih Khana, or Private Chapel, and the Baithak, or Sitting Room. To the south also are the Mussamman Burj, also called Tilla Burj, or Octagonal Tower and the Rang Mahal, Painted Hall, one of the principal buildings of the Royal Zananah. "The ladies's apartments here are of white marble, beautifully inlaid bellow,

with fresco work above, and adorned with gilded scrolls." In the centre of the north wall of the Rang Mahal is a representation of the Mizan-i-Adal, or Scales of Justice. A marble water-channel from the Rang Mahal passes under the centre of the Khwabagh.

A little to the north of the Dewan-i-Khas are the Royal Baths, called the 'Akab Baths. They consists of three large chambers, paved with white marble, richly inlaid with pietra dura work, and surmounted by three white marble domes. Inside the Baths are streams and fountains of water, and tanks. Hence the whole of the Dewan-i-Khas buildings were sometimes called the Ghusal Khana. For a description of the Audience held by Shan Jahan at the height of Mughal grandeur, the reader must turn to Bernier's Travels.

MOSQUES : Opposite to these baths, to the west, is the Moti Masjid, or the Pearl Mosque, "an architectural gem of white and gray marble." It was the private mosque of the court and was built by Aurangzeb in 1664 at a cost of Rs, 160,000. The court of the mosque is 40 ft. by 35 ft. The mosque is divided into two aisles. The bronze door of the gateway is covered with designs in low relief, and the walls also are most delicately decorated in the same way. In the north walls is a covered passage by which the royal ladies enter the mosque.

The Sonahri Mosque stands at a little distance from the front of the Fort Gate. It was built by Jawid Khan in 1761. Jawid Khan was the confidential adviser of Kudsia Begam, mother of Emperor Ahmad Shah. He was murdered when Ahmad Shah was deposed and blinded by Ghulam Qadir. "The inscription on the mosque calls it the mosque of Bethlehem."

The Akbarabadi Mosque was situated between the Sonahri Mosque and the Fort Gate. It has been named after its builder Akbarabadi Begam, wife of Emperor Shah Jahan. It was removed after 1857.

The Sonala or Golden Mosque is so called from its three gilt domes. It was built in 1721 by Roshan-ud-daulah Jafar Khan, who was Bakhshi under Emperor Muhammad Shah. Here sat Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, during the massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi in March 1739.

The Jumma Masjid is supposed to be unrivalled as regards size. It is built of red sandstone mixed with white marble ; but this takes away, to a certain extent, from its elegance and purity of effect. It is adorned with two noble minarets which rise to the height of 130 ft. According to Fergusson "it is one of the few mosques, either in India or elsewhere, that is designed to produce a pleasing effect externally." "It is raised on a lofty basement, and its three gateways, combined with the four angle towers and the frontispiece and domes of the mosque itself, make up a design where all the parts are pleasingly subordinated to one another, but at the same time produce a whole of great variety and elegance. Its principal gateway is a marble portal." The gateways are crowned with galleries on the roof of which are fifteen marble domes, the spires being tipped with gold. "Above these are six fluted marble minarets with open arched chambers at the top, and surmounted with gilt pinnacles." The three gateways are approached by three

grand flights or steps. The massive doors are coated with brass arabesques half an inch thick, leading to a majestic quadrangle 400 ft. square, with a marble basin and fountain in the centre. The front or western covered hall of the mosque contains the pulpit and "Kiblagah" or prayer niche pointing towards Mecca. The mosque proper is 201 ft. long and 120 ft. broad. The Arabic inscription gives the date as 1658 A. D., the year of Shah Jahan's deposition by Aurangzeb. The mosque was completed in 6 years by 5,000 workmen. At the north eastern corner is a pavilion which contains some pretended relics of Muhammad. There is a Koran written in Kufik in the seventh century A. D., one written by the Imam Husain, another written by Imam Hasan; the Kafsh-i-Mubarak or the Slipper of the Prophet; Kadam ul-Mubarak or Foot-print of the Prophet, etc. The two minarets contain staircases; and a clear and magnificent view of the city can be had from the top, the Kutab, 11 miles away in the south, being visible.

The mosque is under the management of Committee appointed by Government subject to the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the District. It was repaired by Government some 70 or 80 years ago. Recently it has been successfully restored under Government supervision by means of donations from the Nawabs of Rampur and Bahawalpur.

The Fatehpuri Mosque at the western end of the Chandni Chauk was built in 1650 by Fatehpuri Begam, wife of Shah Jahan. It is made of red sand-stone and has two minarets 105 ft. high.

The Kala or Kalan Masjid, or Black Mosque is to the south of Delhi near the Turkman Gate. It is looked upon as one of the most perfect specimens of the age of Feroz Shah Tughlak. "On the outside, the building consists of two stories of which the lower, forming a kind of plinth to the actual place of worship, is 28 ft. high, the total height to the top of the battlements being 66 ft." The mosque is approached by a flight of steps and consists of a courtyard, surrounded by a simple arcade on three sides, supported by plain squared pillars of quartzose stone, with a dripstone over the arches, and by a mosque chamber on the west. The corner tower and outer walls are all sloped inwards; and the mosque has no minarets. On the left side of the road facing the mosque is the tomb of Turkman Shah, "a militant saint of the 1st period of Muhammadan conquest and settlement, who was styled the 'Sun of Devotees.' He died in 1240. but his memory has been kept alive by the Turkman Gate which has been named after him. A little to the north is a small enclosure which contains two graves. The larger one is supposed to be the last resting place of Rezia Begam, usually called Sultan Rezia, the first Empress of India.

The Chaubarji Mosque is "so called from the four domed corner rooms which once stood upon the raised platform." It belongs to the age Firoz Shah Tughlak. It probably stood outside Kushk-i-Shikar, or Country Palace of Feroz Shah.

The Delhi Municipal Hospital, called after Lord Dufferin, is on the east of the Jumma Masjid. From the Hospital the Dariba Bazar leads to the Chandni Chauk, upon which it formerly opened through the Khuni Durwazah, or the Bloody Gate, so

called from the terrible massacre which took place near it, under the orders of Nadir Shah. That portion of the Chandni Chauk which extends from the fort to the Dariba was originally known as the Urdu or military bazar. West of the Dariba, was the Phulki Mundi, or flower market, which extended as far as the Kotwali, followed by the Jauhri or Jewellers' Bazar and Chandni Chauk proper. The Chandni Chauk was the finest market in the East when Bernier visited it in 1655. It "contained the product of every country in the world, for here thronged the rich and the gay, here the 'wealth of Ind' changed hands."

The Mor Sarai, in Queen's Road, stands near the railway station. It was built by the Municipal Committee at a cost of Rs. 100,570. Indian travellers may take up their quarters here.

Close by are the Queen's Gardens, formerly called the Begam's gardens. They face the railway stations on the north and have the Chandni Chauk on the south. In them a huge stone elephant stands on a raised platform, which has an inscription on it stating that it was brought from Gwalior, and set up by Emperor Shah Jahan outside the south gate of his new palace (1645).

The Northbrook Clock Tower stands on the site of the Caravan Sarai of the Princess Jahanara Begam, also called Padishah Begam, the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan. The Sarai "was considered by Bernier one of the finest buildings in Delhi and was compared by him with the Palais Royal, because of its arcades below and rooms with a gallery in front above."

Outside the Cashmere Gate, and about 300 yards to the north of the city are the pretty Kudsia Gardens on the bank of the Jamuna. These were constructed by Kudsia Begam, mother of Emperor Ahmad Shah. The walls which once surrounded the gardens have been removed for the most part, but the fine though ruined gateway still remains. A pretty mosque stands near the south east corner of the public recreation grounds.

The Jain or Saraogi Temple of Delhi is about 200 yards to the north-west of the Jumma Masjid and stands upon a highwalled platform. It has a small marble court "surrounded by a stucco colonnade in front of the temple proper."

The ceiling and walls of the temple are elaborately gilded, and are supported by two rows of small marble columns. In the centre is a "pyramidal platform in three tiers," on which has been placed a small figure of (Mahavira) "seated beneath an elaborate ivory canopy." The porch of the temple is elegantly decorated. "The exquisite device of filling in the back of the struts which support the architrave beneath the dome with foliated tracery" has been specially commended by Fergusson.

SIGHTS AROUND DELHI :

THE CITY OF FIROZABAD :—It extended in the west to the Kalan Musjid and probably spread two miles north and south. The citadel called the Kohtila of Firoz Shah stood on the bank of the Jumna. The city contains the Pillar of Asoka

and Firoz Shah's Juma Masjid. The Kohtila or fortress was also called the Kushk-i-Shikar, or Hunting Palace. Its three stories diminish in area as they rise.

The Lat or Pillar of Asoka was erected on the top of a building in the Kohtila. It is broken at the top. Cunningham calls it the Delhi-Siwalik Pillar, as it was brought from Tophar at the foot of the Siwalik Hills (near Umballa). It is a monolith of pink sandstone. Firoz Shah caused it to be removed from Tophar to Delhi at a considerable cost, and with great ingenuity and patience. When it was set up, the top was ornamented with friezes of black and white stone surmounted by a Kalas or gilded copper cupola. From this it received the name of Minar-i-Zarin or Golden Minaret. The pillar is 9 ft. 4 in. round at the base, and 6 ft. 6 in. at the top. Its height above the Platform is 37 ft. The four Pali inscriptions of Asoka prohibiting the taking of life, date from the middle of the third century B.C., and "are among the oldest existing records of India." Firoz Shah assembled all the learned men of the day to decipher the inscriptions, but they failed. Ziauddin Barni records a very funny incident in this connexion. "Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them, stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Firoz." Besides this, there are two other inscriptions of the Chauhan Prince, Visala Deva. One is two and a half feet above the Buddhist record, and the other is immediately below it. Both are dated 1220 Samvat, or 1164 A.D. The other inscriptions on it are of little interest.

Another pillar of Asoka stands on the Ridge, about 200 yds. to the south of Hindu Rao's House. From a tablet on the pedestal we learn that this pillar was originally erected at Meerut, in the third century B.C. by king Asoka. It was removed from this place to Delhi by Firoz Shah in 1356 A.D., and placed in the Kushk-i-Shikar Palace. It is called the Delhi-Meerut Pillar to distinguish it from the Lat in the Kohtila. It was thrown down and broken into five pieces by an explosion early in the eighteenth century. It was set upon the Ridge by the British Government in 1867.

The Jumma Masjid of Firoz Shah "consisted of arcades of several rows of arches round an open central court. In the centre of the court was a sunken octagonal structure round which was incised the record of Firoz Shah's reign, and more particularly, of the public works executed by him. On December 31, 1398, Timur halted here "for the purpose of devotions" on his way from Delhi to Meerut. Near about this mosque Emperor Alamgir II was murdered in 1761.

The Idgah is west of the city about a mile from the walls. Behind it to the south is the Dargah of the Kadam Sharif or Holy Footprint (also called Farash Khana) which contains the tomb of Prince Fateh Khan, built by his father Firoz Shah in 1375. The sacred imprint is said to have been sent to Firoz Shah by the Khalifa of Bagdad. It is placed on the grave of the prince in a trough of water. Hard by is the Mausoleum and College of Ghaziuddin Khan, eldest son of the first Nizamul-Mulk of Hyderabad. "The

courtyard is surrounded on three sides by a double tier of chambers for students." "On the west side the mosque, built of very deep coloured red sandstone, and with very rounded domes, fills the centre, and the south of it is the grave of the founder, enclosed by a beautiful pierced screen of fawn coloured stone, with doors elaborately carved with flowers."

Indrapat, or Purana Killa (old Fort) is two miles south of the Delhi Gate. It was built on the site of the mythical Indraprastha by Emperors Sher Shah and Humayun. The Lal Durwazah, or the Red-Gate, a beautiful "gate-way of stone and red sandstone, formed the north-gate of the Delhi of Sher Shah (1540 A.D.). The fort was repaired by Humayun who changed its name to Dinpanah (Asylum of the Faith). The walls of the Old Fort are in ruins for the most part. The south gate of Purana Killa leads northwards to the back of the Mosque of Sher Shah, called the Killa Kohna Mosque. The facade of the Mosque is about 150 ft. long, and is "the most striking bit of coloured decoration at Delhi." It is built of very deep red sandstone, inlaid with marble and slate, "and covered with inscriptions, texts from the Koran in the Nashk and Kufik characters." The pendentives below the dome are marvels of calligraphy." The octagonal pavilions in the angle towers at the back of the mosque are superbly ornamented. To the south is the Sher Mandal and octagonal building of red sandstone 70 ft. high. In 1556 A. D. Humayun fell down the stair-case of it and died of his injuries a few days afterwards.

TOMBS : The tomb of Humayun is about one mile south of Purana Killa. It is reached through two gateways, the first of which is built of red sandstone. On the left side of the second door is a placard which says that the tomb was built by Hamidah Bano Begam, also called Haji Begum, wife of Humayun, It took sixteen years to build, and cost fifteen lakhs of rupees. Haji Begum lies buried in the north-east corner of the building. It also contains the graves of the hapless Dara Shukoh, and of the Emperors Jahandar Shah, Farruk Siyar and Alamgir II. The mausoleum stands upon a raised platform. It has a large central octagon, surmounted by a dome with octagonal towers of unequal sides at the angles. The plan of this building has been adopted at the Taj, but the former wants the "depth and poetry" of that "dream in marble." "It is, however, a noble tomb, and anywhere else must be considered a wonder." Humayun's cenotaph which bears no inscription is of white marble. When Delhi was stormed by the British troops in 1857, Bahadur Shah took refuge here, and then surrendered to Major Hodson.

The Mausoleum of Nawab Safdar Jung is six miles from the city, and five miles from the Kutab Minar. He was wazir to the Emperor Ahmad Shah. He engaged in a war with the Rohillas and was defeated in a great battle (1753). He died in 1753, and this mausoleum was erected by his son Shujah-ud-daulah at a cost of three lakhs of rupees. It is built of red sandstone and stucco. It is about a hundred feet square. The general arrangement of the tomb is like that of the Mausoleum of the Taj.

The Kutab Minar, with the Mosque of Quwwat-ul-Islam and other buildings around it, is about eleven miles from the Ajmere Gate. The site of the Minar is supposed to be the

original Hindu city of Delhi, probably the Fort of Lalkot built by Anangapal II (1052 A. D.). The mosque (Quwwat-ul-Islam) and the buildings are the work of Kutab-ud-din Aibak and Altamash of the Slave Dynasty and Ala-uddin Khilji. Kutabuddin built the innermost court of the mosque and the screen of arches facing the west of the court; Altamash completed the Kutab Minar and added the outer arches of the screen north and south of those of Kutab-ud-din; and Alaudin Khilji built the handsome Alai Darwazah almost under the Kutab Minar, extended the south corridor (built by Altamash) east and north, and carried the screen of arches further north.

The Kutab Minar looks like a tower of victory. The popular legend is that it was built by Prithvi Raj, that his daughter might view the Jamuna from its top. The theory now accepted by scholars is that the Minar derives its name from the saint named Shah Qutb-i-din (the Polestar of the Faith). Cunningham has conclusively proved that it is entirely of Muhammadan origin. The basement story was begun by Kutab-ud-din. The Minar "rises in a succession of five stories marked by corbelled balconies and decorated with bands of inscription." The inscriptions mention the names of the first King of Delhi, Muhammad Ghori, Altamash, Feroz Shah and Sikandar Lodi. "The three first are of red sandstone with semicircular and angular flutings." The two upper stories were almost entirely rebuilt in 1368 A. D. by Feroz Shah, who also added a cupola. It was again restored by Sikandar Lodi in 1503. The Minar was seriously injured and Feroz Shah's cupola thrown down by the earthquake of August 31, 1803. It was restored by the Government in 1829, and an entirely new cupola (designed by Captain Smith R. E.) was erected, but it has been removed since. The height of the Minar is 238 ft. The diameter of the base is 47 ft. 3 in. and that of the top about 9 ft. There are three hundred and seventy-nine steps leading to the top. A fine and extensive view can be had from the top.

The Mosque of Quwwat-ul-Islam or Might of Islam, was begun by Kutab-ud-din immediately after the capture of Delhi by the Muhammadans. A long inscription over the inner arch-way of the eastern entrance says that it was built by Kutab-ud-din.

It occupies the platform on which once stood Prithvi Raj's Hindu Temple, pulled down by the Muhammadans. It is mentioned in the inscription that the materials of the mosque were obtained from the demolition of twenty-seven "idolatrous temples." A large cloistered court in the south was added by Altamash, and Alauddin built a large court further east, entered by the Alai Darwazah. The main entrance of the mosque leads to the courtyard (142 ft. x 108 ft.), which is surrounded by cloisters formed of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain pillars placed upon one another. The glory of the mosque consists in "the great range of arches on western side, extending north and south for about 385 ft. and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches, the central one being twenty two feet wide and fifty-three feet high." (Fergusson). The mosque is unrivalled for "the graceful beauty of the flowered tracery which covers its walls." Ibn Batutta, the celebrated African traveller who visited the mosque a hundred and fifty years after its erection wrote

"It is very large, and in beauty and extent has no equal." The Hindus sometime call it the Thakurdwara and Chausath Khamba, of the Sixty-four Pillared. The Iron Pillar in the court of the mosque is "one of the most interesting memorials of Hindu supremacy in all India." It is a solid shaft of wrought iron 23 ft. 8 in. high, the diameter is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. On it is incised the eulogy of Chandra Gupta II, surnamed Vikramaditya, of the Gupta Dynasty (who reigned from 375 to 413 A. D.) From it we learn that "when warring in the Vanga countries, he breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him." "The same document is the only authority for the fact that he crossed the 'seven mouths of the Indus' and vanquished in battle a nation called Vahluka, which apparently occupied part of the Punjab." Anangapal, the Tomara King, removed it from its original position probably at Mathura, and set it up in 1052 A. D. as an adjunct to a group of temples, from the materials of which the Muhammadans afterwards constructed the great mosque (V. A. Smith).

The Tomb of Altamash (dated 1235 A. d.) behind the north-west corner of the mosque, is built of red sandstone. The interior is profusely decorated with carving, and inscribed with beautifully written passages of the Koran. "It is interesting as being the oldest tomb known to exist in India" (Fergusson).

The Alai Darwazah "is one of the most beautiful specimens of external polychromatic decoration not merely in India, but in the whole world. It is a square building of red sandstone, richly decorated with patterns in low relief. The carving of the interior is simple, magnificent and unrivalled.

The Tomb of Inam Muhammad Ali (of Meshhed) called Imam Zamin (dated 1537) is to the east. It is a pretty building of red sandstone, eighteen feet square.

The Alai Minar, about 140 yds. north of the Kutab Minar is built of large rough stones, "put in anyhow." It is 87 ft. high above the level ground. When complete it would have been five hundred feet high. Alauddin stopped the building probably in 1312.

Metcalf House, about a quarter mile from the Kutab Minar, was the tomb of Muhammad Kuli Khan, foster-brother to Akbar.

The Tomb of Adham Khan is southwest of the Qutb. Adham was put to death by Emperor Akbar for killing the latter's fosterbrother. He was thrown down the terrace of a lofty building.

The observatory of Jay Sinha II, the astronomer King of Jaypur, is about five miles from the Kutab. It is popularly called the Jantar Mantar. It was constructed in 1724 A.D. The great equatorial dial, named the Samrat Yantra, still exists. The whole building is now in ruins. The Jaipur State intends to restore it thoroughly, as also the same "King's Observatory at Benares."

The reservoir of Hauz-i-khas was constructed by Alauddin Khilji in 1293 A.D. It is two miles north of the Kutab. In 1354 it was cleared out and repaired by Feroz Shah, who built a college near it.

The Tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya is about a mile from Purana Killa. There are many other tombs and sacred buildings round it. Thirty yards from it is the Chausath Khambhe, the Tomb of Aziz Kokaltash, fosterbrother to Emperor Akbar. The cenotaph of Aziz bears the date 1623 A. D. West of Chausath Khambhe there is an enclosure containing the Dargah of Nizamuddin. The tomb of Amir Khusru the poet is worthy of notice. His real name was Abu-al-Hasan, and the sweetness of his poetry won for him the title of Tuti-i Hind, Nightingale of Hindusthan." He flourished in the reign of Alauddin Khilji, and died in 1315. North of the tomb of Khusru is a tall white marble slab inscribed with the Moslem creed and eighteen Persian couplets. Close by is the tomb of Mirza Jahangir, son of Emperor Akbar II. On the left of the entrance to the enclosure is the tomb of Emperor Muhammad Shah I (1712-1748). To the south is the tomb of Jahanara, daughter of Shah Jahan and companion of his captivity. The headstone of the tomb bears a Persian inscription supposed to have been written by the Princess herself: "Let nothing but green grass cover my grave: grass is the best covering of the grave of the meek." Ali Gauhar Mirza, son of Shah Alam II lies buried on the left of this tomb, and Jamila Nisa, daughter of Akbar II, on the right,

Nizamuddin was the greatest of the Chisti saints. His tomb is of white marble. On the north is a well, 39 ft. deep, blessed by the saint, so that no one diving in it is drowned. Men and boys jump into it from a height of 50 ft. for a few pice of buckshish from tourists.

The fort and city of Tughlakabad is more than four miles to the east of the Kutab. The fort has thirteen gates and contains seven tanks and the ruins of the Jumma Masjid and the Brij Mandir. It was commenced in 1321 and finished in 1328 A.D. The tomb of Tughlak Shah, in the midst of an artificial lake, and "surrounded by a pentagonal outwork," communicates with the fort by a causeway 600 ft. long. Inside are the cenotaphs of Tughlak Shah, his Queen, and their son Juna Khan, afterwards Tughlak. A causeway runs to Adilabad, the fort of Muhammad Tughlak.

DELHI IN 1857: The Mutiny at Delhi was the direct outcome of the revolt of the Sepoys at Meerut. On the evening of May 10th, 1857, the 3rd Native Cavalry, and the 11th and 20th Sepoy Infantry Regiments revolted at Meerut, set fire to the houses of their European officers, and fled to Delhi, where the Native Cavalry cut down the Europeans, they came across, and then made their way to the Fort, and induced the 38th Native Infantry to rise. The Church was destroyed and all Christians met with put to death. The 54th Native Infantry next joined the 38th, and allowed their officers to be shot down. Major Abbot with the 74th Native Infantry failed to make any impression on the rebels; and Delhi, with its fortified palace and strong city wall, was left in their hands.

Instantly measures were taken to concentrate the European troops and loyal Native Regiments upon Delhi. The Karnal and Meerut Brigades under Sir H. Barnard defeated the rebels at Badli-ki-Sarai, and the British gained possession of "the Ridge" whence they directed all operations against Delhi. Strong picquets supported by guns were established

at Hindu Rao's House, the adjacent (small) observatory and the Flag Staff Tower, and at all points open to attack. Between the 12th and 18th June the British positions were attacked by the mutineers four times, in front and rear; and again on the 23rd. On the 14th of July fierce lightings took place near Hindu Rao's House.

General Nicholson's column from the Punjab arrived on 14th August. The mutineers were utterly routed at Najafgarh, whither they had gone to intercept a siege train coming from Ferozepur. The English being now in sufficient force, it was thought necessary to concentrate "all the breaching power on a portion of the walls." The Mori, Cashmere and Water Bastions were selected for a frontal attack. Light and heavy batteries were constructed to storm the enemy's positions. On the 11th September the walls of Delhi began to give way, "and whole yards of parapets came down." On the 12th September the Water Bastion was "pounded into ruins." On the 13th the breaches were declared practicable. On the 14th four columns advanced to the attack. Nicholson gave orders to storm the breach near the Cashmere Bastion. The 1st and 2nd columns ascended the glacis. The rebels opened a murderous fire, but the columns persevered; and Nicholson mounted the wall, and breach was carried and the 1st column posted itself at the Main Guard. The 2nd column cleared the ramparts to the Mori Bastion, and then took the Kabul Gate. From the Lahore Gate the rebel guns played havoc in the British ranks. Nicholson fell in an attempt to storm this Gate.

The 3rd column was to enter Delhi through the Cashmere Gate, which was to be blown open. The explosion party coolly laid and adjusted the powder bags in the teeth of a hot fire of musketry. The hose was fired but not before several brave men had been killed, and the Cashmere Gate was shattered, and the 3rd column marched through it. The walls of Delhi were won and the whole city was pacified after six days' severe street fighting. On the 21st Emperor Bahadur Shah II was captured, and subsequently deported to Rangoon. Two of his sons and a grandson were also captured and shot by Hodson, and their bodies exposed for 24 hours in front of the Kotwali.

The Mutiny Memorial "was erected to commemorate the events of the siege, the names of the regiments and batteries who served in it, and of the officers who died in the performance of their duty." It is an octagonal Gothic Spire, standing on three gradually diminishing platforms. To the north of the Ridge is the plain of Bawari, the scene of the Durbar of January 1st, 1877, and of the Coronation Durbar of January 1st, 1903.

B. C. M.

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People And The Country —Hundred Years Ago

"THE Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings," Earl of Moira, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the East India Company's possession in India from 1813 to 1823, is an extremely interesting book. The Journal was kept for five years, from 1814 to 1818, to and contains many illuminating glimpses into the state of the country and of its people just a century ago. The three great campaigns in which Lord Hastings took part are the Nepalese War, the Pindari War, and the last Marhatta War, as the result of which the Peshwa Baji Rao was compelled to surrender and was kept in captivity at Bithur on a pension of eight lakhs of rupees per annum, and the Marhatta confederacy was broken up for ever. Lord Hastings also entered into treaty alliances with the Rajput States, and broke the back of the Marhatta powers of Central India, and Nagpore was brought under British suzerainty during his regime. "Henceforth," says a school history, "the British became the acknowledged masters of India, and there remained no other power, either European or native, to question their dominant authority." The East India Company acknowledged their sense of Lord Hastings' services by bestowing on his family two grants of money, in sums of £60,000 and £20,000 respectively.

A perusal of the book reveals to us at a glance why Great Britain became the master of India, and how the princes and peoples of India came to be placed under the yoke of the foreigners from beyond the seas. On the one side were hopeless incompetency and degeneration, dense ignorance, absence of high principles and noble conduct, disruption

disunion, and treachery, and on the other great foresight guided by accurate scientific knowledge, a consistent and comprehensive policy controlled by enlightened selfishness and a power of concerted action and a patriotic zeal altogether new to the country. Lord Hastings, as disclosed in his journal, is a noble man of highly polished manners and of generous and upright character, concealing the mailed fist under a silken glove, highly observant, cool and collected, taking note of everything, but keeping his own counsel, and dealing by everybody according to his deserts. The natural history of the country its flora and fauna, the manners and customs of the people, their history, civilisation and religion, as well as the high politics in which he played so successful and distinguished a part, all alike engaged his attention. Nothing was too great or too small to attract his notice. The accounts of his two journeys, one of which was a tour of inspection and the other military campaign, in the course of which he undertook a long excursion by boat up the Ganges to the confines of the kingdom of Delhi, and thence visited Hardwar at the foot of the hills and returned via Lucknow and Agra in one trip, and through Rajputana, Muttra and Brindaban in the other, occupy the greater part of the volume. Lucknow was then the capital of the Nawab Vizier, who was styled as His Excellency, being nominally the representative of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi. But it was part of Hastings' policy to treat him as an independent sovereign and thus to extinguish any pretensions to preeminence over all other sovereign powers in India, the Company included, which was claimed by the Court of Delhi, 'The journal contains a vivid account of the Court of Lucknow, which was in alliance with the Company represented by a resident, Major Baillie, who dictated to the Nawab Vizier in the merest trifles, and dominated him to such an extent as to prevent him from setting up a Nahabat at his palace. Lord Hastings believed that some sort of intimidation was practised, but he observes: "if the power which Major Baillie possesses over the Vizier's mind be exerted beneficially for the furtherance of public affairs, I have no call to make objections." The influence of Major Baillie was certainly beneficial to the Company. The Nawab offered a present of a crore of rupees, which Lord Hastings took as a loan. He says in the Journal—

"Nothing could be more opportune, for this command of ready cash emancipated the Government from many urgent financial difficulties."

The principal of this debt was repaid in the following way: The Nawab had set his heart upon acquiring the district of Khairagar, between the dominions of the Vizier and the Gurkha territories, which was famous for tiger-hunting. 'The district is of no benefit to us...The possession is...a trouble to us, and makes little return to the treasury.'

"I conceived the Vizier might be well inclined to wipe off one crore from the debt which we had recently incurred towards him. The minister said that he had no doubt of the Vizier's cheerful acquiescence. If I can accomplish this arrangement, it will be a prodigious point gained for the Company."

The treaty was shortly afterwards signed on the above terms, and secured the Nawab of Oudh a shooting preserve for one crore of rupees.

The Governor-General's camp consisted of 10,000 men, a bazaar was attached to the camp, and all trades, even working jewellers, were to be found in the camp. The principal barges of the fleet were the Sonamukhee and the Fulchhari, used by the Marquis and his wife, Lady Loudoun, (who in the courtly language of the Period, is always styled as such, and never as wife, even in the noble Marquis's private journal). Many were the accidents that attended the fleet and the camp. Several of the boats capsized, for the tour was undertaken during the monsoons, when the current is strong and storms are frequent, and there were several casualties from drowning. Occasionally an elephant would run amuck, and cause great devastation in the camp. In November 1817, the General's camp was decimated by a pestilence. 'It is a sort of cholera morbus' then evidently an unfamiliar disease. Even Lord Hastings did not know that its germs were carried by water, for he says :

"There is an opinion that the water of tanks...may be unwholesome and add to the disease. I do not think there is anything in the supposition, yet the feelings of the men should be consulted."...It is ascertained that above five hundred have died since sunset yesterday evening. 'Numbers of dead and dying camp followers met the eye in every direction.'

The medicine used was a mixture of laudanum, spirit of hartshorn, and camphor, properly diluted with water. It appeared to do no good, and 'many deaths have taken place among the Europeans and sepoys last night.' 'The numbers sent to the hospitals are great.' 'Despondency seems to invite the infection, confidence, on the other hand, is not a security, for I have seen several persons fall, suddenly struck, while they were walking and conversing with cheerful vigor. Some of them died in a few minutes, before assistance could be procured. Even the Governor General, in spite of his vigorous constitution, did not escape scot-free. 'For three days I had repeated sensations of giddiness with faint sickness...I believe few persons have escaped without some little indisposition. By and by however the pestilence abated, and normal life was resumed. "No one who had not witnessed the dismay and melancholy which have lately pervaded our people, can comprehend my sensations on hearing laughter in several parts of the camp to-day," says the Governor General. Occasionally shooting excursions were organised, and there is a lively account in the journal of a hunting party in the deserts of Rajputana off Alwar where Lord Hastings shot a lioness, but could never shoot a tiger, though he tried several times.

Lord Hastings was fond of visiting ancient architectural remains, and made some laudable attempts to preserve the Secundra (Akbar's tomb near Agra) and other noble monuments from decay. He often deplores the indifference of the Indians, Hindus and Mahamedans alike, to splendid monuments of art. "To any sepulchral monument they pay superstitious veneration, though they would not contribute a rupee to secure the handsomest from destruction." He visited the ruins of Gour and Rajmahal and Monghyr, but did not think much of them; whereas he was full of admiration for the Secundra, the Taj, and the deserted palaces at Fatehpur

Sikri. Of the last place he says, "I know not if I have ever felt the sense of desolation more strongly.....Many of the patterns and traceries are highly worthy of being adopted in our ornamental architecture. I took measures to have copies from the most striking of these." Visiting the Secundra he says :

"The memory of Akbar does not belong to a particular race or country; it is the property of mankind. All that can promote the recollection of one who employed power to benefit his kind, must interest man, in as much as the reverence paid in such a reminiscence says, 'Go and do likewise,' to those on whom the comfort of millions depends."

Approaching near the Taj, "one is filled with admiration... it may be doubted if genius ever conceived and executed another fabric of equal taste or elegance." The theory that the Taj was built by Italian architects is not new.

"Mr. Turner, the magistrate, informs me that in the Christian burying ground there are several tombstones, bearing Italian names, with the date corresponding to the erecting of the Taj. The circumstance strongly confirms the supposition that artists had been procured from Europe to plan and execute the building."

The reflections of the Marquess of Hastings, on entering the fort at Agra, are worth quoting :

"The first sensation I felt in passing through its tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones, which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing, do not belong to the class of citizens now seen in these regions. So true it is that the character of a sovereign imparts itself speedily to all whom he sways. As long as the Mussalman Emperors preserved their individual energy, the people over whom they ruled were capable of proud and dignified exertions...The higher classes, in fact, became rapidly vitiated and effeminate, not so the lower orders. These lost, indeed, a sense of national pride, but the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial. In truth, the Mussalman part of the population must have felt itself as at all times living only under an armed truce amid the more numerous Hindoos. Thence the attachment to the sabre has been maintained, and this disposition in the Mussalman has caused the Hindoo to habituate himself to arms in self-defence. This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance. Such was not the case when their forefathers built this fort. The help contributed by the multitude in raising it has not been mere bodily labour. The execution of every part of it indicates workmen conversant with the principles and best practice of their arts."

The temple of Baladev at Muttra is, according to Lord Hastings, a poor one, but the remains of a temple at Brindaban impressed him greatly. "This is upon the best scale of any building I have seen appropriated to Hindoo purposes.' It is built of red

sandstone, laboriously carved on the outside, and 'reminds one strikingly of our old cathedrals.' Lord Hastings even refers to a dissertation which Dr. Robert Tyler has lately published on the remains of temples to Siva, in the island of Java. 'These are represented as still exhibiting great magnificence with regard to size and architecture.' From this, as well as from the fact that whereas the Hooghly is a sacred stream, no sanctity is attached to the Ganges eastward of the spot at which the comparatively small channel of the former separates from the main river, the Governor-General draws the broad conclusion that the Brahmanical religion did not originate in the provinces towards the Indus, but made its progress from the maritime parts of Bengal !"

Lord Hastings' description of some of the cities he passed through in the course of his itinerary is interesting. Mr. Brooke was then the Agent of the Governor-General for the Nizamat. He agreed with the Governor-General as to the necessity of extinguishing the fiction of the Mogul Government.' 'The Nawab arrived at about nine in barbaric state. The mixture of trappings, really handsome, with appendages ludicrously shabby, had a strange effect on our eyes.' 'The town of Cossimbazar, from which the river has now considerably receded, may almost be said to connect with Berhampore on one side and with Moorshidabad on the other, so as to form a continuous population. The latter, though exceedingly extensive, has little the look of a city. It consists of a number of villages clustered together with several small patches of tree jungle among them. The people, however, on the banks were well-dressed, and had an air of polish.' The palace was however anything but impressive. 'There was not the least attempt at neatness in anything we saw. -Here many splendid jewels, shawls and brocades, and diamond necklaces were pressed upon the Governor-General and Lady Loudoun, all of which they refused, from their invincible resolution not to accept any present of intrinsic value. Similar offers were made almost everywhere, and were strongly pressed, but as steadily refused. Elsewhere Lord Hastings speaks of 'the extraordinary, unhealthiness of Moorshidabad,' due to the city being 'full of thick copses of bamboo, which prevent a circulation of the air and in the midst of these masses there are multitudes of little stagnant pools.' Hastings directed the bamboos to be extirpated and the pools to be filled up or enlarged into tanks. 'So incorrectly do large bodies of men judge of attentions to their welfare that it is probable this operation will be looked upon rather as an oppression than as an act of kindness.' He speaks of Jagat Seth as a banker, perhaps the richest in the world, whose firm had in times past been useful to Government.' Of the Nawab he says 'I am glad to have seen his Highness again. He is a mild and gentlemanly young man, but in all instances there is an advantage arising from these interviews between the Governor-General and natives of rank; for the courtesy which naturally must be exhibited on those occasions has a tendency to obviate many misunderstandings, and tempers the opinion generally entertained of a repulsive dryness in our government.' Here is a description of the capital of the new province of Bihar and Orissa:

"The people were very respectful, for which the inhabitants of Patna are not famous. The population consists very much of Moghuls; and as the better families of them are barred from most of the advantageous lines of life by the system of our Government, they are very apt to sow dissatisfaction among the lower classes...The town is long and narrow. Its population is estimated at above 200,000. It has more the air of a city than anything which I have before seen in India. The part of Calcutta in the vicinity of the Government House is splendid. But the remainder of the city consists of huts composed chiefly with mats and thatch. Here almost all the houses are substantial. The richer natives have good brick houses. The mansions of the lower classes are principally mud-walled (the *pise* of France) with good tiled roofs."

The city of Banares "makes a splendid appearance from the river. The proportion of houses of good masonry, and of many stories, is, I believe, greater here than in any other Indian city." The province of Oudh, the Nawab Vizier's country, is well-cultivated. The city of Lucknow has a better appearance than any other town I have seen in India.' The Imambarah is 'a truly magnificent and elegant building.' The silk factory at Jungipore in Moorshidabad is mentioned, and at Monghyr Lord Hastings noticed that the "natives have imitated British fowling-pieces and rifles with great skill. These fire-arms are very neatly made. The articles which I saw did great credit to the ingenuity of the workmen." Passing Chinsurah and Hooghly, he says:

"There are handsome houses in each, which look upon the river and are pleasing objects from it."

We now turn to political matters. One of the earliest entries in the Journal relates to the policy which the Governor-General intended to pursue in India. He says:

"Our object ought to be, to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so. We should hold the other States as vassals, in substance though not in name; not precisely as they stood in the Moghul Government; but possessed of perfect internal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the British Government with the pledge of the two great feudal duties. First, they should support it with all their forces on any call. Second, they should submit their mutual differences to the head of the confederacy (our Government), without attacking each other's territories...the difficulties bequeathed to me are imminent, and might break upon me at any instant...I have endeavoured to improve the juncture by courteous and conciliatory language to the native Powers; and I do hope I may remove considerable soreness. As for the rest fortune and opportunities must determine; but it is always well to ascertain to oneself what one would precisely desire had one the means of commanding the issue."

The following extracts will show the attitude which Lord Hastings resolved to maintain towards the King of Delhi :

"Mr. Metcalfe (Resident) arrived from Delhi. The king had been carrying on a wearisome negotiation with him to obtain that I should visit him. Mr. Metcalfe always

returned the same answer,—namely, that I had expressed myself as very desirous of paying my personal attentions to his majesty ; but had told him (Mr. Metcalfe) that I was restrained from doing so by the knowledge that his majesty expected my acquiescence in a ceremonial which was to imply his Majesty's being the liege lord of the British possessions. This dependent tenure, Mr. Metcalfe assured him, could never be acknowledged by me. The king tried a variety of modifications as to the particular form in which his suzerainty over the Company's territories was to be asserted ; but at length, after Mr. Metcalfe's assuring him that the more or the less of the distinctions to be shown to me could have no effect where my resistance was to the admission of any foreign supremacy over our dominions, his Majesty at length gave us the hope of a meeting (which never came off, though Lady Loudoun visited Delhi)...It is dangerous to uphold for the Mussalmans a rallying point, sanctioned by our own acknowledgment that a just title to supremacy exists in the King of Delhi."

Again,

"It used to be the etiquette for the Resident on particular occasions to present to the king a nuzzur from the Governor-General, as a homage to the latter from his liege lord. This custom I have abrogated ; considering such a public testimony of dependence and subservience as irreconcilable to any rational policy."

The abuse of power by the Residents posted at the courts of Native Princes was well-known to the Marquis of Hastings, though in the case of Major Baillie we have seen that, largely owing to the weakness of the Nawab Vizier himself, the Governor-General did not exert himself to remove the grievance :

"In our treaties with them, we recognise them as dependent sovereigns. Then we send a resident to their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator ; interferes in all their private concerns ; countenances refractory subjects against them ; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our government, he urges some interest which under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council ; and the government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the native princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the musnud."

In August 1817, the Nepal Durbar sent the Raj Guru to compliment the Governor-General.

"The general knowledge of the politics of India which the Guru exhibited in his conversations with Mr. Wellesley, struck the latter strongly. On one occasion the Guru observed, that whether we wished it or not, the British must carry their sway up to the Indus. "One after another," said he, "the native sovereigns will be urged, by folly or overweening pride, to attack you ; and then you must, in self-defence, conquer ; and then you are much the stronger, whether you intended it or not."

At Safeedan, in Jheend,

"I rode out in the evening to examine the neighbouring country. It did not pass unobserved ; for one of our officers overheard some of the Jheend soldiers, who were walking in our camp and noticing my distant movements, say, "These English will know everything."

The Journal is full of bitter complaints against the outrages of the Pindaries, who were supported by the Central Indian Marhatta powers.

'The Pindaries, professed freebooters, existing upon plunder, can to a certainty bring above 20,000 horse into the field, part of it excellent in quality. Luckily, bitter dissensions among themselves insure us against their acting as one body.'

Karim Khan, Chetu or Setu, and Namdar Khan, were the principal Pindari Chiefs. The bitter animosity between Jean Baptiste and Jaswant Rao, generals commanding two of Scindiah's armies, is referred to by Lord Hastings in January 1815 as affording the Company's possessions a temporary respite.

'The unfortunate Rajput states of Jaipur and Udaipur, mercilessly wasted by Scindiah, Holkar, Ameer Khan, Mahamed Shah Khan, and the Pindaries, have assailed me with repeated petitions to take them under protection as feudatories to the British government. Bajee Rao's family being Brahmanical, a member of it cannot be a sovereign; but Bajee Rao reigns under the title of Peshwa, equivalent to Vizier, and keeps up the farce of asking once a year the orders of the Rajah, whom he retains in captivity.'

Runjeet Singh,

"aware of the awkward colour which his assembling an army on the Sutlej' must bear, endeavours to remove the impression of his projected hostility by exaggerated attentions. The Vakeel is charged to express Ranjeet Singh's regret that I had not approached near enough to the Sutlej to allow of his coming in person to see me. The most earnest assurances of his friendship are given, and he has sent presents more than ordinarily splendid, which, of course, are accepted by the Company, I, WITH A SINCERITY EQUAL TO HIS OWN, (the italics are ours) professed the most unbounded confidence in the Maharajh's amicable dispositions, was as courteous as possible to the Vakeel and clothed him in a very rich khilat."

The following illustrations of the diplomatic meetings and negotiation of the times will prove interesting:

The next morning the Resident attempted to make Atmaram Pundit sensible of the benefits the Maharajah would desire from a frank cooperation with me. Atmaram Pundit, who is Minister for foreign affairs, shrugged up his shoulders and said: "The Weakest must obey the stronger." It was a curious avowal of incapacity for effectual resistance. The Resident caught at the expressions, and asked him whether he thought we meditated any unprovoked hostility to Scindiah. Atmaram answered eagerly that he could have no suspicion ; the customs of the British Government were too well known for anything insidious to be apprehended ; the salutary course for his master (Doulat Rao Scindiah) was, under present

circumstances, to accede unreservedly to the purposes of the Governor-General, but it was still humiliating to appear to act through constraint. The Resident assured him every thing would be avoided which would give his Highness's union with us such a semblance in the eyes of the country. The minister said that the delicacy would be duly appreciated, and we should find his Highness sincere."

Meeting Rajah Rundheer Sing of Bharatpur :

I said it would be a gross injustice to the British character were anyone to imagine that from our having been foiled at Bharatpur (under Lord Lake), we were capable of an unworthy sentiment towards those who had gallantly resisted us. I professed that we knew how to honour valour, though exercised against ourselves, that I rejoiced in making personal acquaintance with men who had so proved their martial quality, and that I would depend on their showing as much intrepidity by my side, if I solicited their assistance, as they had done against us. The relief which this tone seemed to give to all the principal persons was extraordinary."

The want of kindness and courteous treatment by the Company's servants towards the natives of the country is often referred to as a cause of grave discontent.

"Our people are too dry with the natives. The latter give us high credit for justice, but I fear they regard us in general as very repulsive." "Again and again I say that men are to be gratified not by what we think important but by what comes home to their habitual feelings and prejudices, however triflings it may appear to us. This is a policy sadly neglected by the British in this country, and the consequence is visible in the very little approach to assimilation towards which our long dominion over the country has led the natives."

From time to time the Governor-General during his tours, received deputations from the Princes and nobility of the neighbourhood.

"They were all splendid in retinue and dress, and it was impossible not to observe in their air and manners the tone of highly-polished society."

From the names recorded in the Journal we find that there were several high functionaries of the King of Delhi and the Vizier of Oudh who were Hindus, and conversely, many of the high officials under the Marhattas were Mussalmans. The only political feeling in the country existed among the Marhattas, who were linked into a sort of confederacy under the Peshwa, but it was a vague and nebulous sentiment and broke down in practice when opposed to the British determination to attain hegemony over all the Indian chiefs and princes. Toolsi Bai, the stepmother and guardian of young Holkar, appears from Hastings's Journal to be the only reigning monarch who took up arms in the cause of the Peshwa actuated by this sentiment, but the old lady was soon reduced and Holkar's dominions were considerably cut up in consequence, and apportioned among the faithful chiefs. Reference is made everywhere to the Golandazes, or native artillery men in the Company's service, a branch of the sepoy Army which has been discontinued since the Mutiny. At one place Hastings alludes to "the excessive depression in which

the half-castes are held by the Company's servants. Till Lady Loudoun gave a private hint that colour never would be noticed, halfcaste ladies, though of the best education and conduct and married to men in prominent stations, were not admitted to the Government House." Lord Hastings views regarding the Permanent Settlement are opposed to the popular notions on the subject. He considered it 'more specious than really beneficial.' Referring to the hardships caused by the Sunset Law, he says:

"Our ordinances in this country have been generally instigated by some casual occurrence. In other countries, laws are only recognitions and enforcements of settled opinions of the community, and these opinions are the result of long observation and practical experience, there is little danger that an edict founded on them should be inconvenient to society. From the want of a comprehensive view in our system, many of our regulations, while they correct one evil, institute many sources of oppression."

There are only two references in the Journal to affairs in Europe. Under date August 1814, we find :

"The news that the allies had entered Paris reached us this morning. It came by way of Constantinople to Bombay."

On November 11, 1815 the only entry is as follows :

'Received from Ceylon the news of the important victory gained by the Duke of Wellington over Napoleon at Waterloo. The guns of the fort have opened fire, and we are planning a grand entertainment on the occasion.'

Lord Hastings' views on the Brahmins, specially of Bengal, are anything but complementary. The Brahmins are a 'confederacy of interested and forecasting sensualists.' Hindu mythology is a wild, incoherent and stupidly absurd pack of fancies devised by the Brahmins to occupy the minds of the people.' For these superficial views, the general ignorance of Sanskrit literature that prevailed at that time among Europeans and the dotage of Hindu civilisation, as Lord Hastings terms it, were largely responsible. That civilisation had indeed reached its nadir in his time, and he had considerable justification for saying that the Hindoo appears a being nearly limited to mere animal functions, and even in them indifferent; everything in their system bears the stamp of successful conspiracy against human genius; 'they are infantine in everything'; 'there never has been a really national feeling among the people of the country. The great mass of the natives have no consideration of pride or other sentiment as to who governs them, provided their superstitions and nearly vegetative comforts are not outraged'; subjugation of the intellect, that they may reign over the bodies of the multitude, is the unremitting object of that worthless and successful caste' (the Brahmins). No wonder that he says:

"I should think them, from the present frame of their polity, incapable of having ever effected or even undertaken anything on an extensive scale," and the following is a good reason: "One would imagine that the habitual veneration which a Brahmin receives from his earliest years was calculated to elevate his mind and make him strive to appear as worthy of his high distinction by the dignified purity of his conduct. But this is so far from

being the case, that in no class does one meet more frequent instances of vile and grovelling turpitude, as well as of deep atrocity,' and this is born out by several instances quoted in the book.

Of the various races of men inhabiting northern India, here are some of the Governor-General's personal impressions :

"These Pathans are stout, frank-looking men, with much martial air.' These Afgans are fine-looking men.' (They were residents of Rohilkhund). 'The Sikhs came in great, but truly military pomp...they adopted a tone of cheerful but most polite freedom, equally distant from the cautious reserve of the Mahomedan, or the timidity of the Hindoo...From the specimen which I have seen of the Sikhs, I should describe them as a bold, athletic and animated race. 'I this day remarked what I had indeed observed on many former occasions, what a fine race of men the Sikhs and Jats are. They are not bulky, but they are tall and energetic. Their step is firm and elastic ; their countenances frank, confident and manly ; and their address has much natural politeness. I had noticed the same appearance in the Rohillas and Pathans, but with less of cheerful air than what I observe in the Sikhs. More active, brave and sturdy fellows can nowhere be found than these tribes present."

As for Bengalees, here is something which will show in what esteem they were held in the Upper Provinces :

"We dined with the Nawab Vizier (at Lucknow). At the dessert a space was cleared . A gang of buffoons were introduced...but what seemed to give the greatest delight to the company was a man who represented a Bengalee, and got a prodigious number of slaps in the face for various acts of stupidity. The caricaturing the poor inhabitant of Bengal as a fool seemed to tickle the fancy of the Nawab Vizier and all his kinsmen, no less than it excited the glee of all the up-country servants who were attending behind our chairs."

During his journeys up and down the Ganges the Governor-General and his party beheld some cases of what seems to be the custom of Antargali, which is described as endeavouring to smother a dying man by filling his mouth and nose with the holy mud. Several cases of suttee were either witnessed, or brought to the notice of the Governor General, some taking place quite close to his residence at Barrackpore. The ascetics at Brindabun and Mathura were notoriously licentious. The practice of committing suicide, on the part of women, by throwing themselves into wells was quite common ; so also 'the deliberate premeditated murder of a poor infant for the sake of stealing its little ornaments, worth a few shillings at most,' and the cold-blooded murder of sepoy by one another to gain four or five rupees, or to gratify the most petty pique. A Brahmin applied to Lord Hastings for permission to sacrifice himself before the temple of Kali near Moorshidabad. Life was held so cheap that taking it by violence, e.g., poisoning, &c., was not considered a heinous sin. Animals were frequently brought for exhibition or sale with their backs or legs broken, so that they might not run away.

"There is a strange inconsistency with these people. They have great reluctance to kill anything ; but short of putting it to death, they will without compunction exercise any cruelty on it."

The Governor-General encamped at Hardwar about Christmas time in 1814, and celebrated Christmas there, distributing a thousand rupees among the Brahmins. At the ghats, during the bathing festivals, pilgrims 'flock in such numbers that the concourse is estimated at above one million.' On his way the Governor-General met with multitudes of pilgrim-parties (though it was not the season) who were either going to, or returning from Hardwar.

"One perceives the policy of the Brahmins in enjoining these pilgrimages to the extremities of the territory as a duty imperative on everyone who professes to fulfil the articles of his faith. Uniformity of superstition is kept up by this intercourse between the remotest quarters ; and the devotee receives at these distant points of his veneration a revived impression which rivets the influence of his own local Brahmin over him."

The social and political aspect of pilgrimages has been correctly hit off in the above, inspite of the undeserved fling on Brahminism. The absence of purdah among Marhatta women is thus noticed :

"Lady Loudoun found the Bai (Amrit Rao's wife) and two ladies, who were with her, not at all subjected to the ordinary Hindustanee restraints : for they lifted the purdah and came forward to receive Lady Loudoun, without seeming to mind the gentleman who accompanied her. On the marches of the Marhattas the women ride ; so that, being at times necessarily exposed to view, they have not that difficulty about showing themselves which is observed by other Hindu females."

The apathy of the Indian camp-followers towards the distress of one another led the Marquis to observe : 'the insensibility of the natives towards each other is astonishing.' Again, 'these people have no mercy for each other.' The following curious observation on the sacred *PLU* is interesting :

"Crowds of people assembled in front of the villages (near Hooghly and Chinsurah) to look at us : and the women saluted us with a sort of tremulous hooting which I might have thought expressive of distaste had I not been forewarned that such was their complimentary expression of welcome. This is the sound which Dr. Buchanan, by the aid of a lively fancy, describes as indicative of a lascivious feeling on the occasion of his hearing it uttered when the idol was drawn forth from the temple of Jagannath : so readily do our prejudices impose on our perception."

The following extract will prove instructive. So far as we are aware, no one except Babu Rabindranath Tagore, in his novel, *Gora*, has noticed the same peculiarity :

"No observation is trifling which marks a peculiarity in the feelings of any people. We passed to-day a shore where for a great length the chain of villages was continued. Of course crowds of people collected on the bank to see the fleet. It rained smartly.

Almost every man was provided with an umbrella, with which he sheltered himself; but I did not see a single instance in which a man offered that protection to a woman, though many of them had infants in their arms. The umbrella is an appendage which women rarely carry in this country. Their want of it on this occasion seemed calculated to call forth a humane attention; there did not, however, appear any symptom of sensibility towards the fair sex."

It will certainly be instructive to us in India, even in these enlightened times, to find that the Governor-General of India, a hundred years ago, immersed as he was in the cares of his exalted office, could yet think it worth his while to record in his journal observations on the habits and intelligence of common animals, down to ants. In November 1818, there is a lengthy entry in which he lays down the results of personal observation and experiments, carried on with no costly apparatus, but only with his hands and feet, regarding the swarms of ants in his Barrackpore residence.

'How these ants can so suddenly assemble in numbers to attack their prey is a curious question. That they do give each other intimation cannot be doubted.'

Then he relates some experiments by himself and says:

'Two facts seem settled by the experiment; first, that intimation of danger was distinctly conveyed; secondly, that the ants were not bearing their burden to any fixed domicile.'

Similar observations on the peculiarities of other animals and plants are interspersed throughout the journal. Anything that might add to the knowledge, enlightenment, or amusement of mankind, however minute or humble, was considered worthy of record by the ruler of the vast Indian Empire. Only once in this journal covering a period of five years, is there an intimate personal touch to be found, and that was when Hastings was separated from his wife. On January 1, 1816, the entry begins:

"Never before did a year open to me with such chilling prospects. In a few days my wife and children, the only comforts by which I am attached to this world, are to embark for England. Nothing will remain to cheer me under unremitting and thankless labour; yet I feel a bond that will never allow me to relax in effort as long as my health will suffice. I at times endeavour to arouse myself with the hope that I may succeed in establishing such institutions, and still more such dispositions, as will promote the happiness of the vast population of this country; but when the thought has glowed for a moment it is dissipated by the austere verdict of reason against the efficacy of exertion from an atom like me. The Almighty wills it: it is done without the mediation of an instrument. The notion of being useful is only one of those self-delusions with which one works oneself through the essentially inept vision of life."

This (1815) has been a year of distressing floods in Bengal. On October 11, 1816 the Marquis of Hastings makes the following note in his journal:

"A dreadful inundation has taken place at Beerbhoom. A river which comes down from the hills, was banked up on both sides with mounds of great height and thickness, to prevent its casual overflowing from injuring the cultivation of the country. The

showers felt scantily during the rainy season, but of late they have been uncommonly heavy; in consequence the river became so swollen as to burst its banks in many places. The torrents have swept away a great number of villages with their inhabitants, and cattle to an immense amount have been drowned. We have directed the public functionaries to distribute money for the present support of individuals who have survived the wreck of their property. The system of embankments must be always liable to produce these accidents," and he suggests a system of canals, which besides being useful at ordinary seasons, "would safely carry off by a gradual discharge of the water so dangerous in a state of accumulation."

The remarkable cheapness of living, as compared with the high prices prevailing now-a-days, will appear from the following casual observation.

"Since we have anchored this evening, the hilsa have been sold in the fleet at sixty-four for a rupee....The lowness of the price, when the crews of our large fleet must have added so prodigiously to the purchasers, shows the wonderful plenty of the fish."

The following first-hand account of Begum Somroo, will be read with interest :

"January 26 (1815). Marched to Nareela (in the neighbourhood of the Delhi district)...We here met the Begum Somroo, who had advanced thus far from her jaigeer on the other side of the Jumna, to pay her compliments. This extraordinary woman was purchased when a girl by Somers, the German, infamous for having lent himself as an instrument for murdering the British prisoners at Patna....That man was one of the description of Europeans frequent at the time, who used to hire themselves to the Indian princes, with a little band of native troops better armed and disciplined than was the case with the rest of the soldiery composing the armies...Somers, however atrocious, appears to have been acute and sagacious. He gradually improved his fortunes, till his assistance became a matter of importance to the Emperor. The naturally quick understanding of his wife had been strengthened and expanded by the education which he had given her the means of attaining, and she became a most active and judicious assistant to him in all his most intricate concerns. She took the field with him, and in action was borne in her palankeen from rank to rank, encouraging the men, who were enchanted with her heroism. The essential service which she rendered to Shah Allum made him confer on her life-interest, in survivance to her husband, in the considerable district assigned to Somers for the maintenance of his troops; Shah Allum further dignified her with the title of Begum or Princess. Since the death of her husband, she has managed the jaigeer, the revenues of which exceed £150,000 a year, with great ability; maintaining in good order a considerable number of troops, preserving a tolerable police in the district, and keeping up her own authority firmly. The jaigeer being within the territory ceded to the Company, the Begum is now our feudatory...The Begum dined with us. As she is a Christian, none of our dishes came amiss to her; and good Madeira wine is peculiarly acceptable to her palate. She has the remains of a fine face, with a fairer complexion than is frequent among the natives, and peculiarly intelligent eyes...She insists on escort-

ing me across her district to Meerut. I expected she would rather have accompanied Lady Loudoun to Delhi, but she roundly told us she did not like to go near the royal family, as she in that case, must pay her visit in the Zenana, and would be mercilessly squeezed for presents. The Begum encamped about a quarter of a mile from our tents. In the afternoon I rode to pay her a visit. Her tent was small and simple; and the troops of her escort, well drawn out for show, made a good appearance."

Referring to the frequency of suicide among women by drowning in wells, Lord Hastings observes :

"An extraordinary confirmation has just occurred of the persuasion entertained by me respecting the melancholy tone of life which is the lot of women in this country.....Some momentary impulse of vexation acting on minds sick of a vapid nothingly existence has most likely been the cause of this strange circumstance. Incapacitated from mental resources by want of education and want of intercourse with others, at the same time debarred from corporeal activity by their inflexible customs, they feel so oppressive a void that the superaddition of any incidental disgust renders the facility of indulging despondency irresistible. The magistrate, with reason, thinks that such a barrier round the well as would require the lapse of a second or two to clamber over, might restrain many of these acts, by giving time for a suggestion of fear to intervene."

One wonders how far this analysis is applicable to the practice of burning oneself in kerosene oil which is becoming so common among Bengali girls.

The immolation of a girl on the funeral pyre of her husband furnishes theme for many of the entries in the journal. The Raja of Jaipur died, and two of his wives and a couple of female slaves burned themselves on the funeral pyre with his body. Similarly with the Raja of Nepal.

"Despair,.....conspires with bigotry and enthusiasm to make her take a step reconciled to the contemplation of women in this country from their earliest youth; while the absolute incapacity of such an uniformed mind as hers to have any distinct sense of the pangs she must undergo promotes the obstinacy of her resolution."

Adverting to an occurrence of this kind near Barrackpore, Hastings observes :

"The merit and dignity of the act are so continually inculcated by the Brahmins, that these poor ignorant victims are bewildered by indistinct notions of piety and sublimity. The hapless creatures are peculiarly exposed to the operations of the delusive sentiments so studiously instilled into them. The charities of life are here so little exercised, or indeed comprehended, that a woman has, on the death of her husband, the most disconsolate prospect. The son's wife, or perhaps her own married daughter, becomes legally mistress of the house, and the widow, degraded into a kind of servant, is usually treated with tyrannical impatience as a burden on the family. The existence of the women is at all times dreary. They have none of that society with their nearest neighbours which cheers even the lowest classes in Europe. They have not either mental food or domestic occupation to fill their time in their almost unbroken confinement within their dark, inconvenient

dwelling. Their incapacity to instruct their children precludes the amount of resource which that would afford, so that their minds are in complete stagnation, and suffer all the irksome lassitude of such a state. A licit excuse for breaking forth from that torpidity is, therefore, to them a fascinating opportunity; and when they give way to the impulse they do it with an exaggeration arising from their being unaccustomed to measure and exertion of their spirits. The death of their husband sanctions a vehemence of energy which is a relief to the saddened heart. The woman has been taught that it is praiseworthy to encourage herself in the intoxication, and she does so, enjoying too much the novel pleasure of it to look aside. In this temper she professes the resolution of immolating herself on the funeral pile. Should she recede when she has once made the declaration, the utmost degree of public shame and opprobrium attaches not only to the woman but to her family so that her own dread of disgrace, and still more the instigations of her kin will operate almost irresistibly to prevent her from faltering. But she has in truth no time for her passion to subside. The preparations for burning the body of the deceased are very simple, and are made with the utmost dispatch; often not more than two or three hours elapse. The intended ceremony is not frequently known in the next village, whence there is rarely any concourse of people at it. Should the woman's spirits appear to flag, she is aided by bhang, or some other intoxicating drug...At all events, she perishes in complete absence of all reflection."

It is in the department of education and public instruction that the name of the Bengali is honourably mentioned even so early as Lord Hastings' time. At Barrackpore Lady Loudoun had established a school.

"The most anxious interest is made to get boys admitted into the school, and the children of Brahmins are among the most solicitous...It must at the same time be said that the Brahmins near Calcutta are becoming oblivious of their caste, and indifferent about their customs, with a rapidity not observed by themselves.' The disposition to learn English is strong among the natives. Dr. Hare informs me that, before our departure from Calcutta, having found a proper instructor, he had fixed a dayschool for teaching English...and that three young Brahmins had immediately enrolled themselves among the students. 'Jainarain Ghosal, a rich native inhabitant of Benares, has begun a considerable building on a lot of ground belonging to him in the suburbs. He desires to make over to trustees, to be appointed by Government, this ground, with the building which he will complete on it, as the establishment of a school for instructing native children in the English language. He proposes to make over at same time landed property, producing 1,200 rupees annually, and Company's paper yielding interest to the same amount for the salaries of the English master and his assistants. All that is required by him in return is a pledge, on the part of Government, that the funds shall not be diverted to any other purpose. I have put this into formal train.

Jainarain was a worthy predecessor of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Reshbehari Ghose. The Bengali youths taught in the school at Barrackpore were sent, under a

son of Dr. Carey of Seerampore, by Lord Hastings, to act as pioneers of education in Rajputana.

"The want of instruction in the vast territory of Rajputana, containing several independent states, may be judged by this : the first minister of Jaipur, a man otherwise of ability, cannot write, and can scarcely read. The unremitting course of spoliation which has ravaged these fine countries for the last fifty years produced a sort of despair, which made everyone neglect all concerns but that of living through the passing day."

The dense ignorance which prevailed was the breeding ground of superstition where unmeaning, and often degrading, ritualistic practices were fostered by the priesthood, but the observance of the elementary rules of morality was at a discount. This is largely the case even now among the lower classes. Our last quotations will show the Marquis of Hastings as a great champion of mass education :

"I have been long satisfied that under no other Government is there such incessant and laborious application to the business of the office. The humanity and justice towards the natives with which the functions are fulfilled, are no less exemplary. Where we fail is, in our want of any attempt to inculcate principles of morality into natives, who are strangely destitute of any such instruction. This has arisen from a fear that we might excite in the people a supposition of our endeavouring to convert them to Christianity ; but this jealousy could never arise from our putting into the hands of village schoolmasters small tracts of ethic injunctions extracted from the sacred books of the Hindoos. The Brahmins never make any exhibition of the sort to the lower classes restricting themselves to enforce a blind observance of ceremonies." "It is surprising how frequent are the occurrences in this country which bring home to the mind irresistible refutation of the hypothesis maintained by some able men in England, that it is inexpedient to enlighten the lower classes. Their assumption is, that by letting men in humble station see too distinctly the advantages of higher positions in life, you make them discontented with their natural occupations, and ready to seek melioration of their condition by violence while you further vitiate their minds by enabling them to question the principles of that tranquil morality in which prejudice and habit would otherwise constrain them to walk. In the first place the passions of the multitude are not in any country to be restrained, but by the conviction of each individual in the mass that there exists a force ready to control him if he proceed to turbulence. This curb, however, will assuredly be less necessary over a community where the discriminations between right and wrong are well defined and generally understood. In respect to public tranquility, therefore, great benefit is gained by disseminating instruction. With regard to the imagined morality attendant on narrow information, everyday's experience here contradicts the notion. Nowhere is the perpetration of horrid acts more frequent than in this country, though the natives are mild in character, and urbane towards each other in manners. Their crimes arise from the want of any principle which can correct impulses of revenge, jealousy or cupidity."

Finally, we shall quote almost the closing lines of the Journal which anticipated by nearly thirty years a famous speech of Lord Macaulay :

"Absence of instruction necessarily implies destitution of morality. God be praised, we have been successful in extinguishing a system of rapine which was not only the unremitting scourge of an immense population, but depraved its habits by example and inflicted necessities, while it stood an obstacle to every kind of improvement. It is befitting the British name and character that advantage should be taken of the opening which we have effected, and that establishments should be introduced or stimulated by us which may rear a rising generation in some knowledge of social duties. A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice and to maintain with probity towards her benefactress that commercial intercourse in which she would then find a solid interest.'

We would respectfully invite the attention of the present Governor General of India, whose sympathy for the country is so well-known, to this generous forecast on the part of one of his great predecessors who filled the same exalted station just a hundred years ago ; and the enquiry naturally forces itself upon us : How long will it take for the forecast to fulfil itself ?

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Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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